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THE
MODERN PART
OF THE
UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL WRITERS;
BY THE
AUTHORS of the *ANTIEN*T.

Which will perfect the WORK, and render it
A Complete Body of HISTORY.
FROM THE
EARLIEST ACCOUNT of Time, to the PRESENT.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν
ἐγκόπως.
Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

VOL. III



L O N D O N :

Printed for T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH and L. HAWES, A. MILLAR,
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M. DCC. LIX.

MODERN HISTORY:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK IX.

A Description of Hindûstân, or the Empire of the GREAT MOGOL.

CHAP. I.

Name, Extent, Mountains, Rivers, and Produce, of Hindûstân.

- a **I**NDIA, or the *Indies* (A), takes its name, according to some authors, from the river *Indus*; to others, from the inhabitants, named *Indows*, *Hindows*, or *Hindûs*. Hence it is called, by the *Turks* and *Persians*, *Hindûstân*, or the country of the *Hindûs*: of which *Indostan*, a name used by *Europeans*, is a corruption. In the geography of these latter, *India*, or the *Indies*, is a term of vast limits, extending over not only a great part of the continent of *Asia*, but also of the islands of the ocean lying to the south of it. The continent of *India* is situated between the 84th and 127th degrees of longitude; and between one degree 12 minutes and 36 degrees of north latitude; containing in length, from west to east, about 2315 miles, in breadth, from south north, 2110 miles. It is bounded on the north by the countries of *Great* and *Little Tibet*; on the south, with the *Indian* ocean; on the east, with *China*, and the *Chinese* sea; and on the west, with *Persia*, and the *Indian* sea.

b THIS large region is divided into three great parts. The peninsula of *India* within, or on this side of, the *Ganges*; the peninsula without, or beyond, the *Ganges*; and the main land. The two peninsulas contain several potent kingdoms; but the third part is, at present, under one sovereign, called the *Great Mogol* by *Europeans*. This is chiefly the part which at present we have to do with; and this only of the three is known to the orientals by the name of *India* or *Hindûstân*.

- c HINDUSTAN, or the *Mogol's* empire, is bounded on the north with *Great* and *Little Tibet*; on the east, with *Tibet*, and the farther peninsula of the *Indies*; on the south, with the hither peninsula, part of the *Indian* sea, and bay of *Bengâl*; and on the west, with *Persia*. It is situated between the 84th and 102d degrees of longitude, and between the 21st and 36th degrees of latitude; being in length about 1204 miles, and in breadth 960: though in some parts not near so much.

THIS is the part of *India* which consists of the greatest extremes. Towards the north it is very cold and barren; towards the south, very hot and fruitful, in corn, rice, fruits, and other vegetables. The northern provinces are very mountainous and sandy; while the southern are, for the most part, very level country, and well watered with good rivers.

(A) Commonly called the *East Indies*, to distinguish them from the *West Indies*.

Lib. Bib. Soc. Sur. Ind.

Mountains.

THE most remarkable mountains are those which surround it on three sides, and serve as a rampier against the bordering nations (B). Those on the west, which separate *Hindûstân* from *Persia*, are called in different parts by different names, and in general by that of *Soleymân Kûb*, or *the mountain of Soleymân*. These mountains are of a vast height as well as breadth; and are only passable in certain places, through which roads have been made for sake of commerce. The chief are those which lead to *Kâbul*, *Gâzna*, and *Kandabâr*. This great chain of mountains is inhabited by several different nations of hardy fierce people: the principal of whom are the *Afghâns*, or *Patans*, and the *Balluchîs*; who have extended themselves on the side of *India* as well as *Persia*. The mountains on the north are called *Nagrakût*, *Hima*, or *Mûs Tâg* (which has an affinity with *Imaûs*); and by other names, which are given also in common to the mountains on the east side, which separate *Hindûstân* from *Tibet*: but this is for want of due information procured by travellers, since we know that these mountains are differently denominated, both by their inhabitants and their neighbours. The northern part of this eastern chain is, for instance, called *Kantel*, *Kentel*, or *Kenti*, by the people of those parts. The very prospect of them is frightful, being nothing but hideous precipices, perpetually covered with snow; and not to be crossed without the greatest difficulty as well as horror ^a.

River Indus, or Send.

AMONG the rivers of *Hindûstân* two have been particularly famous from all antiquity, for their great length and capaciousness, as well as other reasons. These are the *Indus* and the *Ganges*. The *Indus* is called by the orientals *Send*, *Sind*, or *Sindi*. It rises in the mountains to the north or north-east of *Hindûstân*; but the exact spot is not yet known to us. From thence it runs southward by *Kâshmîr* and *Attock* to *Multân*, where it turns towards the south-west; and, having passed by *Bukor* and *Tatta*, falls into the *Persian* sea, below *Lower Bander*, by several mouths. In its course it receives several other large rivers, as the *Nilâb*, *Jamâl*, *Bebât*, and *Lakka*.

The Ganges.

THE *Ganges*, called in the *Indies* *Ganga*, rises in the kingdom of *Tibet*; and, having taken a large sweep towards the west, and then by the south and east, enters *Hindûstân*, or the *Mogol's* empire, about the 30th degree of latitude, and runs first thence, south-eastward, by the cities of *Bekâner*, *Minapor*, *Halabas*, *Benâres*, and *Patna*, to *Rajah Mâbl*, where it divides into two great branches. The eastern, having passed by *Dâkka*, the capital of *Bengâl*, enters the gulph of that name, about *Chatigan*. The western, descending by *Koffum-Bazâr*, and *Hugley*, falls into the gulph below *Sbandernagor* towards *Pipeli*. The *Ganges* in its course admits several other considerable rivers into its bosom, particularly the *Chun*, or *Jemna*, and the *Gûderafu*, on the west side; the *Persilis* and *Lakia* on the east side. This river ever has been held in great veneration, and as sacred, by the *Indians*, who think they are freed from their sins by washing in it at certain times. The *Great Mogol* also drinks the water of the *Ganges*, as being deemed lighter and purer than that of any other river.

The heats.

THE weather and seasons are for the general very regular in this spacious country. The winds blow constantly for six months southerly, and northerly for six months, with very little variation. The months of *April*, *May*, and the beginning of *June*, till the rains fall, are so extremely hot, that the reflexion from the ground is apt to blister one's face; and, but for the breeze or small gale of wind, which blows every day, there would be no living in that country for people bred in northern climates: for, excepting in the rainy season, the coldest day is hotter there at noon, than the hottest day in *England*. However, very surprising changes of heat and cold sometimes happen within a few hours: so that a stifling hot day is succeeded by a night cold enough to produce a thin ice on the water; and that night by a noon as scorching as the preceding. Sometimes in the dry season, before the rains, the wind blows with such extreme violence, that it carries up vast quantities of dust and sand into the air, which appear black, like clouds charged with rain; but fall down in dry showers, filling the eyes, ears, and nostrils of those among whom they descend, and penetrate every chest, cabinet, or cupboard, in the houses or tents, by the key-holes or crevices ^b.

Rainy season.

FROM *Surat* to *Agra*, and beyond, it seldom or never rains, excepting in one season of the year; that is, from the middle of *June* to the middle of *September*. They generally begin and end with most furious storms of thunder and lightening. During these three months it rains usually every day, and sometimes for a week together without intermission. By this means the land is enriched, like *Egypt* by the *Nile*. Although the land looks before like the barren sands of the *Arabian* deserts; yet, in a few days after those showers begin to fall, the surface appears covered with verdure; which shews the richness of the soil: on which occasion our author observes, that among many hundred acres of divers kinds of grain, he never saw any but what was prime good, standing as thick as the ground could well bear it. When this worst season is over, the sky becomes perfectly serene again, and scarce one cloud appears all the nine

^a Lettr. Edifiantes, vol. xv. p. 190.^b TERRY Voya. to E. India, p. 272, & seq. Folio edition.

(B) According to the *Indian* geographers, *India* is and is divided into two parts, the north and south, by environed almost on all sides by the mountains of *Ghate*; that of *Balagate*. *The-not Trav.* part iii. c. 46. p. 80. months

a months after. However, a refreshing dew falls every night during that dry interval, which cools the air and cherishes the earth ^c.

THE produce of *India* is very rich, in every kind, whether the fossil, vegetable, or animal. *Precious stones.* With regard to fossils, we meet with here the most valuable precious stones, particularly diamonds. However, there is properly only one diamond mine in the *Mogol's* empire, and that is at the town of *Soumelpûr*, in *Bengâl*. The other diamond mines are in the hither peninsula of *Ganges*; and the mines of coloured stones chiefly in *Pegu*, a kingdom of the farther peninsula, and in the island of *Ceylon*^d. Quarries of *Theban* stone are so plentiful in some countries of the *Râjabs*, and elsewhere in the *Mogol's* empire, that *Thevenot* saw both mosques and pagods built intirely of it^e. Nor is *Hindûstân* destitute of lead, iron, or copper (C). Nay, it is said the country affords silver mines also^f. But, if so, they need not be opened, since the bullion of all other nations is sunk in this empire; which will take nothing else in exchange for her commodities, and prohibits the exporting it again.

THE soil being brittle, though fat, is very easily cultivated. They till it with oxen, and foot-ploughs; sowing their seed in *May*, and the beginning of *June*, that all may be over before the rains. Their harvest is in *November* and *December*; which are with them the most temperate months in the year. Their ground is no-where inclosed, excepting a little near towns and villages; which lie scattered very thick over this empire. Nor do they mow their grass to make hay; but cut it off the ground, either green or withered, as they have occasion to use it. *Agriculture.*

c WHEAT, rice, barley, and other grain proper for making bread, grow here in plenty, and are very good; the wheat especially is more white and full than the *English*. *Grain.*

THE country abounds no less with fruits. Besides pomegranates, citrons, dates, grapes, almonds, and cocoa-nuts, there are, among other plums, that called the mirabolan, of an excellent kind, and remarkable for its curious stone. Plantains, which grow in clusters, are long, like slender cucumbers; very yellow when ripe, and taste like a *Norwich* pear, but much better. The mango, another excellent fruit, in shape and colour like an apricot, but much larger. If rolled between the hands, when full ripe, the substance within the rind becomes like the pulp of a roasted apple, and is very delicious, being sucked out from the large stone which is left behind. But the best fruit of all in *Hindûstân* is the anana: it is like our pine-apples, and seems to the taste a pleasing compound of strawberries, claret, rose-water, and sugar. In the northern parts they have variety of pears and apples: limons and oranges are common here, but not so good as in other countries. Lastly, they have very good musk-melons, and water-melons; some as large as pompions, which they resemble in shape. The inner substance of this fruit is spongy; but exceeding tender, and well tasted. Its colour is a mixture of red and white; and in the middle is inclosed a liquor, which is extremely cooling and delicious^g. However, we are told by later authors, that those which are eaten at the *Great Mogol's* court are brought from *Karazm* and *Great Bukhâria*. *Fruits.*

BESIDES the woods and groves, which adorn the country, you find trees scattered over it; but none of the kinds known in *England*. They afford abundance of timber, firm and strong, fit for building, and other uses. Some bear leaves as broad as bucklers; and those of others are small, and divided like the leaves of fern: of this kind is the tamarind-tree, whose fruit grows in a pod resembling that of beans. There is one very remarkable tree among the rest: for out of its branches there shoot downwards little sprigs; which, taking root, in time become supporters to the branches which yielded them. So that the tree, by this means, grows at length to a very great height, and spreads so much in compass, that some hundreds of men may shade themselves under it, in any season; as the trees in those southern parts of *India* keep their leaves all the year^h. This is that which is called by *Europeans* the Banian, and war-tree. But, of all the trees of this part of *India*, the cotton and mulberry may be reckoned the chief, on account of the wealth they bring to the natives, arising from the manufacture of callicoes and silks. There are many other kinds of trees, which produce excellent fruits peculiar to the country. *Woods and trees.*

THEY plant abundance of sugar-canes here, as well as tobacco; both which are much used, and very cheap: but the latter, though good in itself, is not so rich and strong as that reared in *America*, for want of knowing how to cure and order it.

THE soil of *Hindûstân* affords plenty of roots known to us; as carrots, potatoes, onions, and garlick; besides some small roots and herbs for sallads. In the southern parts ginger grows almost every-where. These are all of a good kind: but their flowers are generally no *Flowers.*

^c TERRY, p. 361, & seq.

^f TERRY, ubi sup. p. 370. & seqq.

^d TAVERN. Trav. part ii. p. 139.

^e TERRY, ubi sup. p. 359, & seqq.

^g THEVENOT Voya. part iii. p. 146.

^h TERRY, ubi sup. p. 303.

(C) So says Terry; but Bernier affirms, that *Hindûstân* produces no metals: yet *Thevenot* avers, there is

an excellent iron mine in the mountain *Nizur*, five days journey from *Agia*. Trav. Ind. part iii. p. 39.

better

better than painted weeds; for although their colours be beautiful to look at, they have no a scent; excepting roses, and some few other kinds; among which there is a white flower, like the *Spanish* jasmin, yielding a most fragrant smell. From this is extracted an excellent oil, wherewith they anoint the head, and other parts of the body^a.

Wild beasts.

HINDUSTAN abounds with animals, both wild and tame: of the former kind are elephants, rhinoceros's, lions, tygers, leopards, wolves, jackals, and the like. These last seem to be wild dogs; which run about in the night in companies, and disturb people with their hideous noise. They dig up and eat dead bodies (D). The rhinoceros is a large square beast, bigger than the *English* ox. The skin is extremely thick, and tough; all wrinkled, and without hair.

Rhinoceros's.

Elephants.

It has a strong, but short horn, with the point turned upward, just over the nose; from whence it has its name (E). This beast is not common in the *Mogol's* empire; but elephants b are very numerous¹. They are the largest of all creatures. Our author had seen some, which were twelve feet high; but was told there were others fourteen or fifteen in height. Their skin is black, thick, smooth, and without hair. Their eyes are full, but not proportionable to their bodies; their ears like those of oxen; their tails slender, and not very long. Their legs are like the trunks of small trees, cut off towards the roots; and the feet set round with thick short and broad toes. They are not without joints, as some have fabled; for the elephant can lie down and rise at pleasure. It walks slow; at most three miles an hour: is very sure-footed, and exceeding tractable, as well as sensible. Their trunk is a great length, hanging down between their tusks; and, being of a gristly substance, is endowed with so much strength, that the stroke of it will break the bones of a horse, or camel, and even kill him outright. With c it the elephant can likewise pull up great trees by the roots; yet it is so pliable, that with it he can convey victuals to his mouth; and, at the command of his rider, who sits on his neck, take up dirt, dust, or kennel-water, and dash it in the face of any body^k.

Game in common.

THERE is plenty of venison, or game of several kinds; as red deer, fallow deer, elks, antelopes, kids, hares, and such-like. All these are in common; for none are imparked, so that one sees them every-where on the road: but, as they may be any body's who will be at the pains to take them, they do not increase to damage the husbandman, or do other mischief. The elks are very large, strong, and fierce creatures. The antelopes also differ somewhat from those of other countries. They have even more courage, and are to be distinguished by their horns, which are blackish, and a foot and a half long; whereas the horns of antelopes elsewhere are greyish, and not half that length. Those of the former grow winding to the point like a screw. The *Fakîrs* and *Santons* commonly carry two of them joined together, and armed with iron at each end, which they make use of as a little staff^l.

Elks, Antelopes.

Musk cat.

AMONG the wild animals may be reckoned the musk-cat and monkey. The musk-cat is pretty common; particularly in the province of *Azmîr*. It is snouted like a fox, and no bigger than an hare: it has teeth like a dog, and is of the colour of a stag. The musk is contained in a kind of bladder, or purse, under the belly. The woods and groves, especially in the southern parts of *Hindûstân*, are full of apes, monkeys, and baboons; which live among the trees, and climb them at pleasure. Our author had seen some of them taller than the largest *English* greyhounds^m.

Beasts of carriage.

HINDUSTAN affords variety of beasts for carriage; as camels, dromedaries, mules, asses, horses, oxen, and buffalos. The camels here have an odd quality; for they cry and make a hideous noise at night when their burthens are taken off: but are very quiet when laid on.

Oxen used for Horses.

THE horses are very good, well-shaped, and high mettled. Some are black; but most of them white, and curiously dappled. Many are pied and spotted all over; nor are there wanting some which are of other bright colours. The oxen are not very large, and have a great bunch of gristly flesh between their shoulders. Their flesh is very sweet and tender, besides much whiter than that of the *English* breedⁿ. As they are very tame, many people use them as they do horses to ride on; though they commonly go but a slow pace. Instead of a bit, they put one or two small strings through the gristle of the nostrils, and fastening the ends to a rope, use it instead of a bridle; which is held up by the bunch he has on the fore part of his back. They saddle him as they do a horse; and, if spurred a little, he will go as fast. These are generally made use of all over the *Indies*; and with them only are drawn waggons, coaches, and chariots. They are yoked at the end of the pole, by a long yoke laid on their necks, and the coachman governs them by the rope before-mentioned. These oxen are of different sizes; but generally very hardy: so that some will travel fifteen leagues a day. There is one kind almost six feet high; but they are very rare: and another, called dwarfs; because not three feet in height: these have a bunch on their backs like the rest, go very fast, and serve

^a TERRY, p. 360. & seqq. THEVENOT, part III. p. 38.

^l TERRY, ubi supr. p. 366, 371.

^k Ibid. p. 380, & seqq.

¹ Ibid. p. 359.

^m TERRY, p. 368. THEVEN. p. 51.

ⁿ TERRY, p. 359, 360, 365, 375.

(D) Some say they are purveyors to the lion, marching before, and directing him to his prey.

(E) In some this horn is very long; and those of *Africa* have another horn upon the forehead.

a to draw small waggons. For this sort of carriage white oxen are in most esteem; but they are held at an extraordinary rate. In the province of *Azmîr*, or *Asmîr*, the roads being very stony, they shoe their oxen when they are to travel far^p.

THE buffalo is very large and strong, having a smooth skin without hair; which makes *Buffalo*. excellent buff. The female yields very good milk; but their flesh is neither so palatable nor wholesome as beef. They are much employed to carry water, for the supply of families, in large skins, which hang on both sides of them. The *Hindûstân* sheep differ from the *English* in their great fleshy tails; which are very weighty. The flesh is very good, but their wool coarse^q.

b HINDUSTAN is much infested with reptiles and insects; some of a noxious kind. Of the former are lizards, scorpions, snakes and rats. The lizards are of a dark-green colour, and *Lizards*. small; they often are seen in houses, but not hurtful, like the other three kinds of animals. Scorpions are very common, and frequently creep into houses; especially in the rainy season. *Scorpions*. They are of the shape and size of crayfish; they also are black, like them, before they are boiled. They have a little round tail, which usually turns up, and lies on their back: at the end of it is the sting; which they do not draw in and let out of their bodies, like other venomous creatures; *Their sting*. but it always appears ready to strike. It is very sharp and hard; not long, but crooked, like the talon of a hawk. Its sting is very painful, and mortal, if the patient has not some present remedy, such as oil of scorpions, to anoint the part affected; which is a sure and sudden cure. Or if the scorpion itself be taken and beaten to pieces, the oily substance which it affords is c a present remedy^r. However, we are told, that the best medicine is the actual cautery. They take a burning coal, and hold it as long and as near the wound as they can. The venom keeps the patient from being incommoded by the fire, while the poison is perceived to work out of the orifice by degrees; and in a short time after he is perfectly healed^s.

SNAKES and serpents are here sometimes used in executions. Our author gives an instance *Snakes*. in a man who had killed his mother. The *Great Mogol* ordered two snakes to be set upon him: each twined about one of his thighs, and bit him in the groin. After they were taken away, he complained of a violent fire that ran through all his limbs; and his whole body began to swell exceedingly. He kept his feet about a quarter of an hour, and then fell; and, near half an hour after, expired in grievous torture^t.

d THE rats here are very large, and so bold that they attacked some of Sir *Thomas Roe*, the *Large Rats*. *English* ambassador's retinue, in their beds at night; biting them by the fingers, toes, ears, and noses; or, in short, any part of their bodies, which they could get at.

THE most troublesome insects in this hot country are flies, musketoes, and chinchies (or *Insects trouble-* bugs). The first kind swarm so thick in the heat of the day, that they would fill their cups, *some*. and cover their meat, if it was not for servants; who, all the while they are eating, are employed to drive them off with napkins. And as they are annoyed with the first by day, they are no less plagued in the night with the two other sorts of insects; the last of which offend as much with their stench, as their bite^u.

e HINDUSTAN breeds plenty of peacocks, partridges, quails, geese, ducks, pullets, pigeons, *Fowl*. doves, and variety of other good fowl. They do not cut their chickens; so that they have no capons there, except the human^x: the inhabitants being less tender-hearted to men, than other animals. The partridges are smaller than ours. Among the hens there is a small sort, whose skin is perfectly black; but the flesh very white and delicious^y. The pigeons differ from ours only in colour; being all over green. These and parrots are taken in this manner. The fowler, marching behind a sort of shed, or screen, comes on the birds; who, seeing no man, never offer to fly away; and, without any difficulty, surprises them with a wand daubed with bird-lime. The *Indians* are no less dexterous at catching water-fowl; for, swimming after them, with a pot on their heads covered with feathers, they pull those they come up with by the feet; the rest, never suspecting the deceit, and imagining their companions f have only dived, are all by degrees taken^z.

g THERE are two kinds of bats in this country. One like those in *Europe*; the other of a *Extraordinary* singular make. It is eight inches long, and covered with yellowish hair: the body is round, *bats*. and as big as that of a duck. It has the head and eyes of a cat, and a sharp snout like a great rat: the ears prick-up, are black, and without hair. The wings are almost two feet long, and seven or eight inches broad; joined to the body along the sides from the shoulder downward. They are of a black skin, resembling wet parchment. The four legs, or arms, seem to be glued within the wings; each as big as a cat's thigh, and towards the joint almost as thick as a man's arm. The two foremost, from the shoulder to the fingers, are nine or ten inches long; and each is fleshed into the wing, perpendicular to the body, being covered with hair, and terminating in five fingers; which form a kind of hand. These fingers, which

^p THEVENOT, part iii. p. 51. ^q TERRY, p. 359, & seq. ^r TERRY, p. 371, & seq. ^s THEVENOT, p. 51. ^t TER. p. 452. ^u TERRY, p. 372. ^x bid. p. 359. ^y BERNIER, part iii. p. 24. ^z THEVENOT, ubi supr. p. 38.

are black and without hair, have the same joints with those of a man, and serve the animal a to stretch out its wings, when it has a mind to fly. Each hind-leg, or arm, is but half a foot long; and, being fastened to the wing, parallel to the body, reaches to the lower part of the wing, out of which peeps a little hand, much like the human; only instead of nails it hath claws. The hinder-arms are black and hairy, like those before; but somewhat smaller. These bats have no tails; but under the wings appear two teats, each as big as the end of one's little finger. They stick to the branches of trees, with their claws; fly almost out of sight; and some, who had eaten of them, said they were good meat^a.

Little birds. AMONG the birds, which frequent the woods, there is a species less than the wren; which are very beautiful, being neatly shaped, and covered with curious parti coloured feathers, embellished with various little spots: nor do they delight the eye with their form more than the ear with variety of pleasing notes. Nature has instructed them to build their nests in the twigs at the extremities of the boughs of trees; where they hang like little purse-nets, out of the reach of the smallest monkeys^b.

Fishes. LASTLY, with regard to fish, not to mention crocodiles, which infest many rivers, there is variety of what is very good; especially two sorts, resembling our pike and carp^c. Both fish and flesh is very cheap all over *India*; which is owing in great measure to the *Hindûs* not eating animal food.

^a THEVENOT, p. 70. ^b TERRY, ubi supr. p. 363. ^c BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 25.

C H A P. II.

Provinces of Hindûstân.

Number of provinces. ALTHOUGH *Hindûstân*, or the empire of the *Great Mogol*, comprises many pro- a vines; yet they are not so numerous as the earlier authors represented them. *Terry*, for instance, reckons up no fewer than thirty-seven: but *Thevenot* was assured by an *Indian*, who was acquainted with the geography of his country, that the empire contained no more than twenty, exclusive of *Viziapûr*, and *Golkonda*; and that they who have counted more have been misinformed, since of one province they must have made two or three^a.

THIS remark is confirmed by a late writer; who has given two lists of the provinces from the *Mogol* historians, as they stood, one in the time of *Shâh Jêhân*^b, the other in that of *Aureng zîb*^c; as follows:

	Provinces.	Chief Cities.	
<i>Their names.</i>	1. <i>Dehli.</i>	Idem.	
	2. <i>Agra.</i>	Idem.	
	3. <i>Ajmîr.</i>	Idem.	
	4. <i>Aleb abad.</i>	Idem.	
	5. <i>Panjâb.</i>	<i>Labûr.</i>	
	6. <i>Audib [or Haud.]</i>	Idem.	
	7. <i>Multân.</i>	Idem.	
	8. <i>Kabûl.</i>	Idem.	
	9. <i>Kashmîr.</i>	<i>Sbrinâgr.</i>	
	10. <i>Guzerat.</i>	<i>Abmed abâd.</i>	c
	11. <i>Babar [or Patna].</i>	<i>Pâtna.</i>	
	12. <i>Send.</i>	<i>Tâtтар.</i>	
	13. <i>Dawlat abâd.</i>	<i>Awrengabâd.</i>	
	14. <i>Malvâ</i>	<i>Eujîn.</i>	
	15. <i>Berâr.</i>	[<i>Shâpûr.</i>	
	16. <i>Kbândîsh.</i>	<i>Brampûr.</i>	
	17. <i>Bedr.</i>	<i>Zâffer abâd.</i>	
	18. <i>Bengâl.</i>	<i>Dakka.</i>	
	19. <i>Odissea.</i>	[<i>Jakanat.</i>	
	20. <i>Heyder abâd.</i>	<i>Heyder abâd.</i>	d
	21. <i>Vijapûr.</i>	<i>Vijapûr.</i>	

Both different THIS list of cities differ from the other, not only in the order of placing the provinces, but in the number and names. In that of *Shâh Jêhân*, the provinces of *Heyder abâd*, for-

^a THEVENOT's Trav. Ind. part iii. c. 3. p. 5. ^b FRASER's Hist. of Nadir Shah, p. 26. ^c Ibid. p. 34. merly

- a merly know by the name of *Golkonda*, and *Vijapûr*, or *Viziapûr*, are wanting, as not having been conquered till the time of *Aureng zîb*; and, in the list of this latter prince, those of *Bâlkh*, *Kandabâr*, *Buddakshân*, and *Buglâna*, are wanting; the three first having been lost again, and the last perhaps joined to some other province, as to that of *Dawlat abâd*. On the other hand, the provinces, which in the above list are named *Panjab*, *Send*, and *Bedr*, are, in the list of *Shâh Jeshân*, called *Labûr*, *Tâtta*, and *Tillingâna*. In like manner, as these lists differ from each other in the respects before-mentioned, so they do from that of *Thevenot*, and other authors. What is worse, some of the provinces in *Frazer's* lists having changed at different times their names, or being called by names different from those given by other travellers, we are at a loss how to draw the parallel. Thus altho' we know that *Heyder abâd* is *Golkonda*, *Bedr* is *Tellengâna*, or *Telenga*, and *Dawlet abâd*, *Balogât*, joined perhaps with *Buglâna*, yet we cannot tell what province in *Thevenot's* list is the same with *Alah abâd*. We are no less at a loss to determine what provinces, in *Frazer's* lists, answer to those of *Varad*, or *Varal*, *Bekar*, and *Halabâs*, in the catalogue of *Thevenot*; and the rather, since *Frazer* has given only simple lists of the provinces, without any account of them (A). For this reason also we are obliged, in our description of *Hindûstân*, to follow the division as found in other authors; particularly *Thevenot*.

I. GUZERAT, formerly a kingdom, is a maritime province, and the most pleasant in all Guzerât *Province*. *Hindûstân*; though none of the largest. It is rendered fertile by the *Nardaba*, *Tapti*, and other rivers. The fields look green all the year round, on account of the corn and rice which cover them, as well as the various kinds of trees, which continually bear fruit. The most considerable part of *Guzerât* lies upon the sea-coast; on which stand the towns of *Surât*, *Baroch*, *Brodâ*, *Kambaya*, and *Ahmed abâd*; which last is the capital.

THIS province fell into the hands of the *Great Mogol Akber*, about the year 1565, on the following occasion. About the year 1545, or 1546, *Soltân Mahmûd*, king of *Guzerât*, being near his death, intrusted the tuition and regency of his only son *Soltân Modaffer*, to a great lord of his court. This nobleman, to support himself against the other great men of the kingdom, who were his enemies, at length called in *Akbar*, under pretence of protecting his pupil, though already of age, against his rebellious subjects. *Akbar*, having defeated the malecontents, instead of being satisfied with one city, and its district, which was promised him, seized the whole kingdom, and made both the king and governor prisoners. *Modaffer*, after this, made his escape, with a design to recover his kingdom; but, having been defeated and made prisoner a second time, he, in despair, slew himself^a.

THE inhabitants of *Guzerât*, who are *Paragaus* for the most part, continue their old trade of thieving and pirating; plundering all whom they can overcome both by sea and land: nor can the *Great Mogol*, whose subjects they are, restrain them: for their country is secure from the marches of armies into it, being so soft and muddy, occasioned by the many inlets of the sea, which overflows the low grounds, that in many places there is no travelling but by little boats.

THE first town next to *Sindi* is *Kuchnâggben*; which has some trade for cotton, corn, coarse *Kuchnâg*-cloth, and chonk; a large kind of periwinkle-shell, which, in *Bengâl* and other parts of *India*, they saw into rings, or ornaments, for the arms of women.

THE province and town of *Kuchnâggben* is governed by a queen, who is very formidable to the neighbouring states. They chuse to be governed by the female sex; because, in their judgment, they are more tractable and gentle than men, who, intoxicated with power and honour, become obstinate in their opinions, and insolent in their behaviour.

THE next province to *Kuchnâggben* is *Sangânia*, governed by a princess, for the same reason. It produces cotton and corn, like the rest of *Guzerât*; but, living wholly by piracy, admits of no trade, for fear of being civilized by example. Their chief sea-port is called *Baët*; and as they give protection to all criminals, such as commit offences deserving punishment repair thither, and become public robbers. Depending on their numbers, they board all the ships they can come at (B). Our author, Captain *Hamilton*, had several brushes with them. Before they engage, they drink *Bang*; an intoxicating liquor, made of a seed like that of hemp; which renders them quite furious. They wear long hair; and, when they let it loose, it is a sign they will give no quarter^b.

^a THEVENOT. Trav. Ind. part iii. p. 6.

^b HAMILTON'S New Account of the E. Ind. c. 12. p. 131, & seqq.

(A) All the provinces of this vast empire are full of towns and villages, according to *Terry. Voy. to E. Ind.* sect. 2. p. 362. fol. edit.

(B) Our author gives two or three instances of their attacking *English* ships. In 1717, they attacked the *Morning-star*, in her way from *Gomrân* to *Surât*, with

eight vessels; one of five hundred tons, three others of between two and three hundred tons, the rest galleys, with above 2000 men on board; but although the *English* ship had no more than seventeen fighting men, she disabled and got clear of them.

THEVENOT observes of those pirates, whom he calls *Zingânes*, that they keep with their a
barks on the bar of *Sindi*; and, when they see a merchant-vessel, get to windward. Then
drawing pretty near, before they lay her on board, throw in a great many pots full of lime,
reduced to a very fine powder; and, while the crew are blinded with the dust, leap into the
bark, putting all to the sword: for they give no quarter till they are masters of the vessel.
The only way therefore for the sailors and passengers to save themselves is to jump into the
sea, and keep above water till the pirates are sure of their prize; after which they shed no
more blood, but spare all who remain alive. Yet death from them perhaps would be a greater
favour than life; for, to prevent their prisoners from escaping, they cut the great tendon of
their legs a little above the heel, which disables them even to walk; and in that condition set
them to keep their flocks. Our author adds, that the *Great Mogol* sends them presents every b
year, although they are his subjects, to oblige them to forbear their piracies; but, although
they accept of his bounty, they still continue their robberies c.

Jigat port.

THE next port to *Baët* is *Jigat*, standing on a low point of land, called Cape *Jigat*. The
city makes a good appearance from the sea, and is the seat of a *Fouzdâr*, or governor, for
the *Mogol*: but has no trade. Yet *Mangaroul*, the next maritime town, admits of commerce;
chiefly for coarse calicoes and provisions. It is inhabited by *Banyans*; so that deer, antelopes,
and peacocks, are not afraid to enter into the very houses. *Poremain*, which follows on the
shore, is a pretty large town. Its trade and inhabitants are of the same kind with the former:
but both places are obliged to maintain *Râspouts* (or *Râjipoûs*), who are natives of *Guzerât*,
to protect them from the insults of the *Sangâniâns*. c

Diu, or Div
city.

DIU (C), which is the next port, and most southern land of *Guzerât*, is a small isle, three
miles long, and two broad, belonging to the crown of *Portugal*. The city is pretty large,
surrounded with a high stone wall, flanked with bastions, well furnished with cannon; and a
deep moat cut in a hard rock, to defend it on the land side; which is about one third part of
the city. The other sides are fortified by the ocean, thick-set with dangerous rocks and high
cliffs, which forbid any approaches that way; and a rapid, deep river, which affords a good
harbour on the north-east side. The harbour is secured by two castles (D): one of them,
which is large, can bring 100 great pieces of artillery to bear on its mouth, and obstruct the
entrance of shipping. The other is but small, built on a rock in the middle of the river, and
serves for a magazine of stores. d

Situation and
strength.

DIU is one of the best built cities, as well as best fortified, both by nature and art, that
our author ever saw in the *Indies*. It is situated in an ascent, beginning from the great castle;
and as it hath five or six beautiful churches, which stand one above the other, facing the sea,
the prospect from thence is extremely pleasant. The stately buildings of freestone and marble,
which still remain, are evidences of its antient grandeur and opulence: but at present not
above one fourth part of the city is inhabited. This fortress first baffled the power of the king
of *Guzerât* (*Bâdr*); who, after granting them leave to build it, would have expelled them
again, when he saw that it drew all the trade from his other ports: and then that of the *Turks*,
in 1538; who brought a great fleet to dispossess them: but, about 1670, the *Arabs* of
Muskât, with a fleet of *Trankis*, landed by night on the west end of the island; and, march- e
ing silently up to the town, at break of day, when the gates were opened, entered without
resistance. The enemy slew all the *Portugueses*, who could not get quick enough into the
castle; and for three days loaded their vessels with rich plunder. They also mounted some
cannon on one of the churches, and fired on the fort; but to little purpose. The governor
could easily have made them remove farther off the castle, with his heavy artillery; but the
priest forbade him, under pain of excommunication, to shoot a single bullet, for fear of hurting
some holy image. However, that menace did not save the sacred trumpery; for the *Arabs*
not only took away all the consecrated plate and cash, but did not leave a gold or silver image
behind them: as for those of wood or stone, they broke them to pieces. These latter indeed
were soon repaired again; but our author found none there of either of those metals d. f

Surprised by
Arabs:recovered
again.

AT length, the *Arabs* growing secure and negligent, about 4000 soldiers and slaves, on
promise of freedom, made a sally, with such success, that they killed 1000 of the enemy,
and drove the rest out of the city; which still feels the dismal effects of that surprise. At
present there are not above 200 *Portugueses* in both the town and castle. The rest of its inha-
bitants are *Banyans*, to the number of about 40,000: but few of them are rich; because it is
unsafe for monied strangers to dwell among the *Portugueses*, who, for all their losses in *India*,
still retain their pride and insolence. The king of *Portugal* receives about 12,000 pounds
yearly by poll-tax, and 6000 by the customs and land-tax: but was *Diu* in the hands of some

c THEVENOT, Trav. Lev. part ii. p. 178.

d HAMILTON, ubi supr. ch. 2. p. 335, & seqq.

(C) *Diu*, or rather *Dîv*, signifies an island in the
Malabar language.(D) *Thevenot* says it had three in his time.

a industrious nation, it would be the best mart town on the coast of *India*, on account of the neighbourhood of the *Indians*, both by the bay of *Sindi* and that of *Kambaya*.

ALL the country between *Diu* and *Dand-point*, which is about thirty leagues; admits of no *Warrels* traffick, being inhabited by free-booters, called *Warrels*; who often associate with the *San-pirates*. *gánians*, in their piracies and depredations. As soon as they get on board their prizes, they throw in showers of stones on the decks, in order to sink the crew, if they do not yield. They likewise cast in pots full of unquenched lime, well sifted; which breaking, there arises such a dust, that the defendants can scarce either breathe or see. At the same time they fling into the ship lighted wicks of cotton, dipped in a certain oil; which burns fiercely, and sets fire to the parts which it lights upon.

b THESE *Warrels* dwell in small villages. The best of which, called *Chance*, stands about *Coast danger-* sixty miles to the east of *Diu*, three miles within the mouth of a river; which has a small island *rous* lying athwart it, two miles from the sea, furnished with good springs of fresh water; but no inhabitants. In 1716, the *English* went to burn that village, and their pirating vessels; but were unsuccessful in the attempt. Though people occupy all the coast from *Dand-point* to *Goga*, which lies about twelve leagues within the gulf of *Kambaya* and the coast between; those limits are very dangerous, being not only thick-set with rocks and sand-banks, but a rapid tide of six or eight miles an hour runs among them, in a chanel twenty fathom deep in some places; which causes anchoring to be dangerous also.

c GOGA is a pretty large town, and has had some mud-wall fortifications; which still defend *Goga*. them from the insults of their neighbours the *Kowlis*; who inhabit the north-east side of *Guzerát*, and are as great thieves by land, as the former are by sea. Nor is there any getting at them to chastise them; for there are so many rivulets in their country (made by the sea and certain rivers), whose bottoms are soft and muddy, that neither men nor horses can penetrate into it. Besides, their towns are inclosed with such thick hedges of green *bambús*, which are not quickly burned, and the people so numerous, as well as valiant, that it would be a hard task to civilise them.

GOGA has some trade, and admits strangers to a free commerce. Its harbour is capable of receiving the largest ships, although they lie dry on soft mud at low-water; but the tides, rising four or five fathoms perpendicular, afford water enough at high-water. The place is governed by an officer from the *Mogol*, with about 200 men under his command; who are kept there d to guard it.

KAMBAYA, or, as the natives call it, *Kambawt*, lies about twelve leagues from *Goga*, at *Kambaya* the bottom of the gulf, or bay, of *Kambaya*, on a small river, made, as our author supposes, *city*: by the overflowings of the *Indus* (and from thence reckons it a branch of that great river). It is a large city, with high walls; and the capital of a kingdom, which bore the same name, when the *Great Mogol Akber* sent his son *Jebán Ghír* with a great army, who conquered it. This city lies about fifteen or sixteen leagues from *Abmed abad*, and is as big again as *Surát*; but not near so populous. The walls are of brick, defended by towers. The streets are large, with gates at the end; and the houses high. The castle is large, but not handsome: the town swarms with monkeys, who throw at passengers from the house-tops. The tides are so swift e in the north part of this gulf, that a horse at full speed cannot keep pace with the first waves. This, and the sea falling off from the city (E) a mile and a half, has much diminished the trade of the place f.

KAMBAYA is still a place of good trade, though not half inhabited; and contributes greatly *its trade* to the wealth and grandeur of *Surát*, to which it is subordinate: and its vicinity to *Abmed abad* makes it share the advantages of that large city; for most of what it exports comes to *Kambaya*, and is carried by the *Surát* shipping all over *India*; except what is transported to *Europe*.

f THE product and manufactures of this place are scarce inferior to any in the *Indies* and *manufac-* *Indies*. It abounds with grain and cattle, cotton and silk. The cornelian and agate-stones *tures* are found in its rivers, and no-where else in the world. Of the first they make rings, and stones for seals. They cut the agate into bowls, spoons, handles for swords and knives, snuff-boxes, buttons, and other curiosities. Our author has seen cabinets fourteen or fifteen inches long, and eight or nine deep, of one intire stone, excepting the lid, valued at thirty or forty pounds *English*. The people of *Kambaya* embroider the best of any in the *Indies*, and perhaps in the world: but they are much infested by their neighbours the *Patáns*, as well as the *Ráspúts* and *Koulis*; who have sometimes surprised and plundered the city. In 1716, they put a stop to trade; and, by their ambuscade, cut off 10,000 out of 20,000 men; sent against them by the governor of *Surát* g.

^a HAMILTON, ubi supr. p. 140, & seqq.

^e THEVENOT, part iii. p. 12.

^g HAMILTON, p. 144, & seqq.

(E) *Baldæus*, p. 1. says, the *Indus* falls into the gulf of *Kambaya*; and *Hamilton*, vol. i. p. 131, that the *Indus* reaches *Guzerát*, an island, by a branch, which

runs into the sea at the city of *Kambaya*. Yet *Thevenot*, and other travellers, place no river there at all.

Baroch.

THE next maritime city to *Kambaya* is *Baroch*; it stands on the east shore of the bay, on the side and at the foot of a high and steep hill, looking southward to the river *Nerdâba*. It is long and square, encompassed with stone-walls, eighteen feet high, flanked with round towers. The fortress stands well, but is neglected: here the *Bafta's* are made^h. These are famous all over *India*, the cotton of this country being the best in the world. It depends on *Surât*, and was formerly a place of great trade; but it suffered much in the wars, which, about 1660, *Aureng zîb* had with his brothers. For, having held out obstinately against the forces of that prince, who lost many men for want of water and provisions, he put to the sword all he found in arms; and razed part of the walls, pronouncing a curse on him who should repair them: yet *Sevaji's* incursions obliged him to order them to be rebuilt; and he called it *Sûk abâd*, or *the dry city*, although it still retains the old name. The *English* and *Dutch* had formerly factories here, but of late have withdrawn them.

Surât city.

SURAT, or *Surrât*, is twenty Kos (or leagues) from *Baroch*, situate on the banks of the river *Tâpti*, or *Tâpta*; and the present city is not much above ninety years standing: for, about 1660, the *Tâpti* being incommoded with sand-banks at *Ranîer*, the then mart-town on this river, the *English* removed two miles farther down, on the opposite side, near a castle; which had been built many years before, to secure the trade from the insults of the *Malabar* pirates. Soon after, others following their example, within a few years the place became a large town; but without walls: and so continued till the Râjah *Savaji* (in 1664) came and plundered all but the *European* factories; which stood on their guard. After this, at the request of the inhabitants, *Aureng zîb* inclosed with walls a space of ground, about four miles in compass, to build their city in: but, the number of people increasing with the trade, several large suburbs were added for the convenience of mechanics. The wall was built of brick, about eight yards (F) high; with round bastions, 200 paces asunder, each mounted with five or six cannonⁱ.

Inhabitants:

SURAT is very populous at all times; and from *December* to *April* so full of people, that both in the city and suburbs lodging can scarcely be had. It is inhabited by *Mohammedans*, *Hindûs*, and *Parsîs*. There are very rich people here. The *English* have settled here the greatest staple of their trade: the *Dutch* also have a factory in the place. The castle stands on the river to the south of the town, is square, and pretty large, with a wet ditch. The houses are flat, and pretty well built of brick: the streets large, and even; but there is no considerable public building within the walls. Provisions here of all sorts are plenty^k.

Its trade:

THIS city flourished in trade till the year 1686, when the *English* company disturbed its tranquility, by an unjust war which they made on *Surât*; and which ended in three years, neither to their profit nor honour. In 1695, its trade was molested, by Captain *Avery* taking one of the *Great Mogol's* ships, with a booty of 325,000*l.* and a young *Mohammedan* lady, on her return from *Mekka*; whom he kept: and since then the city has felt many convulsions in its commerce. In 1705, the neighbouring Râjahs, with an united force of 80,000 horse, plundered all the villages in the plain country, and then besieged *Surât*; but, having no artillery, they could do it no great harm; and, the river being open, they had every thing they wanted from *Guzerât*. These free-booters are composed of *Warrels*, *Koulîs*, *Râspûts*, *Pâtanners* (or *Pâtans*), and *Grasias*; but go under the general name of *Gannims*. The *Grasias* were formerly the landed men of this country; who, on their submission to *Akber*, articed to have the ground-rents paid them: but, as the Nabâbs often defraud them, they levy it themselves in the manner above-mentioned. While this rabble army lay before the place, the inhabitants built sconces about half a mile without the wall, and afterwards joined them by curtains: so that this new wall, which incloses the suburbs, extends about five miles from the bank of the river above the town, to that part which terminates below the town; and all the inclosure is well peopled.

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Richmerchant.

THE inhabitants of *Surât* are computed to be 200,000; and among them are many very rich men, as well *Mohammedans* as *Hindûs*. Our author was acquainted with one of the former, named *Abdol Gafour*, who drove a trade equal to the whole *English East India* company. His only son dying, he left his estate to two grandsons: but the court had a fling at them, and got above a million sterling out of their fortune. The commerce of this city is very considerable; for the revenues, arising from the customs, land-rents, and poll-money, amount, one year with another, to 162,500 pounds^l.

The port.

THE port of *Surât* is *Swalli*; two leagues north of the bar, or entrance of the *Tâpti*. It is distant from the city four leagues and a half: and to go to it by land, you cross the river at the town. There is good anchoring here; but, because the customs have been often stolen, no ships have been suffered to put in there since the year 1660; excepting those of the *English*

^h THEVENOT, p. 6, & seqq.ⁱ HAMILTON, p. 146, & seq.^k THEVEN. p. 15, & seq.^l HAMILTON, p. 44. 147, & seqq.(F) *Thevenot* says, only nine feet high; but as many thick.

a and *Dutch*, who have their magazines in the place. Since that time, the vessels of all other nations come to an anchor at the bar of *Surât*, which is only a road, and that an incommodious one, by reason of the sand-banks; there not being water enough to carry vessels, though unloaded, over the bar, till the spring-tides: but small barks may get-up to the city at any time ^m.

THERE are in *Gúzerât* about thirty-five cities, or considerable towns; among which may be reckoned several of the ports already mentioned; and all the rest are near the sea: but we shall only speak of two inland places. The first is *Brodra*; which lies between *Baroch* and *Kambaya*. It is a large modern city, with pretty good walls, and has above 200 towns and villages within its district; where store of lakka, or gum-lak, is found ⁿ. The second place is,

b AHMED ABAD, or *Ahmed's City*, so called from a king of that name, was before denominated *Guzerât*. Shâh *Jebân* nicknamed it *Gberd-abâd*, or the *Habitation of Dust*; because it was much incommoded therewith. It was the seat of the *Guzerât* kings, as it is now of the *Mogol* governor. The city stands in a lovely plain, and is watered by the little river *Sabre-metti*; which, though not deep, in time of rains overflows the plains prodigiously. The walls are built with stone and brick, flanked at certain distances with great round towers and battlements. It has twelve gates; and, including the suburbs, is about four miles and a half in length. It is distant from *Surât* eighty-six Kos; which make about forty-three *French* leagues. The streets are wide. The *Meydân Shâh*, or *King's Square*, is 700 paces long, and 400 broad, planted round with trees. On the west side is the castle, well walled with free-stone, and as spacious as a little city; but not very fair within: the karawanfaray is on the south of the square, and its chief ornament. Near the *Meydân* also is the king's palace; whose apartments are richly ornamented: and in the midst of the city the *English* factory. The place from an eminence appears like a wood, it is so full of gardens, stored with trees; among which, without the town, is the king's, very large, and full of agreeable walks. The *Hindûs* have here an hospital for sick birds, and another for sick beasts ^o. A late author says; that for magnitude and wealth this city is little inferior to the best in *Europe*; and that the revenue which it yields, is generally reckoned to be ten times as much as that of *Surât* ^p.

c THE province of *Agra* is one of the largest in all *Hindûstân*; and its capital, of the same name, the greatest city in the whole empire; distant from *Surât* about 210 leagues. It stands on the river *Jemna*, or *Jemini*, as some call it (named also *Chun*); which, rising in the mountains north of *Debli*, becomes a very considerable river at *Agra*, and falls into the *Ganges* at *Halabûs*. It was no more than a country-town, with a little castle of earth, when the *Great Mogol Akber*, pleased with the situation, enlarged it, and made it the seat of his empire, in 1566, calling it *Akber abâd*, or *Akber's City*. The present castle, built by him in place of the former, is the biggest in all the *Indies*. The walls are of stone and brick, terraced in several places, and twenty cubits high. Between it and the river is a large space, left for drawing up troops, and other diversions, in the emperor's view. The palace is in the castle; containing three courts, set round with porticos and galleries, all painted and gilt; nay some pieces are plated over with gold. Under the galleries of the first court are the lodgings for the *Imperial* guards: those for the officers are in the second court: and the third contains the stately apartments of the emperor and his ladies.

e THIS palace is accompanied with twenty-five or thirty other very large ones, all in a line; belonging to the princes and great lords of the court. On the same line are several lesser palaces, and other buildings; for all are desirous to enjoy the lovely prospect and convenience of the *Jemna*: which is the reason that the city is very long, but not broad; and, excepting a few fair streets; all the rest are very narrow and without symmetry. Before the king's palace (of which more will be said hereafter), there is a very large square; besides which there are twelve others in the city. But the chief ornament, next the palaces, is the karawanfarays, above sixty in number; some of which have six large courts, with their porticos. There are at *Agra* above 800 public baths, and a great number of mosks, with very magnificent sepulchres. Among the latter is that of *Akber*; but especially another, erected by Shâh *Jebân*, in honour of his beloved queen *Taje Máhl* (otherwise called *Nûr Máhl*), which are extremely beautiful; and shew, that the *Indians* are not ignorant in architecture, although theirs differs much from the *European*.

f AFTER all, *Agra* is very incommodious for the heats in summer-time. It is extremely crowded when the court is there; but at other times not over-populous: besides, the greater part being taken up by the palaces and gardens, it cannot contain so many inhabitants as some have reported. The generality of the houses are low, and those of the inferior sort of people made only of straw. The *Dutch* have a factory there, but the *English* are withdrawn ^q.

^m TREVENOT, p. 26, & seqq.
ubi supr. p. 144; 149.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 31.

^o TREVENOT, p. 33, & seqq.

^p Ibid. p. 3, & seqq.

^q HAMILT.

Fetipûr.

THE province of *Agra* hath above forty cities, or large towns, dependant on it; and, as they say, above 340 villages. Among the cities is *Fetipûr*, before called *Sikari*, about six leagues from *Agra*. *Akber*, having at the beginning of his reign rebuilt the walls, made it the seat of his empire. It was then a lovely palace; but, removing afterwards to *Agra*, it was quite abandoned, and is now much decayed: yet there is still a large square to be seen, adorned with fair buildings. The stately entrance of *Akber's* palace is still intire; and has adjoining to it one of the loveliest mosks in all the east, with a great reservatory near it; which supplied the whole city with water. *Biâna* and *Skânder abâd* are famous for indigo. This latter was formerly several leagues in length, having been the capital of a powerful *Patan* king; and in its neighbourhood are the ruins of ancient palaces and other buildings^r.

Skânder
abâd.Dehli pro-
vince.

THE province of *Dehli* lies to the north of *Agra*. The road betwixt the two capitals, and which reaches as far as *Labûr*, is that famous alley, or walk, 150 leagues in length, which *Jebân Ghîr* planted with trees. Each half-league is marked with a kind of turret, and at every stage there are little sarays, or karawanfarays, for lodging travellers. At that called *Shekê Saray*, six leagues from *Agra*, there is an antient pagod, one of the largest and fairest in the *Indies*; greatly frequented, before the *Jemna*, on which it stood, retired about half a league from it. The road, though tolerable, has many inconveniencies: it is not only frequented by wild beasts, but by robbers, so dextrous at casting a noose about a man's neck, that they never fail, if within reach, to seize and strangle him. They gain their point likewise by means of handsome women; who, feigning great distress, and being taken up behind the unwary traveller, choak him with the snare^s.

City of Dehli.

THE capital, *Dehli*, consists of three cities, built near one another. The first, now quite destroyed, is said, by the learned *Indians*, to have been the residence of king *Porus*, invaded by *Alexander*: they report also, that it had fifty-two gates. The second city is that which was taken by *Humayûn*. It was then beautified with several stately sepulchres of the *Patan* kings, and other monuments: but *Shâh Jebân* demolished it to build *Jebân abâd*; which makes the third city, and joins the ruins of the second. It stands in an open plain country, on the side of the *Jemna*; which rises in this province. The fortress, which is a mile and half in circuit, has good walls, with round towers, and ditches full of water, faced with stone. This citadel is surrounded with lovely gardens; and in it is the emperor's palace^t; of which more when we come to speak of the *Great Mogol's* court.

Fortress.

DEHLI, or *Jebân abâd*, is encompassed with walls, excepting towards the river. They are of brick, flanked with round towers; but without a ditch, and terraced behind four or five feet thick. The circuit of the walls may be about nine miles; but if you take into the city a very long suburb, through which the way lies to *Labûr*, with what remains inhabited of old *Dehli*, which is likewise a very large suburb, besides three or four other small ones, the whole would make in a line about a league and half^u.

Azmîr pro-
vince.

THE province of *Azmîr* (or *Ajmîr*), lies south-west of *Dehli*, east of *Sindi*, west of *Agra*, south of *Multân* and *Penjab*, and north of *Guzerât*. It hath been divided into three provinces, of *Bando*, *Jeselmîr*, and *Soret*. The capital bears the same name with the province, and is about sixty-two leagues from *Agra*.

City of Azmîr.

THE city *Azmîr* stands at the foot of a very high, and almost inaccessible mountain, which has at the top an exceeding strong castle; to ascend to it, one must go winding about for above a league. The city has stone-walls, and a good ditch. *Azmîr* is pretty large; but when the *Great Mogol* comes here, there is no stirring in it. The place is famous for the tomb of *Keja Mondî*, a *Mohammedan* saint; to which they resort from all parts in pilgrimage. Great quantities of salt-petre are made in this city, whose chief trade consists in it^x.

Sind, or Sindi.

THE province of *Sind*, or *Sindi*, by some called *Tâtta*, has *Azmîr* on the east; *Multân* to the north; a desert and the *Indian* sea to the south; and to the west *Mackrân*, and *Sejestân* in *Persia*. It extends from north to south, on both sides of the *Indus*, called by the orientals *Sindi*, or *Sind*; from whence the province takes its name.

City of Tâtta.

THE chief city is called *Tâtta*, and the most southern town *Diul*, or *Diul-sind*, and heretofore *Dobil*. Some orientals name the country of *Sind* the kingdom of *Diûl*. It is a province of great traffick, especially at *Tâtta*, where the *Indian* merchants buy a great many curiosities made by the inhabitants; who are wonderfully ingenious in all kinds of arts. The *Indus*, towards the *Tâtta*, forms a great many little islands; which, being very fruitful and pleasant, render it one of the most commodious cities of *Hindustan*, notwithstanding it is exceeding hot there. A great trade is likewise carried on at *Lowri Bânder*, three days journey from *Tâtta*, upon the sea-coast; where there is a better road for ships than in any other part of the *Indies*^y.

^r THEVENOT, p. 39, & seq.
Mem. Mog. Emp. part iii. p. 5, & seq.

^s Ibid. p. 40.

^t Ibid. p. 41, & seq.

^u BERNIER,

^x THEVENOT, p. 48, 54.

^y Ibid. p. 52, & seq.

a A LATE traveller, who calls this port *Larri Bundar*, says it stands five or six leagues from Lowri, *its* the sea, on a branch of the *Indus*, capable to receive ships of 200 tons. This mart is no *port*. more than a village of 100 houses, built with crooked sticks and mud: but has a large stone fort, mounted with four cannon, to protect the merchandize, brought thither from the *Bal-lowchis* and *Makkrâns* of *Persia*, on the west; and the *Jâms* of *Hindîstân* to the east; who often rob the *kasfilas*, which pass between this port and *Tâtta*, although escorted by one or two hundred horse; the country being almost level, and overgrown with shrubs and bushes, fit to cover their ambuscades.

TATTA is the emporium of the province, a very large and rich city: it is about three *Tâtta citadel*. miles long, one and a half broad, and about forty miles from *Larri Bînder*. It has a large citadel at its west end, capable of lodging fifty thousand men and horses, with convenient stabling, and a palace for the Nabâb, or viceroy. The city stands about two miles from the *Indus*, whence canals are cut to convey water to it. In 1699, no rain having fallen for three years, a plague ensued; which, in the town only, carried off above 80,000 manufacturers in silk and cotton².

TATTA is famous for learning in theology, philology, and politics; there being above 400 *Famous for* colleges in the city for training up youth in those studies. A *Seyd*, who was a professor in *learning*. theology, told our author, that their histories mentioned *Al xander* and *Porus*, by the names of *Shâb Hasânder* (G) and *Prorus*. He added, that *Hasânder*, being a great magician, summoned above a million of wild geese, which swam his army over the *Indus*; and that the elephants of *Prorus* would never turn their heads towards the place where *Hasânder* was. The *Portuguese* had formerly a church at the east end of the town. The house is still standing; and in the vestry there remain some pictures of saints, and holy vestments; which they offered to sell to our author. They have plenty of black cattle, large and good; horses *Cattle and* small, but hardy and swift. They hunt with dogs, leopards, and a fierce creature, called a *game*. *Shûgûs*. It is as big as a fox, with ears like a hare, and the face of a cat. Being shewed the game, deer or antelopes, it springs after them, leaps on their shoulders, and scratches their eyes out³.

THEY have but few coaches at *Tâtta*; because the *Europeans*, who only use them, seldom *Indian cha-* go thither: but they have chariots, which are exceeding neat, and convenient enough for *riots*. travelling. They are flat and even at the bottom, having a border four inches broad, with pillars all round, commonly eight; that is, one at each corner, and one on each side. Leather thongs are interwoven from pillar to pillar, to keep one from falling. Some, who will go to the charge, have ivory ballusters instead of pillars. The bottom is covered with a neat carpet, on which the party, who is carried through the town, sits after the eastern manner. Some cover it above with a slight canopy, to keep off the sun, when they go into the country. This machine hath no more than two wheels, no larger than the fore-wheels of our coaches. They do not advance beyond the sides of the chariot, have eight square spokes, and many times are not hooped with iron. Hackney-coaches to travel in are hired for twenty-five pence, or half a crown, *per* day: but are not so easy as our coaches, because not hung. The wheels of waggons, or carts for carrying goods, are made of one solid piece of timber. They are drawn by eight or ten oxen.

THE finest palankîns in all the *Indies* are made at *Tâtta*. It is a kind of coach with four *Palankîns*. feet, having on each side ballusters four or five inches high, and at each end a back-stay, like a child's cradle. This machine hangs on a *bambû* pole, five or six inches thick, arched in the middle, by means of two wooden frames nailed to the feet at each end, with rings at top, for fastening it to the pole by ropes. The whole is covered with a piece of callico, or red serge, if a woman be in it; but velvet, if a lady: if it threatens rain, a waxed cloth is the covering. In the bottom are laid mats and cushions, to lie or sit on: some have their palankîns covered with plates of silver, others only painted with flowers, or set round with gilt balls. They are commonly very dear. The *bambû* alone costs sometimes 100 crowns: but porters, of whom there are required two at each end, may be had for nine or ten shillings a month; out of which they maintain themselves⁴.

THE *Indus* at *Tâtta* is about a mile broad, and measured six fathom deep from side to *The Sindi, or* side. The stream is not very rapid, its motion not exceeding two miles and a half in an *Indus*. hour. It produces many kinds of fish, and among them the best carp the author ever tasted. The country is made fruitful by the overflowing of the *Indus*, in *April*, *May*, and *June*. It is navigable as high as *Kashmîr*, for their vessels, called *kaftîs*, which are of several sizes; the largest containing about 200 tons. They are flat-bottomed, with cabbins on each side, from stem to stern, which hang over about two feet, each furnished with a kitchen, and

² HAMILT. p. 115, & seqq.³ HAMILT. p. 125, 128.⁴ THEVENOT, p. 53, & seq.(G) In other parts, as *Tanjaor*, he is known by the name of *Javana Rajab*, the king of the Javans, or Greeks. See *Litt. Ediff.* tom. xxvi. p. 230.

place of exoneration. These are for passengers; and the hold is made into separate apartments a for traders. Our author never saw better conveniences for going by water, in all his travels. They have one mast, and a square sail: but hawl the ship up the stream when the wind is against them. So that they are six or seven weeks in a voyage from *Tatta* to *Labûr*: altho' they return in eighteen days, and sometimes in twelve. It would be difficult to find the mouth of the *Sindi*, were it not for the tomb of a *Mohammedan* saint, with a high tower over it, called *Sindi Tower*, and always kept white, to serve for a land-mark. The bar, going into the river, is narrow, and has not above two fathom and a half on spring tides: but this is only a small branch of the *Indus*; which appellation is lost in this country, where it is called *Drivelli*, or *Seven Mouths*: a though it discharges its waters into the sea by many more^c.

Multân province,

THE province of *Multân*, which includes that of *Bukor*, has to the south *Sind*, to the north *Kâbul*, with *Persia* to the west, and *Labûr* to the east. It is watered by many rivers, which makes it fertile.

and city.

THE city of *Multân*, which is by some ascribed to *Sind*, is but small for a capital; yet it is pretty well fortified, and of great importance as a frontier, since *Kandabâr* is in the hands of the *Persians*. It has many good cities under its jurisdiction, as *Kozdâr*, or *Kordâr*, *Kandav. l.*, *Sandur*, and others. *Multân* furnishes the best bows, and nimblest dancers, in all *Hindûstân*. Being not far from the *Indus*, it had formerly a very good trade: but as at present vessels cannot ascend so high up, because the river is spoiled in some places, and the mouth full of shelves, the traffick is much diminished. However the province yields abundance of cotton, c sugar, opium, galls, brimstone, and camels. *Multân* is the chief resort of the *Banîyâns*, for sake of trading into *Persia*, by *Gâzna* and *Kandabâr*. They are very jealous of their wives, who are fairer than the men, yet still of a very brown complexion, and given to paint. This city is properly the country of the *Kâtri* (or *Kutteri*); who, from thence, disperse themselves all over the *Indies*. These two sects (or casts) have a famous pagod here, to which pilgrimages are performed. The idol worshipped there, is clothed in red leather, has a black face, and two pearls in place of eyes: but the *Mohammedan* governor takes the offerings, which are made to it^d.

Kâbulestân.

THE province of *Kâbul*, or *Kâbulestân*, is separated on the north from *Tartary* by *Kâf Dâghi* (that is, *Mount Caucasus*); *Kashmîr* lies to the east, *Zâbulestân* and *Kandabâr* to the west, and *Multân* to the south. The country, though watered by two of the rivers which fall into the *Indus*, yet, being very cold and mountainous, is not very fruitful: for all this, it is very rich, on account of its great trade with the rest of *India*, *Persia*, and the country of the *Uzbeks*; who alone sell there yearly above 60,000 horses. It is situated so conveniently for traffick, that nothing is wanting there, and all things are very cheap.

City of Kâbul.

THE city of *Kâbul* is very large, and has two strong castles, with a great many palaces; as kings have resided there, and princes successively have had it for their portion.

THIS province is full of aromatic trees and drugs, which are very profitable; and yields iron, which is fit for all uses. Mirabolans grow in the mountains, whence that fruit is called *kâbuli* by the orientals; and from hence especially come the canes, of which they make e halberts and lances. *Kâbulestân* is full of small cities, towns, and villages. As most of the inhabitants are heathens, there are a great many pagods there. At the full moon in *February* they celebrate the feast of *Hûli*, which lasts two days, in honour of *Krushman* (or *Krishna*) slaying a giant. This country supplies the *Indies* with physicians; who are all *Banjâns* (or *Baniyâns*), and some of them very skilful^e.

Kashmîr: its site;

THE province of *Kashmîr*, or *Kishmîr*, is bounded on the west by *Kâbulestân*, on the east by part of *Tibet*, on the south by *Labûr*, and on the north by *Tartary* (G). It is surrounded intirely by mountains, of very difficult ascent, and crossed (only in two or three places) by very narrow passages. It is one of those countries called *Turk Hind*, that is, the *India* of the *Turks*, or the *Turkey* of *India*; as having formerly belonged to the kings of *Turkestân*.

extent;

KASHMIR is a very fair champain, diversified by little hillocks, about thirty leagues in length, and ten or twelve in breadth (H). Their histories say, that it was once a great lake, till the holy man let out the waters, by a miraculous gap which he made in the mountain of *Baramoule*. The mountains which inclose this little kingdom consist of two ranges, the higher and the lower. The latter, which are next to the plain, are of a middle height, all green with trees or pasture; stored with all sorts of cattle and game, without any

^c HAMILT. p. 125, & seqq.

^d THEVENOT, p. 55, & seqq.

^e Ibid. p. 57, & seq.

(G) *Sbarîfo'ddîn Ali*, in his life of *Timûr Bek*, l. iv. p. 95. says *Kashmîr* is of an oval figure; that it has on the north *Budakshân* (in *Great Bukharia*) and *Khorassân*; with the hords of the *Ougâni* (*Augân*, or *Afgâns*), on the west.

(H) The flat country in the middle is twenty leagues

in breadth, from mountain to mountain. In the whole province there are 10,000 flourishing villages, full of fountains and green plains: but according to the common opinion, there are no fewer than 100,000 in the plains and mountains. *Tim. Bek*, l. iv. p. 95, & seqq.

a wild beasts. Above these mountains rise others, exceeding high, and always covered with snow.

Out of all these mountains issue innumerable springs and rivulets; which, at last, meeting, ^{springs and} make a very fair river, as large as the *Seine*: and this river, having gently made the circuit ^{rivers.} of the country, and passed through the capital city, goes out of *Kashmîr* at *Baramoule*, between two steep rocks. After this, it receives many small rivers, from the mountains, and falls into the *Indus* towards *Atok*. The country, being so plentifully watered, looks like a great ever-green garden, intermixed with towns and villages. They have here all sorts of *European* fruit-trees, with many of their plants and flowers, besides those of the country^c.

THE capital, which bears the same name (I) (and is by some called *Sirenâker*), is ^{The capital} without walls, two miles and a quarter long, to a mile and half broad; about two leagues ^{Sirenâker.} from the mountains, and standing on a lake of sweet water, four or five miles in compass. It is made by the rivulets from the mountains, and falls, by a navigable canal, into the river, which passes through the city, where it is crossed by two wooden bridges. The houses are of wood, well built, and two or three stories high, with gardens. The lake is full of little isles, adorned with trees and shady walks. Beyond the lake, on the side of the hills, there is nothing but houses and gardens of pleasure, which make a charming prospect.

THE finest of all those gardens is that of the king, called *Shâb-limar*. From the lake one ^{Fine garden.} enters it by a great canal, which is above 500 paces long, and runs, between two alleys of poplars, to a great cabinet in the middle of the garden; where begins another more magnificent canal, which runs to the end of the garden to another cabinet, with a row of water-spouts in the middle, at every fifteen feet. These cabinets which are made like domes, in the midst of the canal, have each a gallery round it, and four gates; two facing the poplar alleys, with bridges to pass over them; the two others look towards the canals. Each cabinet consists of a great chamber in the middle, and four lesser ones at each corner, all painted and gilded within. The gates are very rich, made of great stones, finer than porphyry^f.

IT is not without cause that the *Mogols* call *Kashmîr* the paradise of the *Indies*; and that *Jehân Ghîr* was so enamoured with it, as to say, he would sooner lose all the rest of his empire than this little province; whose dominion once extended over all the neighbouring mountains (including the *Little Tibet*, the state of *Râjab Gamon*, *Kâshgar*, and *Serenâgher*), as ^d far as *Great Tatar*y, and over all *Hindûstân*, as far as the island of *Seylân*, or *Ceylon*.

THE inhabitants of *Kashmîr* have the reputation of being very witty, much more intelligent ^{Inhabitants} and dexterous than the *Indians*, and as fit for poetry and the sciences as the *Persians*. They ^{very witty,} are besides very industrious: they make *Paleki's* (or *Palankîns*), and various kinds of moveables, which they varnish very curiously, and vend all over the *Indies*; but their most profitable manufacture are the stuffs called *shales*. These are an ell and a half long to one broad, embroidered at the ends twelve inches deep. The *Mogols* and *Indians*, of both sexes, wear them in winter on their heads, passing them over their left shoulder, like a mantle. They make two sorts; one of the wool of the country, finer than the *Spanish*; the other of hair, finer than beaver, taken from the breast of a wild goat in *Great Tibet*. Of this sort some cost ^e 150 crowns; the price of the other sort seldom exceeds fifty.

THE *Kashmîrians* look as well as any *Europeans*; having nothing of the *Tatarian* flat nose, ^{and handsome,} and little eyes, like those of *Kâshgar*, and most of the people of *Great Tibet*. The women especially are very beautiful; and as fair as in any part of *Europe*^s. This beauty of the females is confirmed by a famous *Persian* author; who says, it has passed into a proverb among the *Persian* poets. There are three roads into the country; that from *Khorassân*, in *Persia*, is so difficult, that the passengers are obliged to carry their goods on their backs, which the beasts are not able to do. The road of *Indic* is equally difficult. That of *Tobbot*, or *Tibet*, is easiest^h. *Akbar* took this kingdom from *Justaf Khân*, its natural prince, after he had reduced his son *Yâkûb* by forceⁱ.

^f THE province of *Labûr* lies to the south of *Kashmîr*, and north of *Dehli*. *Moltân* lies to ^{the west,} the west, and to the east are high mountains, in many places inhabited by *Râjabs*; part of ^{whom are independent.} whom are independent. This is one of the largest and most plentiful provinces of the *Indies*. It is rendered fertile by the rivers, especially five; whence it takes the name of *Panjâb*; that is, ^{five rivers.} is, five rivers. Rice, corn, and fruits, abound here. It has pretty good wine, and the best sugars of all *Hindûstân*. All sorts of manufactures are found in the towns, which make it a rich country.

THE capital city, called *Labûr*, is 100 leagues from *Dehli*, and 150 from *Agra*, the whole *Lahûr city*; road being a lovely alley between shady trees. *Multân* lies threescore and odd leagues distant.

^c BERNIER, ubi supr. part iv. p. 83, & seqq. ubi supr. part iv. p. 90—97.

^f Ibid. ubi supr. part iv. p. 85, & seqq.

^s Ibid.

^h Hist. Tim. Bek, l. iv. p. 96.

ⁱ THEV. ubi supr. p. 59.

(I) In the time of *Timur Bek*, called *Nâgaz*, where the prince and his court resided. The river, though very rapid, comes from a single fountain. It had over

it more than thirty bridges of boats, seven of them in the city. *Tim. Bek*, l. iv. p. 96.

It is situated on the *Râvi*, one of the five rivers above-mentioned, which all fall into the *a*
Indus. This city, which is large, was very handsome when the kings kept their court in it.
 The castle, which still remains, is very strong; nor has the royal palace within it yet lost its
 beauty: there are a great many pompous paintings on the walls, representing the actions of
 the *Great Mogols*. It was only a borough before the time of *Humayûn*; who made a city of
 it, built the castle, and kept his court there. By this means it so increased, that, in a short
 time, it extended no less than three leagues in length. At present, there are streets above a
 league in length, full of ruinous palaces; and the houses run daily to decay.

THERE are a great many pagods on the road from *Labûr* to *Debli*, especially towards the
 town of *Tanassar*; where there is a convent of religious *Hindûs*, called *Vartias*^k.

Ayud, or
 Audih.

THE province of *Ayud*, or *Hawd*, contains the most northern countries belonging to the *b*
Mogols, as *Kakares*, *Bânkish*, *Nâgarkut*, *Siba*, and others. It is watered by rivers which fall
 into the *Ganges*; so that, notwithstanding the mountains which are in it, it is exceeding fer-
 tile; and its trade with the countries to the north-east renders it very rich. There are many
 independent *Râjabs* in this province, and two pagods of great note, one at *Nâgarkût*, which
 is by far most famous, because dedicated to the idol *Mâtta*. The other at *Kalamâk*, which
 is venerated, because the *Indians* look on it as a miracle, that the water of the town should
 be very cold, and yet spring from a rock which continually belches out flames. This rock
 belongs to the mountain of *Balagât*^l. This province is written *Audih* by *Frazer*, who makes
 the capital of the same name.

Varad, or
 Varal.

THE province of *Varad*, or *Varal*, resembles in every respect that of *Ayud*, as to soil, fer- *c*
 tility, trade, and wealth. It contains the more north-eastern countries of *Hindûstân*; namely
Gor, *Pitân*, *Kandûâna*, and some others^m.

Beker pro-
 vince.

BEKAR comprises the provinces of *Dowâb* (K), *Jesuat*, and *Udesseb*. It is watered also by
 rivers which fall into the *Ganges*, like *Ayud* and *Varad*. It lies east of *Debli*, and is the most
 eastern province of *Hindûstân*; which on that side is bounded by the mountains of *Udesseb*.
 It is large and very rich, containing several good cities; the principal of which are *Sâmbal*,
Menapûr, *Râjabpûr*, *Jebânak*, and especially *Bekâner*, which is the capital, situate to the west
 of the *Ganges*. In this province, and the two above-mentioned, there are to be found some
 of all the casts and tribes of the *Indians*; which are said to be eighty-four in numberⁿ.

Halabâs pro-
 vince,

THE province of *Halabâs*, formerly called *Purop*, comprehends those of *Narvar* and *d*
Mevât, which have on the south *Bengâl*. The chief city bears the same name (L), and is
 situate on the *Ganges*, at the mouth of the river *Jemini* (or *Jemua*). For a long time it was
 one of the bulwarks of the kingdom of the *Patans*. *Akber* having taken it, after he had
 subdued *Bengâl*, caused a strong citadel to be built there; which stands on a tongue of land,
 inclosed with three walls, whereof the outmost is of very hard red stone. In this castle is a
 very antient obelisk, above sixty feet high, with many inscriptions on it; but the letters are
 so defaced that one cannot distinguish the characters.

and city.

THE king's palace is a beautiful building; and underneath it there are places arched;
 where the pagods of the country are kept, which the people of the province ascribe to *Adam*
 and *Eve*; who, they believe, were created there, and whose religion they pretend to follow. *e*
 This brings, at certain times, incredible numbers of people in pilgrimage from all parts of
 the *Indies*; who, before they approach the sacred place, purify themselves in the *Ganges*, and
 shave their heads as well as beards.

THERE are a great many considerable cities in this province; among which are *Narvâl* and
Jebûd: but the people are so various and extravagant in point of religion, that one can
 hardly tell what to make of it. *Halabâs* is pestered with *Fakirs*, a kind of religious mendi-
 cants, who perform strange penances, and are great knaves; but not quite so bad as the
Mohammedan Fakirs^o.

Bengâl pro-
 vince.

THE province of *Oulesser*, which we call *Bengâl*, is named by the *Hindûs*, *Jaganat*, from *f*
 the pagod of *Jaganat*, which is there. It is inhabited mostly by *Hindûs*; who are as fantastical in
 their religion as those of *Halebis*, and a hundred times more numerous than the *Mohammedans*.
 They are, for the general, extremely voluptuous, have a piercing wit, and much given to
 stealing. The women themselves are bold and lascivious; using all sorts of arts to debauch
 young men, especially strangers, whom they easily trepan, because they are handsome, and
 go well-dressed. The people here live much at ease, because the country is so fruitful. One
 finds here above 20,000 Christians. This province was kept in far better order under the
Pâtan kings, who reigned there before the *Mohammedans* and *Mogols* became masters of it;

^k THEV. ubi supr. p. 60, & seq.

^l Ibid. p. 62.

^m Ibid.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 63.

^o Ibid. p. 66.

(K) *De Laet de magni mogolis imperio*, p. 11. says
Do ab signifies the country between the two rivers, as
 lying between the *Ganges* and *Jemni*, and seems to be

the same called by others *Sâmbal*, or *Sâmbel*.

(L) Formerly called *Praya*; some write *Praga*.

a because there was then uniformity in religion. It has been found, that disorder was introduced with *Mohammedism*, and that diversity of religions hath caused corruption of manners^f.

BENGAL is by some travellers esteemed more fertile than *Egypt*. It supplies many foreign *Fertility* countries with rice, sugar, and sweetmeats. For half-a-crown one may have twenty good pullets; also ducks and geese in proportion. Kid, mutton, and pork, are in great plenty. No country affords such store of calicoes and silks, salt-petre, lakka, opium, wax, and civet. The worst of all to strangers is the air.

b BENGAL, taking it near a hundred leagues in length, on both sides of the *Ganges*; from *Râjab Mâhl* to the sea, is full of great canals, formerly cut out of that river, with vast labour, and reaching far into the country, for the conveniency of transporting commodities. These canals are on both sides lined with towns and villages; to which belong large fields, bearing rice, sugar-canes, corn, sesamum, small mulberry and other trees. These, joined to the vast number of great and small islands, made by those canals, give an incomparable beauty to the country^g.

BENGAL is full of castles and cities; as *Philipâtan*, *Satigan*, *Patane*, *Kasan Bazâr*, and *Chatigan*. As the *Indians* esteem the *Ganges* sacred, their chief pagods are built near it; among which the two chief are those of *Jaganat* and *Banârûs*. In short, here idolatry reigns triumphant^h. The chief towns on the west branch of the *Ganges* are, first, *Hughli* (or *Ogûli*), a place of great trade. The *Dutch* have a factory at *Chinchura*, which is contiguous to it, and *Hughli*. c another at *Barnagur*, twenty miles lower. A little below that, the *English* have a factory, called *Fort William*, at the town of *Kalkutta*; and about three miles below *Hughli*, at *Char-nagur* (or *Cbandernagor*), the *French* have a factory.

KASSEM BAZAR, or *Kasan Bazâr*, is a large and rich town, about 100 miles above *Hughli*. *Kâstem* Here the *English* and *Dutch* have factories. Twelve miles higher is *Mâsfûd abâd*, or *Râjab* *Bazâr*. *Mâhl*, formerly the greatest place for trade on the *Ganges*, before it removed to *Kâstem Bazâr*. Forty or fifty miles to the east of *Râjab Mâhl* is *Mâldo*, a large town, where the *English* and *Dutch* had factories. The next city is *Pâtana*, or *Pâtna*, where the prince of *Bengâl*, who is always of the royal blood, resides. About 100 miles farther up stands *Bannâres* (M) (or *Banâres* or *Banârûs*), which is celebrated for its sanctity, and being the university of the *Indies*. *Kâshi*.

d ON the easternmost branch of the *Ganges*, which is largest, lies *Dâkka*, or *Dâak*, under the tropic of *Cancer*, the largest city in all *Bengâl*, and properly the capital. It is narrow; *Dâkka the capital* but extends four miles and half along the river. Most of the houses are only of canes covered with earth. The *English* and *Dutch* houses are more solid. As the tide comes up as high as *Dâkka*, it renders trade there very easy. Fifty leagues lower this branch of the *Ganges* falls into the sea, 100 leagues distant from the western mouth, or branch, at *Chittagoung*, called by the *Portugueses* *Xatigâm* (or *Sbatigâm*), the last town of *Bengâl*, and the *Mogol's* empire, eastward; at present a very poor placeⁱ.

THE province of *Mâlva* lies to the west of *Bengâl* and *Halabâs*. It includes the countries *Mâlva pro-* of *Râjab Rânas*, *Gwâliar*, and *Chitôr*. This province is very fertile, and produces whatever *vince* is found in the rest. *Ratispôr* is the capital, and place of greatest traffick. It is situated on a *Ratispôr the* mountain. Traitors condemned to die are sent to the castle of this city; from the top of *capital* which they are precipitated. *Mândo* is a fine city, seated at the foot of a hill, on the top of which stands the castle. The ruins of temples and palaces shew it to have been a large and sumptuous place. *Chitôr* is likewise a famous city, but almost ruined. It stands on a *Chitôr* very high hill, which is plain at top, walled about at least ten miles. The remains of 100 pagods, many fair palaces, and above 100,000 houses, are still visible. There is but one ascent to it, cut in the rock, and secured with four gates. It was taken by *Akber* from *Râjab Rânas*^j. Row mentions, as the chief cities, *Ujen*, (or *Eujin*) the present capital, *Nar*, and *Seringe*.

f KANDISH (or *Khandeysh*) lies to the south of *Mâlva*; and they who reduced the number of *Kandish pro-* provinces joined to it *Berar* (N), and what the *Great Mogol* possesses of *Orixa*. The whole *vince* taken together is of vast extent; is full of populous towns and villages, and few countries in all the empire equal it for riches. It abounds with cotton, and manufactures of that produce^k. In the above-mentioned province of *Berar* (of which *Row* and *Terry* make *Shâpûr*; or *Shâkpûr*, the capital) *Herbert* places the fortrefs of *Rota*, or *Roughâtâz*, made impregnable both by *Fortrefs of* nature and art^l. It is seated on a hill, the sides of which are perpendicular. There is only *Rotâs*.

^f THEV. p. 67. HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 17, & seqq.

^g BERNIER, ubi supr. part iv. p. 149, & seqq.

^h THEV. p. 68.

ⁱ HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 19, & seqq. THEV. p. 68.

^j Ibid. p. 69. TERRY,

p. 82.

^k THEV. p. 71.

^l HERB. Trav. Ind. p. 63.

(M) Called also *Waranâsi*, and *Vâna Râjab*; and, by the *Hindûs* in the peninsula on this side *Ganges*, *Kâfi*, or *Kâshi*.

(N) Which before belonged to *Bengâl*, according to *Herbert*, p. 63, of his Travels.

one way of going up (O) to the top, where there is a plain sowed with rice and corn, half a league in compafs (P). He adds, that the castle is fortified with six bastions, and twenty-seven pieces of cannon, with three moats full of water, and replenished with good fish. The plain is watered by above twenty springs; but all the rest of the mountain is a steep precipice, covered with over-grown woods. The *Râjabs* formerly used to live in this fort with 7 or 800 men: but the *Great Mogol* took it by the policy of *Amîr Jemla*, although before it was never forced by any king of *India*^y. *Herbert*, who was in *India* in the year 1636, says, it was then in the hands of the *Great Mogol*, and was taken by stratagem, as will be related hereafter, by *Mobeb Ali Khân* in the reign of *Akbar*^z.

Brâmpûr the capital.

THE capital of *Kandîsh* is *Brâmpûr*, about eighty leagues from *Surât*. The governor is commonly a prince of the blood, of which *Aureng Zib* affords an instance. It is a great city, standing on such very uneven ground, that the low streets look like ditches, when viewed from the higher: and these inequalities occasion much fatigue. The houses are not handsome, being of earth; but, as they are covered with varnished tiles of divers colours, the roofs, seen through variety of green trees, make an agreeable prospect. The *meydân* is above 500 paces long and 350 wide: but the ugly huts where fruit and herbs are sold, of which it is full, makes it look unhandsome. Two *karawânserays* stand facing it; and from it you enter the castle; whose walls are six or seven fathom high, with battlements, and at intervals large round towers, jetting far out, above thirty paces diameter. The east front of it is washed by the *Tâpti*, which runs by the east side of the city; and in that part the walls are eight fathom high, with neat galleries at top. Whence the emperor, when at *Brâmpûr*, views the fighting of elephants, which is commonly in the midst of the river; where there is the figure of that animal in reddish stone, erected by *Shâh Jehân*, in memory of one which died fighting in his presence: for the palace is within the castle.

Great trade.

THE water of the river being brackish, the inhabitants are supplied from a large tank, or basin, which is in the *meydân*. Beyond the *Tâpti* is a pretty large suburb. The trade of *Brâmpûr* equals that of any other city. Besides chints, there are white calicoes mixed with gold and silver; whereof the rich make veils, scarfs, handkerchiefs, and coverings. The same trade is driven at *Orixa* (or *Orîsha*), *Berar*, and other towns of this province^a.

BESIDES the provinces already described, five more belong to the *Mogol's* empire; namely, *Ballagât Proper*, *Baglâna*, *Telenga*, *Viziapur*, and *Golkonda*; the description of which will be given, when we come to treat of the hither peninsula of the *Indies*, wherein they are situated.

^y TAVERN. Trav. Ind. part ii. c. 13, p. 139.

^z HERB. ubi supr.

^a THEV. p. 71, & seq.

(O) *Herbert* says, the way is cut obliquely in the firm rock for three miles together.

(P) *Herbert* says, the plain at top is eight miles

in diameter, and twenty-four in circumference; abounding with water and necessaries: also that sixteen villages were inclosed within the castle-wall.

C H A P. III.

Inhabitants of Hindûstân.

Various nations.

HINDUSTAN is inhabited by several different kinds of people; as the *Hindûs*, the *Pâtans*, or *Afghâns*, the *Baluchis*, the *Parsîs*, and the *Mogols*, or *Tatars*; besides several foreigners, particularly *Jews* and *Christians*, of various sects. All, excepting the *Hindûs*, who are the antient inhabitants, have settled there by conquest, or accident; having been induced by commerce, or compelled by war, and persecution, to abandon their native countries.

The Hindûs.

THE *Hindûs* are the original occupants; and, though subject to the *Mogol*, still preserve the superiority in numbers: being at least a hundred to one (A) compared with all the rest.

The Parsîs.

THE *Parsîs* are the descendants of the ancient *Persians* (B), who worshipped the fire. These, to avoid the persecutions or oppressions of the *Mohammedans*, on their first conquest of *Persia*, fled in great numbers by sea to *India*; where they settled on the western peninsula, chiefly about *Surât*, and there they still remain.

The Pâtans.

THE *Pâtans* were those from whom the *Mogols* conquered *Hindûstân* (C). Authors are divided about their original. Some say, they came from *Pâtna*, or *Pâtana*, a province in

(A) Some say many hundreds to one.

(B) *Parsi* signifies one belonging to *Pârs*, or *Persia*.

(C) *Thevenot* makes the *Pâtan* kings to have reigned in *Hindûstân*, before the *Mohammedans* and *Mogols* con-

quered it. Trav. Ind. ch. 40. p. 68. *Frazer* says, the *Pattans* and *Afghâns* are the same people. Hist. of *Nadir Shâh*, p. 7.

- a *Bengál*, beyond the *Ganges*^a. But it is more likely they are the descendants of those *Mohammedans*, *Turks*, *Persians*, and *Arabs*, who, about the year 1000, first became masters of *Dehli* and *Multán*, under Soltán *Mahmúd Gázni*^b. These people are still very numerous throughout *Hindústán*, chiefly in the north-west parts, towards *Kábul*, *Gházná*, and *Kandabár*; from whence, in all probability, they originally came. They still inhabit the same provinces of the *Persian* empire, where they are chiefly known by the name of *Afgháns* (D). They have a great aversion to the *Mogols*, for having dispossessed them of their territories; and, being high-spirited, still entertain hopes of recovering from them what they seized. The meanest of them frequently use this expression, *Let me never be king of Dehli, if it be not so*. These people are fierce and warlike. They now possess many of the mountainous parts;
- b where some have erected petty sovereignties, like the *Rájabs*^c. They have, from time to time, given great uneasiness to the *Mogols*; and had no small share in the late revolution brought about in that empire by *Nádir Sháh*.

THE *Baluchis* are another nation who possess several parts of *Hindústán*, to the west of the *Sind*, or *Indus*; particularly the province of *Hajakbán*^d. But in *Persia*, where also they seem to have had their original, they are masters of a much greater dominion; for they are spread over all the large province of *Makrán*, and the neighbouring parts. They are a barbarous people, given to rapine: nor do they pay much obedience to either of the monarchs to whom they are reckoned as subjects.

- c THE *Moguls*, or *Jagatays*, are the present lords of *Hindústán*, where they reign over the *rest*, for the most part, with an absolute sway. To these five nations we may add the *Europeans* who have settled there; particularly the *Portugueses*, *Spaniards*, *English*, *Dutch*, *French*, and *Danes*. The first established themselves along the coasts of both peninsulas, and in the islands, chiefly by force; but were afterwards dispossessed almost every-where by the *Dutch*. The *Spaniards* also made some conquests, as that of the *Philippine* islands: but the other three nations settled in the *Indies* by treaty with the inhabitants, or permission of their kings.

Of the several nations above-mentioned, the *Hindús* and *Parsís* are pagans; but excel all the rest in modest deportment, and the practice of virtue. The *Pátans*, *Baluchis*, and *Mogols*, are *Mohammedans*. The two first being given to arms, and of a restless disposition, are subject on slight occasions to revolt, and plunder their neighbours, without distinction.

- d However, the *Pátans* and *Mogols* are pretty strict observers of their law, and the rules of justice, at least among themselves.

HAVING given our readers this general idea of the several nations inhabiting *Hindústán*, we proceed to treat more particularly of three of them, viz. the *Mogols*, the *Hindús*, and the *Parsís*.

I.

Of the Mogols, or Jagatays.

- e THE natives of *Hindústán* are like the *Europeans* as to stature: but generally very strait; for our author never saw or heard of any crooked or deformed person; nay, nor any idiot, or natural fool, among them. Their complexion is of a deep tawny, or olive colour: their hair jet black, very harsh, but not curled. They like not people who are very white or fair; because that is the colour of lepers, who are common in those parts.

Most of the *Mohammedans*, except their priests and antient men, keep their chins constantly shaven: but let the hair on their upper lip grow very long; and keep it of the natural colour, by means of black-lead combs. They likewise shave their heads all over, leaving only a lock on the crown, by which they expect to be drawn up to heaven by their prophet *Mohammed*. They wear, instead of hats or bonnets, a kind of turban, made with a piece of narrow callico, wound several times about the head^e.

- f THE inhabitants in general are very civil and courteous, as well to strangers as one another. They salute not by pulling off their head-attire, but by bowing their head, or their body, laying the right hand on their breast, and uttering compliments as they pass. The meaner people salute their superiors in a very submissive or abject manner; either by putting their right hand to the ground, and then laying it on their head, or else by falling on their knees, and then bowing their head to the earth. In their more familiar salutations, they take each other by the chin or beard (E), and cry, *Bába*, father, or *Bij*, brother. Their usual compli-

^a TERRY Voy. East Ind. sect. vii. BERNIER's Memoirs, c. 2. p. 17.

^c BERNIER, *ibid*.

^e TERRY Voy. Ind. p. 376. sect. 5.

(D) Or, as others write, *Agwáns*, *Auguán*: according to their different way of pronouncing the word. *Frazer*, in his history of *Nádir Sháh*, p. 7, says, the *Pátans* and *Afgháns* are the same. So do some of our old

^b See Hist. Turks, Moguls, &c. p. 754, & seqq.

^d TERRY Voy. Ind. p. 387. sect. 7. fol. edit.

^e TERRY

English travellers, such as *Steel*, and *Crowther* in *Purchas Pilgr.* vol. i. p. 521.

(E) This is an antient custom; for so *Joab* saluted *Amaja*.

ments at meeting are, *God give health: I wish you the prayers of the poor, or that one good may arrive to you quick after another.* Inferior people, whose dependance is on others, say, *I eat your bread and salt*; as much as to say, I am your servant, and at your disposal.

The mens dress. THE dress of the *Hindûstâns* is all the same, in great and small, rich and poor, differing only in the cost; for they never alter their fashions. Their coats to the waist fit close to their bodies, from whence they hang loose a little below their knees, the skirts sitting pretty full. These coats are fastened to their shoulders by slips of the same cloth, which is commonly white callico (F), and likewise to their waists, in the same manner, on both sides: besides, as they double over the breast, they are there also fastened, or made close, by such slips of cloth, thick set from the left arm-pit to the middle. The sleeves are long and tight, that they may ruffle from their elbows to their wrists. Under this out-coat they usually wear another slight one, of the same cloth, but shorter, in the nature of a vest: and this is all the cloathing generally worn on the upper part of their bodies. But some of the greater sort, in the cooler parts of the day, slip on loose coats over the other, made of quilted silk or callico, or else of *English* scarlet cloth: for that is the colour they most affect. Under their coats they wear long breeches, like trowsers, which fall down to their ankles, and ruffle on the small of their legs: for their feet are always bare in their shoes; but as clean as their hands.

Head attire. THE covering of their heads is made with a long piece of cloth, about half a yard broad, commonly white, and sometimes interwoven with threads of silk, gold, or silver, at least at one end, for ornament. This cloth, which they call a *sash*, winds round the head several times, and is a very great defence against the sun. However, as it must keep their heads hot, they endeavour to remedy that inconvenience by continual shaving. They have girdles of the same kind of *sashes*, which go twice at least about them, the ends hanging down before.

Womens dress. THE dress of the *Mohammedan* women differs but little from that of the men, wearing coats and breeches of the same fashion; only they bind their hair with long fillets, which hang down behind. They wear likewise on their heads mantles or veils of callico, which hang down over their other garments. They bore their ears not only in the flaps, but round the rims, in which they wear small pendants, made of thin and narrow pieces of gold or silver, brass or iron, according to the quality of the person. The lower part of their left nostril is also pierced, for putting in rings of those metals, at pleasure; the ends of their gold rings meeting in a pearl drilled for the purpose. As the women of prime quality never appear abroad, our author could not say in what manner they were adorned with jewels: but he observed, that some of the better sort, whom he had seen, wore great hollow rings of gold enamelled, silver, or brass, upon their wrists and the small of their legs, two or three on each limb; which make a tinkling when they move^f.

Their diet. ALTHOUGH *Hindûstân* affords abundance of flesh and fowl, which are exceeding cheap, yet the *Mohammedans*, who are very temperate, do not feed much on them; and when they do, it is sparingly, and in conjunction with other diet. They dress no kind of meat in whole joints, and seldom their fowls whole; boiling, baking, and roasting, being parts of cookery quite unknown to them. They stew all their flesh, cut into slices or small pieces, putting to it onions, herbs, roots, green ginger, and other spices, with some butter; which makes a mess exceeding palatable. They sometimes with their other flesh mince that of fowls; which is like the *Spanish* oleo, but more delicious. But their common dish is rice; which they boil plump, without letting it break; seasoning it with ginger, pepper, and butter. In this form it is very good. Sometimes they make pillaw, by boiling pieces of flesh, venison, mutton, or fowls, in their rice, which they manage with art^g.

Bread. THEY have several sorts of grain to make bread, especially wheat; which is more full and white than the *English*. The ordinary people use a coarser grain; which yet makes very good and hearty bread. They make it up like oaten cakes, and bake it on small round iron hearths (or plates); which they carry with them when they travel. Their butter, though soft, being cream beaten to a kind of thick oil, is very good. They have also plenty of cheese, made of milk taken from cows, sheep, goats, and buffalos; which last is very good.

Drink. THE common drink of the inhabitants of *Hindûstân* is water; which is rendered far more pleasant and sweet than ours by the heat of the sun. Hence all strangers choose it as well as the natives, and find it agree better with their bodies than any other liquor. Sometimes they boil feeds in it, to give it a flavour; and it is observed to be colder after heating than it was before. They have, besides water, two sorts of wine in the *Indies*, one natural, the other di-

(F) Although the *grande*s sometimes use silks, plain, or striped, of several colours, or slight silver or gold brocade; yet, for the general, they choose the pure

white and fine callico lawn. The collars, and some other parts of their upper coats, being set off with needle-work.

^f TERRY Voy. Ind. p. 409, & seqq. sect. 11.

^g Ibid. p. 406, sect. 10.

a filled ^b. What we call natural wine is the juice of a tree, and called Toddi. It is drawn ^{Distilled from} from it by making incisions in the branches, which grow only towards the top, and hanging ^{gourds} underneath pots, made of gourds, to receive the juice. This is done over-night, and early next morning the pot is taken away, and the vents stopped up. The liquor which distils from the tree is very clear, pleasant, and wholesome. If drank before noon it is then diuretic and inoffensive, only a little windy, like wine upon the must; but if kept till the heat of the day, it becomes unwholesome, not well relished, and very intoxicating: on which account the *European* sailors are very fond of it; and it is very cheap. Their distilled wine is drawn from sugar, and the spicy rind of a tree called Jagra. The *Indians* call it Raak (or Arak). Our author says it is very wholesome, if taken moderately (G); and that there was no great quantity made of it. Although they have excellent grapes, they make no wine, as being forbidden by the law of *Mohammed*. Those who are strict observers of their religion drink no wine at all, but use coffee (H). To supply the place of it likewise, they use Betel, or Pawne; which is the leaf of a shrub, like the ivy leaf, but more tender. They chew the same along with a hard nut shaped like a nutmeg, and a very little pure lime mixed with the leaves: of this composition, when chewed, they only let down the juice. They ascribe to it many rare qualities, particularly to strengthen the stomach, comfort the brain, preserve the teeth, and cure or prevent a tainted breath. This our author observes, in confirmation hereof, that, when chewed in a close room, the breath of the person using it fills the place with a very agreeable scent.

c To give our readers the better idea of the diet, as well as manner of eating, in use among ^{Entertain-} the *Mogols* of *Indiſtan*, we shall insert an account of the entertainment made by *Asif Khân*, ^{ments.} in the reign of *Jehin Gbir*, for Sir *Thomas Rowe*, the *English* ambassador. The feast was served up in a very spacious and beautiful tent, well perfumed; the floor of which was covered over with very rich and large carpets. These were covered again, in the places where the dinner was served, with other carpets of stitched leather, which were spread with fine white callico cloths. On these were ranged a great number of silver dishes, with gilt brims, most part of them no larger than plates. To this entertainment none of the ambassador's retinue were admitted, excepting his chaplain, Mr. *Terry*. The three sat cross-legged on the ground, as it were in a triangle, facing each other, Sir *Thomas* being placed at a good distance from the Khân, on his right hand. Each had his meals to himself. The ambassador's d consisted of ten dishes more, and his chaplain's of ten less, than what the Khân had, which were sixty. All the dishes were set before them at once, and spaces left between, for the waiters to come and reach them to the parties one after another. So that our author tasted a little of each, and found them all well relished.

As to the provision itself, the larger dishes were filled with rice, dressed as before described, ^{Kind of dishes.} and tinged with different colours. Many others were furnished with flesh of several kinds, pullers, and other sorts of fowls, all cut in little pieces. To these succeeded variety of jellies, and culices: flour of rice boiled, and then sweetened with sugarcandy and rose-water, to be eaten cold. Among the rest was a very delicious dish made of the flesh of pullers, stewed e with rice-flour and almonds, pounded exceeding small; then, being beaten to pieces so fine that it could not be discerned, all was mixed together, and sweetened with rose-water and sugarcandy, and perfumed with ambergrise. The *Portugueses* call this Mangee real, *food for a king*. Other dishes consisted of cakes in several forms, made of the finest wheat-flower, mixed with almonds and sugarcandy; some of them perfumed, others not. Towards the end came potatoes, excellently well dressed; divers kinds of sallads, and the curious fruits of the country, some preserved, others fresh. To these succeeded roots candied, almonds blanched, raisins of the sun, prunellas, and other things, to make up the number of dishes appointed ^k.

f THE *Mohammedans* in this country are married with much the same ceremonies as else- ^{Marriage.} where: for after the Mullah, or priest, has done his office, which is in the evening, they go in procession through the principal streets of the city: the man on horseback, with his relations and friends about him, preceded by many lights, drums, and wind-music; with some drolleries, to increase the merriment. The bride follows with her women friends, in covered coaches: and, having made their tour, return to the house of the married couple; where the company is entertained: although the *Mohammedans* are allowed to marry four wives, very few, and those only of the richer sort, take more than one, in the more western parts under

^b TERRY Voy. Ind. p. 358, 364. sect. 2. seq. sect. 10.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 361, 365. sect. 2.

^k Ibid. p. 407, &

(G) *Bernier* says, it affects the nerves, and breeds incurable disorder, if taken a little immoderately. *Me-*
moires, part III. p. 26.

(H) Mr. *Terry* observes of coffee (which in his time was little, if at all, known in *England*), that it was

made of a black seed, boiled in water, which it turned almost of the same colour; but did not much alter the taste of it. He adds, that this liquor was more wholesome than palatable; being very good to help digestion, quicken the spirits, and cleanse the blood.

their dominion : but our author tells us of a servant belonging to Sir Thomas Rowe, who had a for wages no more than five shillings a moon, and yet had four wives.

THEY who have most wives and women are most jealous ; so that they will not suffer either the brothers or fathers to speak to them, but in their presence : and custom has made it a high reflection for a wife to be seen by any man besides her husband (I). Adultery and fornication also are reckoned so criminal, that, rather than the offender shall escape punishment, their own brother will not scruple to take away their lives : for which barbarity they shall not be called to an account, but commended. Great men have eunuchs to wait on or guard their women.

Common wo-
men.

Common women are tolerated here : but they must be registered or licensed before they can have liberty to open a house. Some of the better sort of these prostitutes, at certain times, repair to court, to divert the *Great Mogol*, with singing their wanton songs, and playing on b their timbrels ¹.

Easy labour.

THE women are exceeding happy in this part of the world, in having easy labour ; for it is common to see them one day riding great with child, and the next day ride again, carrying the infants in their arms. The children of the poorer sort go naked for several years ; only now-and-then their mothers cover them with a slight callico mantle. The eldest son by a lawful wife has a privilege above the rest, who call him *budda*, or their great brother ^m.

Burials.

THE *Mohammedans* wash the bodies of their dead ; which they bury not in their mosks or churches, but in some open place out of the towns ; digging the grave very deep and wide.

Sepulchres.

Their mourning over the deceased is immoderate, and often renewed every year, especially by the women, in their houses, and at their graves, which they bedew with tears ; frequently ask- c ing the party, as if living, Why would he die ? since he had such loving wives, such loving friends, and other comforts in this life. The men of greatest quality often provide fair sepulchres for themselves and nearest friends. For this purpose they inclose, with a wall, a good piece of ground, near some *tank*, or spring of water, in order to make fountains : then they erect little mosks, and near them tombs ; which are either round, square, hexagonal, or octagonal, with cupolas of stone over them. They are raised upon pillars, or else piers, with arches, and within is the body deposited. The workmanship is exceeding good. The rest of the ground is planted with fruit-trees and the choicest flowers.

THERE are likewise many handsome monuments erected in memory of such as they esteemed *pîrs*, or saints : in which are lamps continually burning ; with votaries, who have salaries, to d attend them. These sepulchres are daily resorted to by devout people : and certainly no places in the empire afford more delight than their burying-grounds ; nor do they bestow so much cost on any other structures : witness the famous sepulchre at *Sekandra*, three miles from *Agra*, begun by *Akber* and finished by his successor ⁿ ; of which an account is given by travellers.

Languages.

THE common language of the empire, called the *Hindûstân*, has much affinity with the *Persian* and *Arabik* ; but is more smooth, and easily pronounced ; very significant and concise. The characters are also very different, and written from the left hand to the right, like the *European*. The *Persian* is spoken at court, and the *Arabik* is the learned language ; although all the learning of the *Mogols* amounts to read and write ; for they have no logic, e nor rhetoric, but what is natural. However, the people themselves are men of very strong

Learning.

reason, and will speak off-hand on any subject exceeding well ; so that, if there was literature among them, they might produce many excellent works : and as it is, they are said to compose witty poems, as well as histories of their own, and the neighbouring countries. For all this, they have not many books (K) in use ; among which may be reckoned that of *Aristotle*, whom they call *Aplis*, and the physician *Avicenna* (L) ; both in *Arabik*. Their chief science seems to be astrology ; in which there are many pretenders : because the generality are infatuated with the belief of it, which is encouraged by the example of the court : for the *Great Mogol* has his astrologers about him ; nor does he undertake any thing of the least moment without consulting them ^p.

Their belief,

THE religion of the *Mogols*, *Afghâns*, and *Pâtans*, is the *Mohammedan*, of the *Sunni* sect, such as the *Turks* are of, who hold *Abubekr* for the true successor of *Mohammed*, in opposition to the *Sbiya*, who acknowledge *Ali* in that quality as the *Persians* do. These make the greater part of the emperor's court, and consequently must weaken his interest when at war with *Persia* : however, they appear outwardly to be of the same opinion with the rest of the gran- f

¹ TERRY Voy. Ind. p. 430. & sect. 17.

ⁿ TERRY, p. 431, & seqq. sect. 18.

^m TERRY, *ibid.* and THEVENOT, part iii. ch. 24. p. 47.

^p TERRY, p. 412. sect. 12.

(I) *Thevenot* says, the *Mohammedan* women are very wanton, the *Indian* women very chaste. Trav. Ind. part iii. ch. 25, p. 47.

(K) In this, no doubt, *Terry* was mistaken, for want of being able to read their books, or converse with the natives : at least, matters have altered since his time, as

may appear by the catalogue of MSS. on various subjects, brought from *India* by Mr. *Frazer*, and inserted at the end of his account of *Nâdir Shâh*.

(L) A corruption of *Ebn Sina*. His name was *Abu ali ebn Sina*.

a dees. When the kingdoms of *Golkonda* and *Viziapûr* were in being, the *Shiya* sect prevailed in the former, and in the territories of the latter the *Sunni* and the *Shiya* were mingled together^q. As to the number of *Mohammedans*, compared with the Pagans, there are at least an hundred, if not several hundreds, of the latter to one of the former^r.

We need not here insert an account of the *Mohammedan* religion and way of worship, *and practice*, which do not differ from what they are in other countries, whereof an account hath been already given^s. We shall therefore confine ourselves to a few particulars, which may deserve to be taken notice of. One respects the great strictness and devotion of the *Mohammedans* in the practice of their religion: another is the temperance observed by far the greater

b part of them, as well as by the *Hindûs*, or Pagans, to such a degree, that they will rather die than eat, or drink, any thing which their law forbids (M); and what they do of either kind is merely to satisfy nature. For they hate gluttony, and look upon drunkenness as another madness; infomuch, that they have only one word in their language, namely *mest*, for a drunkard and a madman. The *Mohammedans* are very charitable: some build inns in great cities and towns for lodging travellers; others make wells and tanks, a kind of reservoirs, or cisterns, for the public use: while some keep servants to attend on the most frequented roads, with water in great skins, carried by buffalos, to refresh passengers and their beasts, at free cost^t.

Among the *Mohammedans*, as well as Pagans, there are many, who, out of devotion (or *Monks*, under the pretence of it), voluntarily undergo very rigid penances, far exceeding all the *Romanists* boast of. Of these there are two sorts: the first called *Dervishes*, who spend their lives in solitude and contemplation, retiring to the tops of hills, shaded with trees; where they fix their habitation, from whence they never stir. They never cease crying out, *God Almighty look upon me; I love not the world, but thee; and do all this for thy sake*. After their retirement, they let their hair and nails grow to their full length; and will perish, sooner than go out of their cells, depending for relief on the charity of others, who send them clothing and victuals; but both must be of the coarser kind, and the latter only for their immediate sustenance, otherwise they will not accept of them. Some impose on themselves tasks of fasting, without any food, for so long a time, that their natural strength is almost quite spent for want of nourishment.

d THE second part of penitents (called *Fakîrs*), wear nothing about them but what is sufficient to cover their nakedness; and, like mendicant friers in the *Romish* church, make a profession of begging for their subsistence. They commonly dwell in the out-skirts of towns; and, making little fires in the day, sleep at night in the warm ashes, with which they besmear their bodies. They sometimes take intoxicating drugs, which make them talk wildly: this draws the common people about them, who mistake such jargon for prophecy. Some, out of devotion, put iron fetters on their legs, so heavy, that they can scarce move with them; and then, covered with a blue mantle (which is the mourning colour), walk many miles, as fast as they can, barefoot, on the scorching ground, in pilgrimage to the tombs of their saints^u.

e THEY reckon, that there are in the *Indies* no fewer than eight hundred thousand *Fakîrs*, *vastly numerous*: besides twelve hundred thousand idolatrous mendicants, or penitents (called *Jaghis*); who, according to another author, are all vagabonds and lazy drones, imposing on the credulous multitude by a false zeal, and abundance of idle words; which pass on them for oracles. Of these *Fakîrs* there are several kinds: the almost naked sort, whom we have been speaking of, have no certain abode, and give themselves up to all manner of uncleanness. There are others, whose garments are of so many different pieces and colours, that one can hardly tell what they are made of. These reach half-way down their legs, and hide the rags which are underneath. They generally go in troops, and have their superior, known by his habit; which is commonly more abject, and full of patches, than those of his gang. He draws after him *go in companies*: f a great iron chain, above two yards long: this he rattles all the while he says his prayers, which he does with a loud voice, and an affected gravity, which draws the veneration of the people; who in the interim prepare dinner for him on the spot, where he takes his stand; which is generally in some street, or other public place.

THERE he causes his disciples to spread carpets; and, sitting down, gives audience to the people: on the other hand, his disciples go about publishing through the country, that God reveals to him his most important secrets, and gives him power to relieve persons in affliction by his advice. The multitude, who swallow all this delusion, approach him with great devo-

^q TAVERN. Trav. Ind. ch. i. p. 159.

^r BERNIER Mem. part ii. p. 22.

^s See vol. i. p. 1. & passim.

^t TERRY, p. 417, sect. 14. and p. 429, sect. 16.

^u TERRY, p. 427, & seq. sect. 16.

(M) Terry extols the people of *Hindûstân* (*Voy.* sect. 14.) for the observance of moral duties: and, according to *Ovington*, they are so peaceable and honest, that there had not been a criminal put to death for

twenty years together; although, when he was there in 1609, some *European* pirates were going up to court, to be tried. *Voy. to Surât*, p. 230, & seq.

tion, as a holy man, pulling off their shoes, and prostrating themselves to kiss his feet. Then a the *Fakîr*, to shew his humility, reaches out his hand to kiss, makes them sit down by him, and he hears every-one apart. They boast of having a prophetic spirit; and, above all, to teach barren women a way how to procure children, and be beloved by whom they please. Some of these *Fakîrs* have more than 200 disciples, whom they assemble by the sound of a horn, or beat of drum. When they travel, they have their standard, lances, and other weapons; which they pitch in the ground near their master, when he reposes in any place.

Another sort.

THE third sort of *Fakîrs* are they, who, being born of poor parents, and desirous to understand the law, in order to become doctors, retire to the mosks; where they live on the alms which are given them. They employ all their time in reading the *Korân*; which they get by heart: and, if to this study they can but add the knowledge of some natural things, together with an exemplary life, they come to be chief of the mosks, and to the dignity of mullahs, and judges of the law. These *Fakîrs* marry; and some have three or four wives, thinking they do God great service, in begetting many children to be followers of his law, as they account the *Korân* ^b.

Toleration.

ALL religions are tolerated in *Hindûstân*; which makes the tyrannical government more easy to be endured: and the people treat the clergy of any persuasion with much respect ^v.

II.

Of the Hindûs, or Hindows, as divided into tribes, or families.

Hindûs
tribes;

THE *Hindûs* are divided into four great tribes, or orders, of people; 1. The men of the law, or the priesthood; 2. The men of arms, to which belong their *Râjâs*, or kings; 3. The merchants, or men of traffic; 4. The commonalty; in which are included mechanics, husbandmen, and all inferior kinds of people. ^c

THE first class is called by the *Indians* *Brahmans*, *Brammans*, or *Bramins*, as some authors write it. The names of the other tribes seem to differ in different parts of the country. *Roger*, who resided at *Paliakût*, in the kingdom of *Karnâta*, on the coast of *Choremânda*¹, calls the second order *Settreas* (N): *Bernier*, who got his information at *Agra* and *Banâres*, in the *Mogol's* empire, calls them *Ketteris*; and *Thevenot*, *Katri*. *Lord*, who conversed with the *Baniyâns* at *Surât*, with some little variation, *Kutteris*. The third order is named by *Roger*, *Weynias*; by others, *Vanias*, and *Baneans*, or *Baniyans*: *Bernier* calls it *Biskû*; ^d *Lord*, *Shudderis*; and by *Thevenot*, *Soudr*, and *Kourmi*. The fourth class is named *Sawdras*, (O) by *Roger*; *Sidra*, by *Bernier*; *Wise*, by *Lord*; and *Wens*, by *Thevenot* ².

their names.

THE disagreement found in the two last articles is not easy to be accounted for. Both *Roger* and *Lord* make the merchants, or *Baniyans*, the third order: but whereas the first calls them *Shudderis*; the latter gives that name (for *Soudras* is doubtless the same) to the fourth order; and although *Thevenot* agrees with *Lord*, in terming the third order *Soudr* (which is the same with *Shudderis*), yet he agrees with *Roger* as to the signification, by making them the commonalty; and differs from them both, in placing the merchants last. As to the difference in the names, it seems to arise from hence, that those given by *Roger* and *Bernier* denote their profession, or some other mark of distinction belonging to the respective ^e tribes; whereas the names made use of by *Lord* are derived from their great ancestors, like those of the two first, and taken immediately from the *Shâster*, one of the *Hindûs* sacred books; consequently of most authority in this matter.

THESE four principal classes of the *Hindûs* are subdivided into several subordinate classes; of which it will be necessary to give our readers some account.

1. *Of the Brâmmans, or Brâmins.*

Brâmmans
name;

THE *Brâmmans* derive their name from *Brammon*, the eldest son of *Pourous*, the first man (according to the *Hindûs*); or else from *Brema*, or *Bremaw* (P), the first created being of the second age, to whom the law was delivered; and are divided into 82 sects, or families ^f.

THE *Bramins* themselves say, that there is no race or family of men more worthy, or agreeable in the eyes of God, than theirs; and all the other *Hindû* families allow the first place

¹ TAVERN. ubi supr. ch. 2. p. 160.

² TERRY, p. 475, sect. 30.

³ ROGER Mesures des Bram.

p. 2. BERNIER's Mem. Mog. Emp. part iii. p. 145. LORD's Account of Banian Relig. c. 9. THEVEN.

part iii. ch. 38. p. 63.

⁴ LORD, ubi supr. ch. 10.

(N) There seems to be some mistake, perhaps in the printing, of *Settreas* for *Ketteris*; tho' it is every-where printed so in that author.

(O) The *Râmjo* missionaries to *Karnâta*, and *Madûra*, name them, 1. *Bramins*, or the nobles; 2. *Kebarris*, or the *Râjâs*; 3. *Shoutres*, or the common people; and 4. *Pariâs*, or the basest sort of all. *De Faria*, with

still less care, names the classes as existing in the coast of *Malabar*; 1. *Brammans*; 2. *Chatrier*, or *Ejkatrî*; 3. *Baefri*, or *Vaigher*; 4. *Chadra*. See *Litt. Edifi.* tom. v. p. 18, & alibi. and *Port. Asia*, vol. ii. p. 391, 408.

(P) The *Brâmmans* themselves say, they are descended from the latter.

- a in dignity to be due to them. The Vedâm, or book of the law, which the *Hindûs* hold to be sent from God, had declared its esteem for this family, by ordering that a *Brâmin* shall not be put to death for any crime he commits, how atrocious soever it may be. His punishment is to be the loss of his sight: for it is reckoned one of the five great sins to kill a *Brâmin*, not to be expiated by less than a twelve years pilgrimage: during that time also the homicide is to beg alms, with the *Brâmin*'s skull in his hand, out of which he is to eat and drink what is given him. And when the time of twelve years is expired, he is then to bestow much in alms himself, and build a temple in honour of *Eswâra* (or *Isburen*); nay the Vedâm has made the person of a *Brâmin* so sacred, that if one of them will go to war, and happens to be slain, that he who killed him must build the temple, in case he be able^a. Besides these b express precepts of the Vedâm, or Wedâm, the *Brâmins* claim, and obtain, from the *Hindûs*, no small veneration, on account that this book was delivered to them, and that they are the keepers of it^b.

In some parts of *India*, as on the coast of *Malabar*, *Brâmmans* are kings: they are in other countries frequently made governors of provinces, or cities, and are generally farmers under the *Râjahs*; and this probably gave rise to the account we meet with in the *Shâster*, of the race of *Kutteris* being destroyed, and kings supplied out of the *Brâmmans*; of which more in the next article.

- c THE tribe of *Brâmmans* is among the *Hindûs*, as the tribe of *Levi* among the *Jews*: but we shall consider them as priests, when we come to treat of the *Hindû* religion hereafter, in our account of the hither peninsula of *India*.

2. The Kuttereys, or Settreas.

THE *Kuttereys*, or *Kutteris*, had their name from *Kutterey*, the second son of *Pourous*: *Kuttereys*. and, as dominion and government was given to him, therefore all kings and soldiers are of this tribe^c; which properly consists of the nobility, named *Râjab*, who have a chief, or king, styled *Râjab of Râjabs*, and the God of the *Râjabs*; which is to be understood of the king of *Bisnâgar*, or *Narsinga*, in *Karnatika*, or *Karnata*.

- d IN former times, this family of nobles was divided only into two branches; the first named *Sowri Wanjam*, so called from the sun, which in the *Samskörtam*, or learned language, is named *Sowri*; because they are the true nobility. The other branch is named *Soma Wanjam*, from the moon. But there are at present, besides these two, many other branches, who do no great honour to their order, as having intermarried with other families; for which reason the two first branches do not marry with them.

THE office of nobles is to govern and defend the country against enemies: they are like-wise to take care, that the *Brâmins* be not in want. However, a great many of them are poor themselves: and as they cannot trade, their families often increase to such a degree, that the income of their lands will not maintain them: hence it is, that their children, being left poor, are obliged, for a livelihood, to serve the richer lords for soldiers^d; and these are they who are called *Râjapûts* (and corruptly *Râspûts*); that is, *children of the Râjabs*.

- e THE *Hindûs* of this tribe eat the flesh of all sorts of animals, excepting the cow.

THE *Shâster* tells us, that the ill-government of the kings and rulers, having been the source of all the disorders which occasioned the destruction of the world in the second age (or the second time), therefore God quite rooted out the whole tribe of the *Kutteris*; and that it might be renewed from a more holy stock, appointed that the line of the *Râjabs* should be restored from that of the *Brâmmans*: which was performed in the person of *Râm*, youngest son of *Duserat*, chief of the *Brâmmans*, who was preserved from destruction^e. But this holy line proved no better than the other: for they grew so wicked, that they brought the third destruction on the world^f: and in the fourth age, which is the present, it seems the *Kutteris* some-how sprung up again, since they now exist.

- f As this tribe of kings has suffered many changes in course of time, it may therefore be considered in three different states; its flourishing, declining, and present condition.

DURING their flourishing state, the *Kuttereys* were the antient sovereigns and rulers in *India*; especially that part called *Guzzerat*, and were stiled *Râjahs*, which signifies kings. These *Râjahs*, whose dominions were large, or small, according to their forces, had about them chiefly four persons of eminence. The first was a *Brâmmann*; who, by soothsaying and augury, predicted the times most proper for the king to begin any enterprise, which was to be attended with success. The second was the *Pârdon*; who managed affairs of state, and dispatched all matters of judicature under the *Râjah*. The third was the *Moldar*, or *high chamberlain*; who was commonly present, and conversed with the king. The fourth officer was the *Disnakke*, or general of his armies; who was sent upon all his military expeditions.

^a ROGER, ubi supr. p. 3, & seq. p. 5, & seqq.

^b THEVEN. ubi supr. ch. 38. p. 64.

^c Lord, ch. 11.

^d ROGER,

^e LORD'S Banian Relig. c. 14.

^f Ibid.

THE Râjahs (or rather *Kuttereys*) were then divided into thirty-six subordinate tribes, or a noble families; as the *Cbâwrab*, the *Solenkis*, the *Vaggela*, the *Dodepuchas*, the *Paramars*; and so forth.

declining state: TOUCHING the declining state of the Râjah tribe; their history relates, that a certain Râjah, named *Rawisaldî*, dying, his son *Sideraysaldî*, to honour his father's memory, erected a costly temple, and monument, at a place called *Sitbejopolalpûr*; and, being desirous that it should last for ever, consulted his *Brâmmān*, named *Madewnaugher*, upon that subject: the *Brâmmān*'s answer was, that one Soltân *Alao'ddin* (Q), a *Pûtan* king of *Debli*, should deface the same, and also gain some considerable conquest in *Guzzerât*. To prevent this misfortune, the Râjah sends both his *Brâmmān* and *Pârdon* to *Debli*, in order to purchase peace with the Soltân, by a sum of money. When they got thither, they could hear of no *Alao'ddin* (for the king was not of that name), but the son of a shepherd, a boy, whom they found feeding a kid. However, concluding him to be the person mentioned in the prediction, they acquainted him with the good fortune which was to betide him, and offered him the money to spare their master's monument. *Alao'ddin* resolutely answered, that, if it was the will of heaven that he should destroy the monument, he could not avoid executing its decrees; and refused the present, till his parents, who were very poor, persuaded him to accept it. Hereupon he gave them a written instrument, importing, *that, although heaven had decreed that he should scatter some stones of that building, yet he would pick them out of its corners in such a manner as might fulfil the prediction, without breaking his promise to the Sideraysaldî*.

ALAO'DDIN, with the money thus obtained, raised forces, and was so prosperous in arms, that he became king of *Debli*: after which, he invaded *Guzzerât*, made great conquests from the Râjahs of that country, and fulfilled his engagement to *Sideraysaldî*, by sparing his monument. At length, being weary of the toil, he gave the government of his new acquisitions to *Futter Khân*, his cup-bearer; who, on the Soltân's return to *Debli*, prosecuted the war in *Guzzerât*. The like did his *Mohammedan* successors; and thus was the power of the Râjahs in that province reduced very low.

their present state FROM that period we may date their present state. Some of them yielded to the invaders: others, retiring to inaccessible places on the borders of the country, there fixed themselves, and remain to this day. From thence they make incursions into the neighbouring territories, rob the *kâffilas* on the high-roads; and sometimes advance to the skirts of the strongest, as well as most populous cities, attended with their resolute soldiers, called *Râshpûts* (or *Râjahpûts*), that is, *sons of Râjahs*. For, being of the *Kutterey* tribe, it is likely they are nobly descended; and the descendants of those who were over-run when *Guzzerât* was conquered^e. It was intirely subdued in the time of the *Great Mogol Akber*, as other provinces more northward, and to the east, had been before, and the rest by degrees since: yet still many of the *Râjahs* maintain an independency in the heart of the empire. There were towards the beginning of *Aureng zib*'s reign about one hundred dispersed over the whole; of whom fifteen or sixteen were so rich, and powerful, that three of them only, *viz.* *Râna* (whose ancestors were emperors of the *Râjahs*) *Jesseyng*, and *Jessom Seyng*, were sufficient to cope with him, did they but unite; each having been able to bring into the field 25,000 horse, better troops than the *Mogol*'s: for they are all *Râjahpûts*, hereditary warriors, to whom the *Râjahs* allot land, on condition to be always ready, at their command, to appear on horse-back. They can endure much hardship, and want nothing to make good soldiers, but order and discipline.

THE *Great Mogul* is obliged to keep these, and several other *Râjahs*, in his service, for several reasons: first, because their militia is very good, and some of them very powerful; 2. to bridle the other *Râjahs* by means of them; 3. the better to sow differences among them; which is often done to great effect; 4. to employ them against his own rebellious governors, as well as foreign enemies, especially the *Persians*; not daring to trust his *omrâs*, who are mostly of the same nation^h.

3. The Shudderî, Weynjas, Vantias, or Baniyâns.

The Shudderî tribe. THE *Shuddereys* derive their descent from *Shudderî*, the third son of *Pourous*, the first man; and commerce having been the business appointed for him, for this reason all the people belonging to his tribe follow merchandize, or are brokers for the merchants. They are called *Baniyâns*; which, in the *Brâmmāns* language, wherein their law is written, signifies *an innocent and harmless people*; as they really are: for they cannot bear to see a fly, worm, or any other living thing hurt; and if they receive a blow, take it patiently, without returning it.

^e LORD'S Banian Relig. ch. 11.

^h BERNIER, vol. i. part 3. p. 20, 21, 27.

(Q) This must have been *Masūt*, surnamed *Alao'd-din*, king of *Debli*; or his nephew *Alao'ddin*, who reigned about the year 1250, during whose reigns great con-

quests were made in the southern provinces of India by the *Debli* kings.

a THE number of families, or branches, in the *Shudderî*, or *Baniyîn* tribe, is equal to that of the *Brâmmân* families (R); being in effect the self-same families: for they chuse to be under the discipline either of the *Vish'nagra-naugbers*; by whom they are directed in matters relating to religious worship: for their law having most resemblance to that of the *Brâmmans* (S), they more strictly follow their injunctions, than the two other tribes.

THE form used by the *Baniyîns* in buying and selling is very singular, and different from *Form of bar-* that of other nations: for the broker, taking his *Pamerîng* from about his waist, spreads it *gaining* on his knee, then both he and the seller putting their hands underneath, with the ends of his fingers he intimates the price, in pounds, shillings and pence, which the chapman is willing to give; and the seller, by the same method, acquaints him how much he expects to have. This form of making bargains is, they say, enjoined them by their law¹. By the same law they ought to deal justly, without either cheating or taking too much profit. They live much after the same manner as the *Brâmmans*: eating nothing which has had life.

Of this tribe there are some named *Komîns*; and others *Weapari*; each party affirming, that they are the true *Weinjas*, or *Baniyîns*^k.

4 Of the Wifes, or Sowdras.

THE tribe of *Wife* (or *Weyz*) took its name from the fourth son of *Pourous*, who was the *Tribe of* master of the mechanics, or handicrafts. The word *Wife* implies a person who is *servile* and *weyz,* *instrumentary*: doubtless, because they *serve*, and are *helpful* to those of the other tribes, or professions. These people, at present, are most commonly called *Gentiles* (or *Gentewes*), and are divided into two sorts; the *pure*, and the *impure*, or unclean, called *Visserawn*. This latter kind of *Gentiles*, of which are the husbandmen, or inferior sort of people, called *Kowlis* (or *Kûlis*), take great liberty in their diet; eating animal food, either fish or flesh. On the contrary, the *purer Gentiles* (who are the handicraftsmen) follow the rule of the *Baniyîns*, as to diet; abstaining both from flesh and wine, or using them but seldom. However, as in religious worship they agree most with the *Kuttereys*, so they do likewise in the number of their families, or classes, which are thirty-six; according to the number of trades, or professions, to be found among them. With regard to their handicrafts, it is observable, that they employ as few tools as may be; and that their method of working is in every respect contrary to the *European*^l.

As, besides the mechanics and manufacturers, this tribe comprises the husbandmen, labourers, porters, and those destined to the most servile offices, these seem to be such as bear the name of *Visserawn*, before-mentioned.

THIS tribe is the most numerous of the four. The principal families are those of the *most numerous,* *Wellala* and *Ambria*; besides which are others of note, as the *Sitti*; who are merchants. The *Palli* are poulterers, painters, and other trades. The *Kay Kulle* is an inconsiderable people: most of their women are whores; which, however, is no disgrace among them. The men are dancers, weavers, sowers, and soldiers, as some of almost all the other families are. But the most contemptible, or mean, of all is the *Palla* family; being regarded little more than e the *Perreâs* (or *Parias*), who are not reckoned among the tribes; and of whom we shall speak presently. These several families have each their peculiar customs, of which they are very jealous: so that if, in their entertainments, or marriages, those of one family do any thing more than is usual with them, or which is appropriated by another family, it proves matter of very great contest, and often sets a whole city in an uproar^m.

THE family of the *Korrewâs* have no fixed places of dwelling; but wander about the *The Korrewâs.* country, with their wives and children (like our gypsies). They lodge in little huts, which they set up without the towns; and, when they remove, put them, with their few moveables, upon little asses, which they keep for the purpose. They live by making fans, or vans, for winnowing the rice; likewise covers for pots: and carry salt from the sea-side up the f country, on their asses; which not being able to bear much at a time, they are exempt from all kinds of taxes, and never molested, on account of their poverty. The women of this family pretend to tell fortunes, and get more that way than any other.

5. Of the Perreâs, or Parias.

THE *Perreâs* (or *Parias*), before-mentioned, may be called a fifth tribe, distinct from the *The Perreâs,* other four: and as they are not thought worthy to be ranked among them, neither are they *or Parias:* ever suffered to dwell among them: so that they live by themselves in the out-skirts of towns;

^l LORD, ubi supr. ch. 12. p. 8, & seqq.

^k ROGER, ubi supr. p. 7.

^l LORD, ubi supr. ch. 13.

^m ROGER,

(R) Whose number is eighty-two: but *Ovington* says, the *Baniyân* casts, or sects, are reckoned to be only twenty-four.

(S) This seems to refer to the eight commandments,

given to the four tribes; whereof the first two relate more particularly to the *Brammans*, and the fifth and sixth to the *Shudderîs*; as will be observed when we come to treat of the religion of the *Hindûs*.

and,

and, in the country, build their houses apart from the villages; or rather have villages of their own, furnished with wells: for they dare not so much as fetch water from those which other families make use of; and, lest these latter should inadvertently go to one of theirs, they are obliged to scatter the bones of dead cattle about their wells, that they may be known^a.

an abject people. THESE *Perreâs* in like manner dare not in cities pass through the streets where the *Brâm-mans* live; nor set a foot in the villages where they dwell. They are likewise forbidden to enter a temple, either of their god *Wistnow*, or *Eswâra*; because, being held to be impure, they would be thought to pollute it. They get their bread by sowing, digging, and building the walls of mud houses: most of those inhabited by the common people being raised by these *Perreâs*; who also do such kinds of dirty work, as other people do not care to meddle with. Nor is their diet much more cleanly; for they do not scruple to eat cows, horses, b fowl, or other carrion, which die of themselves, and even stink.

Two branches: ONE would scarce imagine, that contentions for precedency should ever enter into the thoughts of a people, who have renounced all cleanliness, and, like swine, wallow in filth; and yet pride has divided the *Perreâs* into two classes. The first are simply called *Perreâs*, the other *Seriperes*. The employment of these latter is to go about selling leather, which they dress themselves; also to make bridles, and such kinds of things. Some of them likewise serve for soldiers. The *Perreâs*, who reckon themselves the better family, will not eat in the house of the *Seriperes*: but the *Seriperes* will readily eat with the *Perreâs*. For this reason they are obliged to pay them respect, by lifting their hands aloft, and standing upright before them. This a *Seripere* refusing to do at *Paliakâtta*, in 1640, the *Perreâs* seized him, and c cut off his hair: which is the greatest affront, or mark of contempt, that can be offered to them.

Seriperes, or Halalchors: THESE *Seriperes*, when they marry, cannot set up a *pandâl*, a kind of garland, before their doors, made with more than three stakes, or trees. Should they exceed that number, it would be enough to put a whole city in motion. The *Seriperes* are likewise subject to some sort of slavery. For, when any person of credit, or authority, dies, in the families of the *Komitîs*, *Sittîs*, *Palîs*, farriers, or goldsmiths, and the friends have a mind to be at the expence of some clothes to give the *Seriperes*, these latter must suffer their beards to be shaven; and, when the corpse is carried out of town to be burned, or interred, they must do that office; for which each receives a *fanum*, or one piece and a half of silver, worth three sous and a d half^o. These are the same sort of people, who are called, at *Surât*, *Halalchors* (T); that is, in the *Persian* language, *eat-alls*, or *eaters at large*; for the reasons abovementioned. Nothing can offend an *Hindû* more, than to be called an *Halalchor*: yet these poor people take all in good part; cringe and bow to all they pass, and go through their drudgery without noise, or concern^p.

III.

Manners and Customs of the Hindûs.

Hindûs. HAVING given our readers some account of the *Hindû* tribes, and families, we proceed to speak of their manners and customs; in which, regard will be chiefly had to those of the two inferior tribes; the *Shudderis*, or merchants, commonly called *Baniyâns*; and the *Wise*, comprising the mechanics, husbandmen, and other lower classes of people.

Their character: THE *Hindûs*, in general, are extremely sober; and never commit any excess, either in eating, or drinking: they even seem to be born with a natural aversion to all intoxicating liquors (U). They are very reserved, with regard to women; at least outwardly; so that they never commit an indecent action in public. They are extremely charitable to the poor (X). It is an inviolable law, that all relations must assist one another; and share the little, which they possess, with those who are in want. They are of a very mild disposition; so that nothing shocks them so much as anger, and a hasty temper^q. This is particularly remarkable in the *Baniyâns*; owing to the abhorrence which they have to shedding of blood; which at the same time renders them wholly unfit for being soldiers, and gives them an aversion to war. Hence also it is, that they are not inclined to inflict any corporal punishments; but have a perfect detestation of those which are capital^r.

not easily offended: As the *Baniyân* is formed of so very mild a temper, he is not easily offended. He will bear almost any thing, without emotion, excepting *slippering*; that is, a stroke with the sole

^a ROGER, p. 12.

^o ROGER, p. 14, & seqq.

^p OVINGTON'S Voy. to Surât, p. 382, & seq.

^q LE

LANE ap. Lett. Ediff. tom. 10. p. 11.

^r OVINGTON'S Voy. Surât, p. 257. 277.

(T) *Therwenot* writes *Halalkour*, and says, they are also called *Der*; that they are the gold-finders of the *Indies*; that is, cleanse all the public and private houses of office, sweep the streets and houses.

(U) More of their temperance is spoken of in the article relating to the *Mogols*.

(X) Their charity extends to birds and beasts; for which they build hospitals. In a pagod at *Surât*, *Therwenot* saw a man distributing flour among ants, leaving a handful where-ever he found any. *Trav. Ind.* part ii. ch. 14. p. 26.

a of a slipper, after a person has taken it off his foot, and spit on it. This is dreaded above all affronts; and looked on to be no less ignominious, than spitting in the face, or throwing dirt, among us¹.

THE *Baniyâns* are extremely covetous, and greedy of gain. Our author knew some, who, ^{greedy of gain.} though reputed to be worth an hundred thousand pounds, would run from one end of *Surât* to the other, for the prospect of gaining six-pence. Their thoughts being thus continually bent on increasing their wealth, they generally secure a comfortable subsistence; and some of them amass a prodigious treasure². Their riches consist solely in cash, and jewels; which they keep as secretly as they can from the knowledge of the *Mogol* officers. This curbs them in their expences, and obliges them to great secrecy in their commerce; so that they pay and receive
b their money in the night³.

INDIA is the only public theatre of justice and tenderness to brute animals: if a *Baniyân* ^{Kindness to animals.} happens to kill but a mite, or flea, the offence must be expiated by some considerable atonement. They condemn those of folly, as well as cruelty, who, for food, slay kids, lambs, chickens, or other young creatures; especially the calf, which is their darling animal, whose life they seldom fail to ransom⁴. Of this humanity to living things, the knavish *Mohammedan Fakîrs* often take advantage; threatening, in presence of a *Baniyân*, to kill some bird, or other creature, in order to extort money for its redemption. The *Portugueses*, and even the *English*, it seems, have practised this fraud upon those harmless *Indians*. Thus, the caterer of the factory at *Surât* buys a calf, as if for slaughter; but, in reality, to have it released by some
c *Baniyân*. Sometimes the young factors go out with a gun, pretending to shoot birds in the fields adjoining to the habitations of the *Baniyâns*; who immediately run, as for life; and with a *rûpi*, or two, bribe the fowler to desist, and not defile the ground with blood.

THEY are likewise at considerable expences annually, for supporting animals; as we are here ^{Hospital for cattle.} for maintaining the poor. Within a mile of *Surât*, they have a large hospital for cows, horses, goats, dogs, and other diseased, lame, or decayed creatures. When an ox, for instance, is, through age and toil, become unfit for farther service, lest this should tempt the merciless owner to kill him for his flesh, the *Baniyâns* either beg, or buy him; and then place him in the hospital to be taken care of, till he dies a natural death. Once a year they prepare a set banquet for all the flies which are in their houses, of sweet milk and sugar mixed, in large
d shallow dishes, set on the floor, or table, for that purpose. At other times, they walk with ^{and even} bags of rice under their arm, for two or three miles into the country, stopping at each ant-hill, ^{vermin.} to leave a handful of that beloved grain. But the oddest fancy of all, is their care for the preservation of fleas, bugs, and other vermin, which suck the blood of men: for in an hospital, near the former, built for their reception, a poor man is hired now-and-then to rest all night upon the *kot*, or bed, where the vermin are put; and, lest their stinging should force him to take his night before morning, he is tied down to the place, and there lies for them to glut themselves with human gore⁵.

THEIR affection for animals is such, that they even adorn them; fastening, for instance, ^{snakes and rats.} large rings of some metal about the legs of a favourite cow, or goat. They shew the same regard for trees⁶. This great fondness for animals is nourished by their doctrine of the metempsychosis: in consequence of which, the scrivener, or secretary to the *English* brokers, for a long time fed a large snake, which came into his house, with bread and milk, on a supposition, that the soul of his deceased father was lodged in it. He was no less indulgent to some rats, which he likewise lodged in his house, and grew as familiar as cats, on the belief that they harboured the souls of some departed relations⁷.

THE *Hindûs*, in general, are of a low and timorous spirit; excepting the *Râjapûts*, who ^{timorous, but} are the military tribe: but their other virtues make amends for that defect. The *Baniyâns*, ^{honest.} who serve as factors, or brokers, whether to natives, or strangers, discharge their trust with great integrity: in like manner they of the fourth tribe, who hire themselves as servants, are
f so faithful, that, far from defrauding their masters on the road of a penny's-worth, they would die in defence both of them and their goods, if attacked by robbers (Y). Nor are they less diligent than faithful, being continually within call; nor are ever absent without leave. Thus, for five shillings a lunar month (which is their constant wages, provisions being cheap) they serve, and maintain themselves, with as much care, as if they had ten times the wages⁸. These are better than the *Mohammedan* servants, who are more proud, and less to be depended on for their diligence, or honesty⁹.

¹ Ovington's Voy. *Surât*, p. 357.

² Ibid. p. 277, & seq.

³ Ibid. p. 317.

⁴ Ibid. p. 296.

⁵ Ibid. p. 278, & seqq.

⁶ Ibid. p. 321.

⁷ Ibid. p. 287, & seq.

⁸ TERRY'S Voy. to

Ind. sect. 8. p. 396.

⁹ THEV. Trav. Ind. part iii. p. 72.

(Y) Our author *Terry*, on this occasion, thinks an *Indian* merchant, travelling in *England* with a guard of soldiers, would run in imminent danger of being murdered by them, that they might plunder his goods.

Shaving.

THE *Hindûs* wear little beards, and shave them, as they do their heads, all over. Their frequent shaving makes them excellent barbers. The people of this profession seldom keep shop; but go about with a chequered apron thrown over their shoulder, and a mirror in their hand. Their implements consist of a razor, not an inch long; a brass basin, as big as a coffee-dish; and a piece of hard soap, which they dip in the basin; and, with no more water than it takes up, rub about the lips and head: in shaving which, few outdo them, for either ease, or expedition. They have an iron tool also; one end serves to pick and clear the ears, the other to pare the nails; both which they do dexterously: and all for a *gashik*; which is much under a farthing.

Washing.

Anointing.

THE *Hindûs* often wash their bodies, and keep their feet as clean as their hands. The better sort anoint themselves daily with sweet oils; which give them an agreeable scent. The poor also anoint with cocoa nut oil; but that being rank, and themselves, both men and women, accustomed to eat *hing* and garlick, they smell so strong, that it is very offensive at first to strangers, in passing through places of resort^d.

How distinguished.

ALL the different tribes of *Hindûs* are distinguished from one another, by the cut of their beards, or different painting of their bodies and foreheads, as well as winding of their turbâns. A *Brâmmân* paints himself on the forehead, with a *Pythagorean* Y between his eye-brows, descending to his nose; and gives to every tribe its peculiar mark^e.

Shape.

Women.

THE male *Indians* are tall, and large-boned. Their colour varies according to the different parts they inhabit. The women are small, and for the most part plump; but short in respect of the men. They are neat, and well-shaped; they keep their breasts carefully bound up, which prevents their spreading. They are quick in labour, and affectionate to their children; bearing them naked on their hips astraddle. They are cleanly, as well in their cookery as their bodies; plucking up the hair by the roots in every part, excepting their heads; where they let it grow in tresses^f.

Dress.

THE garments, which the *Indians* wear, are generally made of white callico, fashioned into *kabas*, or out-coats, like our frocks, turning over the breast as far as the shoulders; and from thence tied with strings down to the middle, on the left side, to distinguish them from the *Mohammedans*, who tie them on the right side. As their breeches reach to their heels, they wear no stockings; nor have a name for them in their language^g. All the garb of the women consists in a *lungbi*, or piece of callico tied loose over the shoulders, and tucked between their legs, in nature of short breeches: besides a short waistcoat, or ephod, to keep up their breasts.

Ornaments.

To make amends for this plainness of dress, or rather want of clothing, in the females, they set themselves off with variety of trinkets. The rich adorn the tresses of their hair with gold, and jewels; the poor braid them with strings of jessamin-flowers; whereof they likewise make necklaces. The rich have their arms and feet adorned with gold and silver; the meaner sort with glass, brass, or *tuttinague*: besides rings at their noses, ears, fingers, and toes; which obliges them to go bare-footed, shoes being only allowed their midwives^h. The women have generally the lobes of their ears bored when young; which become in time so large, by means of the things put into the holes to stretch them, as to hold rings as broad as saucers, with a chanel on the outer circumference, for the flesh to enter and support itⁱ.

IN short, the main cost of the *Hindûs*, especially the *Baniyâns*, is expended on their wives; whose greatest joy consists in gaiety of dress, and the above-mentioned ornaments; which the very women, who carry water about the streets, will not appear without. Widows, who survive their husbands, are the only females incapable of this happiness: for they are restrained from wearing jewels, as well as shaven, being distinguished from others by a red *lungbi*^k.

Odd customs.

THE women scruple no more than the men to do their occasions in the public streets, or highways: for which purpose, at sun-rise and sun-set, they go out in droves to some dead-wall, if in the city; and, in case any pass by in the interim, they turn their bare backsides on them, but hide their faces. When they have done their business, they wash the parts with the left hand, because they eat with the right. The men, who exonerate apart from the woman, squat like them when they make water. The *Mohammedans* think hard of the *Hindû* females for this freedom; as they do of the *English*, when they see them saluted with a kiss, or walk with a man in a garden. Although their food is nothing but vegetables, concocted with fair water, yet they leave such a stink behind them, that it is but ill taking the air, either in the streets, or without their towns, near the rivers and ditches (Z). What is still more

^d TERRY, p. 376, sect. 5. FRYER's Trav. p. 194.
p. 197, & seq. ^e OVINGTON, ubi supr. p. 314.
sect. 19. ^f OVINGTON, p. 319, & seq.

^g FRYER, ibid. p. 194.
^h FRYER, ubi supr. p. 197, & seq.

ⁱ TERRY,
^k TERRY,

(Z) On the contrary, Ovington says, p. 316, that, although the streets of *Surât* are, in many places over-spread with the excrements both of men and beasts;

yet the passengers are never molested with an unfavoury smell, because the strength of the vapours is diminished by the attenuation of the sun's heat.

strange,

a strange, the cows watch the usual times to go lick up their ordure; which they are very fond of. Although this custom may seem indecent to us, yet it cannot be said to be uncleanly: *Clearliness and industry.* nor can the *Hindús* be charged with either sluttishness, or sloth; for, besides their constant washings at their times of devotion, they never eat nor drink, before they have cleansed themselves, with water poured all over them from head to foot. Nor will they suffer any parts of their body to harbour nastiness, they using depilatories for breast, arm pits, and groins; are always shaving their heads and beards, cutting their nails, washing their mouths, and rubbing their teeth, whereby they look like ivory¹.

THE life of the *Hindús* is a continued series of industry. These are they who till the ground, plant, sow, and breed the cattle: these are they who make and sell those curious manufactures, with the cloth and stuffs, which this part of the world affords^m.

For their diet, part of the *Hindús*, as those of the tribes of *Kutteri* and *Wife* (that is, *Diet.* of the soldiers and common people, including the mechanics and all downwards), eat animal food; those of the *Bráhmans* and *Shudderi*, or merchants, never touch any flesh-meat; feeding upon vegetables, milk-meats, fruits, and sweet meats.

THERE are two sorts of food very common among the *Hindús*; *dye* and *kicheri*. The first is sweet-milk turned thick, mixed with boiled rice and sugar. This is very effectual to restrain the violence of fevers and fluxes, the prevailing distempers of *India*. *Kicheri* is made of *dol*; that is, a small round pea and rice boiled together: and is very strengthening, although not very savoury.

c THE constant drink of the *Baniyáns* is rain-water; which, falling in the time of the *monsoons* (or *monsoons*), is preserved in *tanks* and cisterns, for the whole year: for they seldom drink of well, or river-waterⁿ. Although they never touch strong liquors; yet they indulge themselves with tea and coffee. This last, when rightly prepared, carries a kind of yellow oil at top; which gives it an agreeable relish; but it requires much art to bring it to that perfection. Tea is universally drank. And, although such hot liquor may not seem proper for so hot an air, yet the *Europeans* themselves find it very conducive to health^o.

As the *Hindús* never drink out of the same cup with a Christian, or any person of a different *Way of drink-* tribe, nor will defile their lips with water which has been touched by a stranger; they have *ing.* contrived to quench their thirst, like the antient *Thracians*, by holding the spouted vessel at a

d certain distance, and pouring it into their mouths, without either shutting them, or drawing their breath^p. By this means a mixed company may drink out of the same cup, or phial; and some are so dexterous at it, as to lift a pretty large bowl above a span from their mouths, and pour in a torrent of water, without wetting themselves^q. However, for fear of the worst, they commonly carry with them jars of water, when they go abroad^r.

THEIR times of eating are about eight or nine in the morning, and at four or five in the *Times of eat-* afternoon: the heat of the day is spent in rest and sleeping, either upon *kots*, or beds; or *ing.* *bechanabs*, which are thick quilts, spread the whole breadth of a room and length of a man,

with bolsters at the head, where eight or nine may sleep together. They seldom take their repose without a *wench* in their arms; that is, a small pillow upon their stomach, to defend it from the ambient vapours: and seldom use any covering, but their shirts and drawers; except it be a sheet, or slight callico, spread over them^s.

THE *Indians* are in many things of matchless ingenuity, and admirable imitators of whatever *Mechanics* they copy. The *Baniyán*, by strength of his brain only, will sum up his account with no less *ingenuity:* exactness, and quicker dispatch, than the readiest arithmetician can with his pen.

The silk-weavers will exactly imitate the nicest and most beautiful patterns, which are brought from *Europe*; and the very ship-carpenters at *Surát* will take the model of an *English* vessel, in all the curiosity of its building, and most artificial instances of workmanship about it, whether proper for the conveniency of burthen, or of quick sailing, as exactly as if they had been the first contrivers. The taylor here shape the cloaths for *Europeans*, of either sex, according to *great artists:* the mode which prevails (A); and fit up the towering head-dresses for the women with as much skill, as if they had been an *Indian* fashion, or themselves had been bred apprentices at the *Royal Exchange*. In some things, the artists of *India* out-do all the ingenuity of *Europe*; as in painting *chites* (commonly called *chints*); which in *Europe* cannot be paralleled, either in brightness, or duration, of the colours (B). The gold stripes likewise in their *soofeys*, and gold flowers in their *atlasses*, are imitated with us, but not to perfection. Likewise the cornelian rings, with double chains of gold about them, meeting at several distances, where

¹ FERRY, p. 200.

² Ibid. p. 205.

³ Ibid. p. 313, & seq.

^m Ibid. p. 19.

ⁿ OVINGTON, p. 310.

^o DE LA VALLE'S Voy. Ind. p. 43. fol. Engl.

^p Ibid. p. 305. & seq.

^q OVINGTON, ubi supr.

(A) Ferry says, they are very dexterous in making shoes and boots, cloths and linen, after the *European* fashion. *Voy. to Ind.* sect. v. p. 378.

(B) We know not how far this judgment may hold good at present; especially since the printing of linen hath been brought to such perfection in *England*.

sparks of diamonds, rubies, or sapphires, are set for ornament, surpass the skill of any other nation to perform^a.

THIS is the account we have of the *Hindû* mechanics and manufacturers, from *Sarist*; and, if we go to the extremity of the *Indies* eastward, we shall find it the same. The artificers of *Bengâl*, says a certain missionary, are surprisingly skilful. Their linen cloth is so fine, that pieces of a great breadth may be drawn through a ring. They will fine-draw a piece of torn muslin so curiously, that it is impossible to find the seam; and put together pieces of broken glass, or china, so artfully, that no eye can discover that they were ever severed. Their goldsmiths are extremely curious in filagree works; and imitate, to great perfection, those of *Europe*; although their forge and other implements do not cost above a *French* crown. The weavers, with looms of no greater price, sitting in their own yards, or by the way-side, weave the fine linens, which are so much sought after in all parts of the world. A hand-mill, which does not cost ten pence, is used for breaking the sugar-canes. A mason will lay the floor of the largest hall, with a kind of mortar composed of brick-dust and lime, in such a manner, that the whole shall appear as a single stone; much harder than sandy stone. Our author saw a kind of a pent-house, forty feet long, eight broad, and four or five inches thick, raised in his presence, and fixed to the wall by one side, without any other support. Their chemists pulverise all kinds of metal with great ease; and make use of the first vessel they meet with, to extract quicksilver out of cinnabar, and for other mercurial preparations; which they do in the most simple manner^b.

TO the foregoing remarks, in praise of the *Indian* mechanics, let us add a few more from others authors. *Terry* assures us, that they are excellent painters, and copy any picture so exactly, that it will be difficult to distinguish it from the original: however, painting is not encouraged in the *Mogol's* country^c. *Bernier* saw guns, and pieces of goldsmiths work, so well done, that he doubted if, in *Europe*, they could be executed better: but the workmen being despised, and ill-treated by the great men, few good ones are to be found^d. They have the art of working in gold upon agate, crystal, and other brittle matters; which the *European* goldsmiths and lapidaries have not. They fit gold rings to the brims, or middle, of drinking vessels. This work, though very nice, is performed by poor people, and sometimes by little boys; who do it with skill and dispatch. What helps much to perfect the manufacturers and mechanics in their several professions, is, that among the *Mohammedans*, as well as Pagans, every one breeds his children up to his own trade and occupation; and not to any other^e.

GREAT praise, doubtless, is due to the industry and genius of the *Indian* mechanics: let us now take a view of learning; and see if the *Brâmmans*, who treat them with such contempt, have acquitted themselves as well, with regard to the sciences, the care of which they claim wholly to themselves^f.

AS poetry is generally the first science, which any nation cultivates, the *Hindûs* have not neglected it; and to this day abound with poets. But, we are told, the unity of action is not so strictly observed in their *Purân*, and other poems, as in *Homer* and *Virgil*; although that rule is followed in some. The *Indian* fables, which the *Arabs* and *Persians* have so often translated, are a collection of five small poems, perfectly regular, composed for the education of the princes of *Patnâ* (C). It is true, eloquence never was much in use among the *Brâmmans*, much less has the art of discoursing well on subjects been cultivated by them: but they have a great number of books, containing rules with relation to the purity, beauty, and ornaments, of diction; which makes a particular science by itself^b.

OF all parts of literature, history seems to be that which has been least regarded by the *Hindûs*, who are excessively fond of the marvellous; to which vicious taste, the *Brâmmans*, for sake of interest, have conformed themselves. However, the princes, without doubt, have regular histories of their ancestors: especially in *Hindustân*, where they are more powerful, and *Râjabpûts* by tribe (D). There are likewise, in the north, books called *Nîtak*; which the *Brâmmans* affirm contain many antient histories, without any mixture of fable. There are likewise in their poems many precious remains of antiquity, relating to the antediluvian world, as well as the *Affyrian* and *Macedonian* empires: but they are to be acquired only at a vast expence, and by a perfect knowledge of the *Samskret* language^c.

THE *Brâmmans* have cultivated almost all the parts of mathematics; nor is algebra unknown to them: but astronomy, or rather astrology, was always the principal object of their mathematical studies; because the superstition, as well of the grandees as the people; made it turn

^a Ovington, p. 279, & 321.

^b P. PAPIN. Lett. Ediff. tom. ix. p. 420, & seqq.

^c TER.

p. 378. sect. v.

^d BERNIER, part. iii. p. 30, 35, & seq.

^e Ibid.

^f LA LANE ap.

Lett. Ediff. tom. x. p. 400.

^b P. PONSAP. Lett. Ediff. tom. xxvi. p. 228.

^c Ibid. p. 229, & seq.

(C) Or the *Pâtan* princes, so often mentioned in the history of the *Indies*, who reigned in *Hindustân* before the *Mohammedans*.

(D) This seems to imply that the *Râjahs* in the southern parts, or peninsula of *India*, are of the *Brâmmans* tribe

a most to their profit. They have several treatises of astronomy: with regard to which, there is room to believe, that some learned *Greek*, as *Pythagoras*, travelled formerly into the *Indies*, learned the *Brámmán* sciences; and, in return, left them his method of astronomy, with the *Greek* names of the planets, twelve signs, and other terms. This our author discovered at *Debli*, and shewed to the astronomers, who are very numerous in the famous observatory, built lately in that capital by *Râjah Jaesing*; who may be stiled the restorer of the *Indian* astronomy.

THAT which rendered the name of gymnosophists most famous in antiquity, was their philosophy; which, by way of excellence, they call *shâstram*, that is, *science*; which consists of logic, metaphysics, and a little physiology (E). The sole end, to which all the philosophic enquiries of the *Brámmans* tend, is the *Moukti*, or deliverance of the soul from the captivity and miseries of this life, by a perfect felicity; which essentially is, either the deliverance of the soul, or its immediate effect ^d.

As the *Greeks* had several schools of philosophy, so among the antient *Brámmans* there were six principal schools, or sects (F); named *Niyâyam*, *Vedântam*, *Sankiam*, *Mimamsa*, *Pâsanjalam*, and *Bhâsiam*. These are what are simply termed the sciences; each of which is distinguished from the rest by some peculiar sentiment on felicity, and the means of obtaining it ^e. The first of these schools is famous for logic, the second for metaphysics. With regard to the former, their rules for syllogism are exact, and differ chiefly from ours in this; that, according to the *Brámmans*, a perfect syllogism ought to have four terms (G). The school of *Niyâyam*; that is, *reason*, or *judgment*, is most famous for this art, which, however, at present, is employed about infinite questions, more subtle than useful; and is, in short, a medley of trifles; such as was the logic of *Europe* about two centuries ago ^f.

BESIDES the six sects, there are several others; which, in matters of religion, are so many heresies. Amongst these, the most remarkable are the *Agama-shâstram*, and the *Baudda-mattham*. The followers of the *Agamam* would have no difference of conditions amongst men (H), nor legal ceremonies; and are accused of magic. The *Bauddists*, whose notion of the transmigration of souls is universally received, are accused of atheism; and admit of no principles of knowledge but our senses. *Baudda* (I), (or *Boudda*) is the *Fo-to* among the *Chineses*; and the *Bauddists*, the sect of the *Bonzas* and *Lamas*; as the *Agamists* are the sect of the people of *Mâba Sîn*, or the *grand Sîn*; which comprehends all the kingdoms west of *Persia* ^g. From the school of *Niyâyam* formerly issued the most famous adversaries of the *Bauddists*; who, by their instigation, underwent a most horrible massacre, in several kingdoms. *Batta*, one of the two, who distinguished themselves most in this dispute, to purify himself from so much blood, which he had been the cause of shedding, burned himself with great solemnity, at *Jagannat*, on the coast of *Orisba* ^h, commonly written *Orixa*.

ALL these sects speak of the first principles of things; but very differently. Some say, that all is composed of bodies indivisible; not by their solidity and hardness, but their minuteness. Others say, all is made up of *matter* and *form*: but none of them explains himself clearly about the matter, much less about the form. Some hold, that all consists of four elements and a *nothing*: but do not explain themselves concerning mixtion and transmutation. And as for their *nothing*, which comes near to our *privation*, they admit many sorts, which they seem to understand no better than other things. According to some, *light* and *darkness* are the first principles; about which they utter a great deal of idle and confused stuff. Nor do those explain themselves better, who for the first principle admit *privation*, or rather *privations*; which they distinguish from *nothing* in a very uncouth manner. Lastly, some affirm, that all is composed of *accidents*; of which likewise they make odd and tedious enumerations (K). Touching these principles in general, they all agree that they are *eternal*: our production out of nothing not having come into their thoughts ⁱ.

WITH regard to morality, or moral philosophy, they have a very fine system, contained in many works of the *Niti Shâstram*, or *Moral Science*; which is usually comprised in sententious

^d P. PONS ap. Lett. Ediff. p. 235. seqq.

^e Ibid. p. 246.

^f Ibid. p. 239.

^g BERNIER, part iv. p. 163.

^h Ibid. p. 246.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 239, &

(E) The *Danish* missionaries at *Tranquebar* say, that the *Malabars* have their course of philosophical sciences, and treat them in as regular a manner as the schools in *Europe*. *Propag. Gosp. in the East*, part ii. p. 19.

(F) It is doubtless of these sects that *Bernier* speaks, part iii. p. 160, when he says, *that among the Hindû philosophers, six have been very famous; who make so many different sects, which divide the* *Pendets*, or *doctors*; *each pretending his doctrine to be better than that of the rest, and more conformable to their sacred books; which, they say, contain the grounds of their sciences, as well as religion.*

(G) For instance; *where there is smook there is fire: there is smook on that mountain; therefore there is fire there.*

(H) Possibly this ought to be understood only with regard to the distinction of tribes among the *Hindûs*.

(I) By *Bernier* called *Bauta*; which, he says, is a seventh sect; whence proceed twelve others: but that the followers of this sect are not numerous, being hated and despised, as irreligious and atheistical people.

(K) We must suspend our judgment, till we see their books.

verses, like those of *Caro*. In this branch of philosophy, which is communicated by the *Brâmmans* to the other tribes, several authors among the *Shoutres*, and even the *Pârias*, have acquired a great reputation^k.

Physic. MANY of the *Brâmmans* study physic; of which they have many little books: but they are rather collections of recipes than any thing else: the most antient and chief whereof are in verse. Their practice is very different from what, in our author *Bernier's* time, was observed in *France*: for they ground themselves on these principles, that one who is sick of a fever needs no great nourishment: that the main remedy in all kinds of sickness is abstinence: that there is nothing worse for a sick body than flesh-broth: nor which corrupts sooner in the stomach of a feverish patient: that no blood should ever be taken away, except in the greatest and most evident necessity; as when a delirium is apprehended, or some considerable part, as the chest, liver, or kidneys, is inflamed. This practice, which is attended with success in the *Indies*, is followed also by the *Mohammedan* physicians, especially as to meat broths^l.

Physicians. A PHYSICIAN is not allowed to visit a patient in *Bengâl*, unless he can point out his distemper, and discover the state of his constitution; which he does easily by feeling the pulse: a sure method (L), as our author has experienced. Most of them throw a drop of water into the patient's urine (M): if it spreads, they say he is very hot inwardly; but if it does not, it betokens want of heat^m.

Anatomy. FOR all this, the *Hindûs* understand nothing at all of anatomy. Nor is it to be wondered at, when they never open the body of man or beast; nor can bear the sight of such an operation. Yet they affirm, that there are 5000 veins in man, neither more nor less; as if they had actually counted them all.

Astronomy, or astrology. TOUCHING astronomy, they have their tables, according to which they calculate eclipses, pretty nearly as exact as the *Europeans*: yet account for them very absurdly; affirming, that both the solar and lunar are occasioned by *Rab*, a black *Deuta*, or demon; who, seizing those luminaries, blackens them as it were with ink, and so darkens their light. They hold also, that the moon is above 50,000 leagues higher than the sun: that she is lucid of herself; and from her we receive a certain vital water, which, gathering in the brain, descends thence into all the members, and gives them their respective functions. More than this, they believe, that the sun, moon, and all the stars, are *Deutas*: that it is night, when the sun is behind the imaginary mountain *Someyra* (N), and day, when he gets out from its shade. This mountain they say is in the middle of the earth, in form of an inverted cone, and many thousand miles highⁿ.

Hindû superstition, ON this occasion we cannot forbear to divert our readers with an account of the behaviour of the *Hindûs*, during the time of an eclipse, which happened at *Debli* in the year 1666. *Bernier*, from the terrace of his house, which was situated on the side of the *Jemma*, saw both sides of the river, for near a league in length, covered with *Hindûs*; who stood in the water, up to the girdle, demurely looking unto the sky, watching when the eclipse should begin, in order to perform their ceremony. The little boys and girls were stark-naked; the men had only a scarf about their waist; and the married women, with young maidens of six or seven, were covered with a single cloth. Their *Râjabs*, or sovereign princes, bankers, jewellers, and other great merchants, who were mostly beyond the river, in tents, had set up *kanates*, or skreens, in the water, to wash themselves, with their wives, and not be seen by others.

about eclipses. THE moment the eclipse commenced, those idolaters raised a great cry, and all at once plunged themselves into the stream, for several times successively: then standing up again, with lifted eyes and hands, muttered their prayers with great devotion; and, from time to time, threw up water towards the sun, bowing their heads very low, and turning their arms and hands sometimes one way, sometimes another. All these ceremonies they continued to repeat till the end of the eclipse; and then every one retired, casting some pieces of silver a good way into the water, and giving alms to the *Brâmmans*, who failed not to attend. Our author took notice, that, at their going out of the water, they all took new cloaths, which were laid ready for them on the sand; and that many of the devouter sort left their old garments for the *Brâmmans*. It must be observed, that this eclipse was celebrated after the same manner not only in the *Indus*, *Ganges*, and all other rivers, but also in the reservatories of water, throughout the *Indies*^o.

French panic. HOWEVER, *Europeans* have no reason to laugh at this folly and superstition of the *Hindûs*: they were formerly as deeply immersed in it as they. And the same author, speaking of a solar eclipse, which happened but twelve years before in *France*, tells us, that he was surprised at the childish credulity of the common people in *France*, who were seized with such a panic

^k PONS, ubi supr. p. 234.
ubi supr. p. 166, & seqq.

^l BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 165.
^o Ibid. p. 105, & seqq.

^m PAPIN, ubi supr. p. 426.

ⁿ BERNIER,

(L) Perhaps they had this method from the *Chineses*, who have formed the doctrine of the pulse into a science.

(M) *Ovington* mentions this practice, p. 351, used by a *Brâmmān* at *Surat*.

(N) Their best astronomers hold the sun to be in the center.

a on the occasion, that some bought drugs against the eclipse; others retired to dark caves and chambers: while multitudes fled for shelter into the churches; believing that the last day was come; and that the eclipse would not only shake, but overturn the foundations of nature: in spight of any thing which the *Gassendis*, *Robervals*, and many other philosophers, had written written to demonstrate, that the said eclipse was of the same nature with preceding eclipses, and would be attended with no worse effects than those had been ^p.

In geography the *Brámmans* are no better skilled than in astronomy. They hold the earth to be flat and triangular; and that it hath seven stories, all differing in beauty and perfection, as well as inhabitants; and that each is encompassed with its respective sea; one of milk, another of sugar, the third of butter, the fourth of wine, and so forth: that the mountain *Someyra* passing through the middle of these stories (which consist interchangeably of an earth and a sea), the first story begins at the foot thereof: that all these earths are inhabited by *Deutas*, lessening in perfection, till you come to the seventh, which is ours, peopled by men far less perfect than any of the *Deutas*: lastly, that this whole mass is sustained upon the heads of many elephants; which, when they stir, are the cause of earthquakes ^q.

BERNIER, reflecting on these absurdities, makes this just observation, that if those famous sciences of the antient Brahmans of the Indies were such as above set forth, and which their being written in the Sanskrit language seems to prove, great numbers have been deceived in the high opinion which they have entertained of them. An air of mystery, in things of this nature, ought always to be considered as a cloak to conceal the absurdities or imperfections which lie underneath. In short, we are told, the *Brámmans* affect this obscurity to such a degree, that, not content with having terms unknown to the vulgar, they have wrapped up the most common things in mysterious language ^r.

THE city of *Bernâres*, or *Waranâsi*, called also *Kâfi*, or *Kâshi*, situated in *Bengál*, in a rich country upon the river *Ganges*, is the general school, and, as it were, the *Athens* (O) of the gentry of the *Indies*. Here the *Brámmans*, and religious, who addict themselves to study, assemble together. They have no colleges, nor classes, as in *Europe*; but the masters (more after the school of the antient *Greeks*) are dispersed over the town in their houses, and especially in the gardens of the suburbs, where the great merchants permit them to teach. These masters have four, six, or seven disciples, and the most famous twelve or fifteen, who spend ten or a dozen years with them: for they are of a slow and lazy humour, to which the heat and diet of the country contributes much; nor have they the hopes of some good place to excite them to study. They first study is the *Hanskrit* (rather *Sanskrit*, but more properly *Samskrtam*, or *Samskroutam*); that is, a pure language; which is quite different from the common *Indian*, and known only to the *Pondets*, or doctors. As their *betbs* (*vedam*), or sacred books, which are of great antiquity, are written in this language, they call it *holy* and *divine*. They have many other books in this tongue: of which our author saw a great hall quite full at *Banâres*. Among them were several in philosophy and physick, both in verse and prose, with many poems.

AFTER they have learned this language, which is very difficult (P), they commonly apply themselves to read the *purân*, which is the interpretation and sum of the *betbs*; which are very large. After the *purân*, some study philosophy; wherein, says *Bernier*, they have made no great progress ^s.

THE *Hindús* never marry out of the tribe to which they belong. Thus a *Brámmán* is married to the daughter of a *Brámmán*: a merchant's son marries a merchant's daughter; and the son of a *Kúli*, who tills the ground, takes to wife the daughter of a *Kúli*. In like manner, the children are bred to the father's trade or business: so that although this is the way for them to become great proficient in every art, yet they have no opportunity of ever rising higher than they were at first. No man has more than one wife at a time: they marry at six or seven years of age, and bed by fifteen at farthest, often at thirteen. Their marriages are solemnized like the *Mohammedan*, with much company and noise: but with this difference; that the young people ride openly on horseback; bedecked with flowers fastened to their garments ^t.

As the *Hindús* reckon marriage one of the most happy actions of a man's life, and to die unmarried one of the greatest misfortunes, they therefore marry their children about seven years of age, that they may procure the one, and prevent the other. The match being made between the parents, messengers and presents are sent to those of the maiden, accompanied with drums and trumpets, as well as songs in praise of her accomplishments. In return for this, presents are sent back to the bridegroom, in token of their acceptance of the nuptial proffer.

^p BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 104.
ubi supr. p. 158, & seqq.

^q Ibid. p. 168, & seq.
^r TERRY Voy. Ind. sect. 19.

^s PONS, ubi supr. p. 227.
^t Oving. p. 322.

^u BERNIER,

(O) They have universities in several other parts of *Hindústán*, as well as the peninsula of *India*; but that of *Benâres*, or *Kâshi*, is acknowledged to be the principal.

(P) *Bernier* ascribes the difficulty of it to their having no grammar worth any thing: whereas the late missionaries say they have the most perfect grammars imaginable. See *Lettres Edifiantes*, tom. xxvi. p. 222.

Then, on the day appointed by the *Brâmmans* for the ceremony ^a, the bridegroom, attended by the sons of all the persons of the same trade in the town, some on horseback, others in palakîns and coaches, dressed in a shewy manner, proceed through the chief streets, accompanied with music and gilded pageants. The bridegroom is distinguished from the rest by a crown on his head, richly decked with jewels.

Marriage ceremony.

NEXT day the bride takes her turn, attended by all the maidens of the same family, in the same pompous way; and, towards evening, returns home to be joined in wedlock ^y, that being the time of performing the ceremony among the *Hindûs* ^z. It begins by kindling a fire, and placing it between the parties to be married, to intimate the ardency which ought to be in their affections: then both are inclosed with a silken string, to denote the insoluble bond of matrimony. After this, a cloth is put between them, to signify, that before marriage there ought to be no intimacy between them. This done, the *Brâmmans* pronounce a certain form of words, enjoining the man to allow the woman all things convenient for her, and charging the woman to be faithful to her husband: then pronouncing a blessing upon them, that they may be fruitful, the cloth is taken away, and the silken string unloosed; which puts an end to the ceremony. There is no dowry given, excepting the jewels which are worn on the bridal day: and to the feast none repair, but those who are of the same family ^a.

Marriage rules.

IN marriage they have certain legal injunctions, by which the tribes are differenced: first, that no woman marry a second time, unless she be of the tribe of *Wife* (or *Weyz*), who are the handicraftsmen. Secondly, that second marriage is permitted to the men of all the tribes, excepting that of the *Brâmmans*. Thirdly, that all marry within their own tribe; *Brâmmans* with *Brâmmans*, *Kutteris* with *Kutteris*, and *Shudderis* with *Shudderis*: but the *Wifes* are obliged to marry not only with those of their own tribe, but with persons of their own trade (Q); as the son of a barber to the daughter of a barber, and so of the rest ^b.

Baptism.

THE ceremony of baptism, or naming their children, is different among the *Brâmmans* from that used by the other tribes. The latter are only washed in water: after which, one of the relations, holding the point of a pen towards the child's forehead, prays, that *God would write good things therein*: then those present say *amen*, and give the infant its name (R). Lastly, the *Brâmmans* make a mark in his forehead with a red ointment, in token of admission into their church, and the ceremony is ended. The children of *Brâmmans* are not only washed with water, but anointed with oil: the priest, by way of consecration, saying, *O Lord, we present unto thee this child, born of an holy tribe, anointed with oil, and cleansed with water*. Then, having performed the former ceremonies, they all pray, that he may live a righteous observer of the law of the *Brâmmans*. After this they calculate the child's nativity, from the position of the twelve signs at the time of his birth; which they conceal till the day of his marriage, reckoned one of the happiest in his life; then publish the dangers past, and evils to come, as resulting from that scheme ^c.

Childbed.

THE mother, till ten days after childbed, is touched by none but a dry nurse: nor is allowed to have a hand in dressing victuals till the forty days of purification be over. The cradles for children are hung in the air, to a beam or post, by strings tied to each end, and so swing to and fro by the slightest touch, with a much gentler motion than ours, which are placed on the ground ^d.

Last sickness.

WHEN a person is past hopes of recovery, they enjoin him to invoke *Narrawne*, which is the name of God, importing mercy to sinners: then, as his spirits languish, they stretch out his hand, and, pouring water into it, pray to *Kistneruppon*, God of water, to present him pure to the sovereign Being, with that offering in his hand. As soon as his life is departed, they wash his body, in token of his cleanness and purity ^e.

Mourning.

If a *Rajah* dies, his subjects and dependants cut off their beards, and shave their heads, as tokens of the deepest mourning; which is never shewn but for a prince, a parent, or some nearest relation.

ON the death of any friend the *Baniyâns* make costly feasts, for the two or three days following: then they observe the twelfth, twentieth, thirtieth, and fortieth, days after, besides one day every quarter till the annual solemnity returns ^f.

Dead bodies.

THE generality of the *Hindûs*, instead of burying, burn their dead. The corpse being carried to the side of some river, approached to such purpose, and laid on the ground, the *Brâmmans* who officiate, pronounceth these words: *O earth! we commend unto thee this our brother. Whilst he lived, thou hadst an interest in him. Of the earth he was made: by the blessing of the*

^a Oving. p. 328.

p. 322, 328, & seqq.

^c Lord, ubi supr. ch. 9.

^y Lord, p. 319.

^b Lord's Banian relig. ch. 9.

^f Oving. p. 340.

^z Oving. p. 32.

^a Lord's Panian relig. ch. 9. See also Oving.

^c Lord, ibid.

^d Oving. p. 336, & seq.

(Q) Ovington says, p. 383, that the different sects (or families) of *Baniyâns* refrain both from intermarrying and eating in common: but this seems to be a mistake.

(R) Ovington, who, p. 335, says, this giving a name is performed ten days after the birth, describes the ceremony after another manner; which shews it differs on certain occasions.

earth he was nourished, and now he is dead we surrender him up to thee. After this, combustible matter is put to the body, and kindled by help of sweet oil : then aromatic odours are strowed thereon, and the *Brámmán* saith, *O fire! whilst he lived, thou hadst a claim in him, by whose natural heat he subsisted : we return therefore his body to thee, that thou mayst purge it.* This done, the son of the deceased setteth a pot of water on the ground, with a pot of milk upon it ; and, throwing a stone at the lower pot, breaks it to pieces, which brings the other down. This gives him an occasion to moralize thus : that as the stone, by its violent motion, caused both the vessels to shed their liquors ; so did the assault made by sickness destroy his father's body, and bring it to dissolution, like milk and water spilt on the ground, never to be retrieved.

b WHEN the corpse is consumed, they scatter the ashes in the air, while the *Brámmán* repeats ^{commonly} these words : *O air! whilst through thee he lived, he breathed : and now, having breathed his last, we yield him up to thee.* ^{burned.} Lastly, when the ashes are fallen into the water, the priest utter-

eth ; *O water! whilst he lived, thy moisture did sustain him : and, now his body is dispersed, take thy part in him.* Thus they give to every element its own : for as they affirm every man's life to be continued by the four elements, so, they say, he ought to be divided among them at his death. This funeral solemnity being over, the *Brámmán* presents the son, or nearest akin, a register of the times when his ancestors died ; and, at the same time, reads to him the law of mourners ; importing, that for ten days he must neither chew *betel*, oil his head, nor put on clean cloaths. Also, that for a whole year, every month, on the day of his father's decease, he must make a feast, and pay a visit to the river which received his parent's ashes ^g.

c ALTHOUGH burning in this manner is the common usage, yet it is not strictly followed by ^{Some broil} the *Hindús* : for some do no more than broil the corpse, with a little straw, on the river-side, ^{only.} and then cast them from a steep rock into the water ; as *Bernier* had often seen upon the *Ganges*. Some likewise, when they perceive a sick person near death, carry him to the side of ^{Dying persons} a river, and first putting his feet into the water, afterwards let him slip down as high as his ^{drown ed.} throat. When they think he is ready to expire, they sink him quite under water, and there leave him, after they have made a great clamour, and clapping with their hands. The same author was once present at this inhuman kind of burial. The reason for which, alleged by the learned, as well as vulgar, is, *that the soul, leaving the body, may be washed from all the impu-*

d *rities she might have contracted during her abode in it* ^h. In like manner the body is burnt sometimes before it is quite dead, when they think it past ^{Burnt before} recovery. A *Baniyán*, who was broker to the *English* at *Surat*, was thus hurried away to the ^{dead.} burning-place as he was just expiring : but, being happily met by the *English* surgeon, who felt his pulse, and gave some hopes of recovery, some kinder friend among the rest dissuaded the company from proceeding ; and, in a little time, he was restored to health ⁱ.

e SINCE the time when the laws for burning the bodies of the dead were made, it hath become ^{Widows fre-} a fashion for widows to accompany the corpses of their husbands in the funeral flames. They ^{quently} who cohabited with the deceased (S), marry not a second time : but, as they are obliged to cut ^{burn them-} their hair, and spend the remainder of their lives as creatures quite neglected ; some, as well to ^{themselves.} avoid this reproachful state, as out of love to their husbands, choose to burn themselves. For the general, there is no compulsion in the case ; except, when some great man dies, they oblige one or more of his wives to burn herself, to honour his funeral. Sometimes the wife engages of her own accord to bear her husband company at the pile. Sometimes he, loth to leave her behind (T), or for fear any other man should enjoy her after him, prevails on her to make him a promise to burn herself with his corpse, in case he dies before her. We are told also, that in those parts where the *Rájahs*, or *Indian* princes, have all the power, the *Brámmáns*, to keep up this antient but horrid custom, frequently constrain women, especially of their own tribe, to undergo this fiery trial. In like manner, we are told, that the *Mohammedans*, where-ever their dominion is established, have endeavoured to abolish this custom : on the other hand, we are

f informed, that some *Mogul* lords, for grandeur-sake, have imitated the *Hindú* fashion ; and ordered at their deaths that some of their *Hindú* wives should burn themselves ^k. THE manner of performing that dreadful ceremony is this : on the day appointed for burning ^{Manner of} the corpse, the wife sets out, dressed with her best ornaments, as if going to her wedding, and ^{performing} attended by her friends. To declare her joy, she proceeds dancing ; and sings songs in praise

^g LORD, ubi supr. ch. 9. sect. 19. OVING. p. 344, & DE LA VALLE, p. 136.

^h BERNIER, part iii. p. 129, & seq.

ⁱ OVING. p. 341.

^k See TERRY,

(S) According to *Ovington*, p. 324, those who do not cohabit are doomed to this severe kind of restraint ; nor must ever marry again, though widows at six or seven years of age. But this law does not extend to the tribe of mechanics, and others, as before remarked.

(T) *Ovington* says, p. 342, that sometimes the husband, unable to bear the loss of his beloved wife, burnt himself with her, in expectation of a future enjoyment of her.

of the deceased, and expressing a desire to be with him in the next world. Being arrived at the place where the funeral pile is erected, sometimes in a little hut, but generally in a square pit, about two feet deep, she renews her rejoicing, with the company, singing and dancing about the pit. At length, having taken leave of her relations, and disposed of her jewels amongst them (T), they pour oil over her head, and set fire to the wood, on the top of which the body is placed : then, taking a pot of oil in her hand, she throws herself at once into the flames ; or else, taking a few turns more about the pit, on a sudden, leaps into it ; the company at the same time throw in faggots and pots of oil, as much to dispatch her with the blows, as by the fierceness of the fire ; while drums are beaten, trumpets sounded, and a noise is made to stifle the hideous shrieks, which are generally sent forth by the wretched victim. Sometimes the wife mounts the pile before it is kindled, and seats herself by her husband's corpse, holding his head in her lap, and thus heroically parts with her life ^k.

BERNIER was often present when women burned themselves, with such resolution as was not to be described, any more than the dreadful spectacle which that tragedy represented. One time he came to a place, where he saw four or five *Brâmmans* putting fire to the pile, whereon sat the woman by her husband's corpse ; and five women, of a middle age, singing and dancing, hand-in-hand, about the pit, while a great croud of people looked on. Presently all was in a flame about the woman ; who yet seemed not at all disturbed : but what still was more surprising, of a sudden, one of the dancers threw herself headlong into the fire, and then the rest, one after another, without any apparent fear. These were five slaves, who, having heard their mistress promise her husband in his sickness not to survive him, out of affection and pity, engaged to burn themselves with her.

OUR author saw another burnt at *Surât*, who was of a middle age, and tolerably handsome. It was not possible to express the undaunted cheerfulness which appeared in her countenance ; the resolution with which she marched, washed herself, and spoke to the people ; the unconcernedness with which she looked on those who came to see her tragedy, viewed her little cabin ; and went into it, sat down upon the pile, and placed her husband's head in her lap ; took the lighted torch in her hand, and set fire to the hut within, while many *Brâmmans* were busy in kindling the fuel about her.

BERNIER saw some indeed, who, on sight of the fire, discovered some apprehension, and would perhaps have gone back, had they been left to themselves ; but it is often too late : for those demons the *Brâmmans*, who are there with their great sticks, astonish them ; and, if they cannot hearten them up, even thrust them in. This he saw done to a young woman, who retreated five or six paces from the pile ; and to another, who was much startled when she saw the flames take hold of her cloaths, those executioners thrusting her in with their long poles. On the other hand, he knew a handsome young woman who escaped out of their clutches, by falling into the hands of the *Gadouts* ; who sometimes meet there in great numbers, when they know that the woman who is to be burnt is young and fair, hath no great kindred, nor much company with her. For the women who are afraid of the pile, and fly from this kind of execution, knowing that they cannot be received again to live among the Gentiles, because reputed infamous, are usually the prey of those *Gadouts* ; who are also accounted infamous, and have nothing to lose. A *Mogol* durst neither rescue nor receive any, for fear of bringing himself into great trouble.

ONCE, at *Labûr*, the same author saw a very pretty young creature, not over twelve years of age, who appeared rather dead than alive, when she came to the pile. She shook, and wept bitterly. Mean time three or four *Brâmmans*, and an old hag, who held her under the arm, thrust her on, and made her sit down upon the wood : where, lest she should run away, they tied her hands and legs, and so burnt her alive. This piece of barbarity, among others, so enraged *Bernier* against the *Brâmmans*, that he could have strangled them, if he durst. But what they do in some other places of the *Indies* is still more cruel : for, instead of burning those women who are willing to die, upon the death of their husbands, they bury them alive in the ground, up to the very throat, and then two or three of them fall on at once and wring their necks about. Having thus choked them, they cover them hastily with earth, and then march backwards and forwards over their heads, to dispatch them outright ^l.

WE shall postpone our account of the religion of the *Hindûs*, till we come to treat of the peninsula on this side *Ganges*, where it appears in most lustre, and proceed to speak of the *Parsîs*.

^k LORD, ubi supr. p. 9.

^l BERNIER, ubi supr. part i. p. 119, & seqq.

(T) *Ocwin. ton* says, p. 343, that this burning was encouraged by the *Brâmmans*, who were always gainers thereby ; as all the jewels the woman put on were made

their property : because they alone have power to touch the ashes, and rake for gold and silver.

IV.

Of the Parsîs.

- ^a **T**HE *Parsîs*, which name implies a people come from *Pârs*, or *Persia*, are a colony *They leave* which retired from thence, soon after the *Arabs* had conquered that country, on the *Persia*; death of its last king *Yezdegerd*, in the 31st year of the *Hejrab*, and of *Christ* 651. For not caring to renounce their religion, and to avoid the persecution which the *Mohammedans* raised against them on that account, a number of them embarked at *Jask*, or *Jaskes*, in seven junks, as merchants; designing to trade to the *Indies*. Being safely arrived at *Swalley*, the port of *Surât*, the *Parsîs* on board five of the junks were hospitably received by the Râjah of *Nunferri*, on condition of paying tribute, and submitting to the government. Those of another junk were admitted, in like sort, by the Râjah who resided at *Bariyaw*, near *Surât*: but, soon after, being overcome by another Râjah, with whom he was at war, the *Parsîs*, as his subjects, were all put to the sword. The seventh junk, passing northwards, met with the same kind of reception at *Kambaya*: and from one of these three places, those who are to be found in any other part of the *Indies*, have dispersed themselves.
- In this state they continued for a long time, applying themselves to husbandry; and, with *fettle in India*. their religious books, lost the tradition of their original: till, at length, their name making them known to their brethren in *Persia*, these latter furnished them with copies of their law, and persons to instruct them in it^m. As these *Parsîs* then are the same, as to religion, with those who in *Persia* are called *Gawrs*, or *Infidels*, and *Ateshpereft*, or *Fire-worshippers*, of whom an account hath been given elsewhere, we shall in this place only mention certain customs concerning this *Indian* colony.
- ^c THE *Parsîs* go dressed like the other people of *India*; only they suffer their beards to *Their aircs*. grow long. Their profession is chiefly agriculture, sowing, planting, and dressing of vines; in short, all sorts of trees, particularly the palmito or toddy-tree. They are extremely industriousⁿ, and careful to train up their children in arts and labour. They are the principal weavers in all the country about *Surât*, where most of the silks and stuffs are made by their hands.
- It is customary with them to eat alone, and for every one to drink out of his own cup: *Their diet*. nor will they drink in the same vessel after strangers. By this means they think to keep themselves more pure; imagining, that if they eat or drink with others, they should contract some uncleanness. In these respects however they take more liberty than the *Baniyâns*; nor ^d are quite so abstemious. However, to avoid giving offence to either the *Mohammedans* or *Hindûs*, among whom they live, they forbear eating either pork or beef^o.
- THE cock is no less esteemed by them than the cow by the *Hindûs*; for this reason, that *Cock esteemed*. their junks being surprised by a storm, in their passage to *India*, as above-mentioned, they despaired of ever reaching the shore, till, hearing a cock crow, their hopes revived; and, discovering fire soon after, they by that signal reached land. This was still a more lucky omen, as fire is the principal object of their worship on earth, and which they keep continually burning in their *Eggaris*, or temples^p. They say, it was first brought from heaven by their *Ho's fire* great law-giver *Zertûst*, or *Zerdûst*, the *Zoroastres* of the *Greeks*; and that it hath been preserved unextinguished ever since: for that it would be a sin unpardonable were their *Darûs* (U), ^e or priests, to let it go out. Yet, in case it should go out, they are by their *Zundevastâ*, or book of the law, brought by *Zertûst* from heaven also, allowed to compose a fire of several mixtures, which they call their *Antisbeherawon*, or religious fire. The fire, however, kindled *continually* and fed with fuel in this manner, they consider as a part of God; who, they say, is of the *burning*. same substance; and therefore are commanded to worship it. *Lord* says, the fire in their temple at *Nunferri*, near *Surât*, has been kindled in this manner^q; but does not mention the form in which it appears there. *Herbert* affirms, that it is not composed of common combustibles, as wood, straw, coals, or the like, nor blown by bellows, but is compounded of sparks flying from red-hot steel, and kindled either by lightening or a burning-glass^r. This crude account seems to be taken from *Lord's*, which is not much more intelligible. ^f *Terry* says, they keep fires continually burning in their temples, in lamps fed with oil, which are perpetually attended by their priests^s.
- In regard to this holy fire, the *Parsîs* have a great veneration for that which they use in the *Veneration for* necessary services of life; and look on it as a sin to spill water on the fire, or spit in it unawares, *fire*, or nourish it with unclean fuel: so fearful they are, lest they should either defile it or put it

^m LORD'S Relig. Parsîs, ch. 1. and TERRY Voy. Ind. sect. 21. ⁿ TERRY, sect. 21. Ovingt. p. 375.
^o TERRY, ibid. Ovingt. ibid. ^p Ovingt. p. 371. ^q LORD, ubi supr. ch. 8. ^r HERBERT'S Trav. Persia, p. 52. ^s TERRY, sect. 21.

(U) They are called also *Harbûds*; over whom is a high priest or archbishop, who is called *Disfâr*.

out^a. So that, if their houses were on fire, they would sooner be persuaded to pour on oil, to increase, than water, to assuage, the flame. If a candle is once lighted, they would judge the breath of him more than pestilential, who durst attempt to blow it out : and a *Parsî* servant, who is commanded to bring a hot poker to warm any liquor, will desire to be excused from that office ; alleging, that he dare not hasten the extinction of the heat by such violent means. In short, they must not, on any account, quench fire ; but must leave it to go out gradually of itself^u.

and marriage. THE *Parsîs* have great veneration for marriage ; and think it conducive to eternal happiness : for which reason, if a rich man's son or daughter happens to die before wedlock, he hires some person to marry the deceased. The matrimonial ceremony is never performed in their churches, but at home. The parties, being met at midnight, are placed together on *a bed*, with each a *Darû*, or *Herbûd*, attending, with rice in his hands. Then the *Darû*, or *priest*, for the bridegroom, laying his fore-finger on the bride's forehead, asks, *If she will have that man for her wedded husband ?* The bride's priest puts the same question to the bridegroom ; and, the parties having answered in the affirmative, the priests join their hands, and scatter the rice over them ; praying God, that they may be fruitful as the harvest, live in unity, and continue many years together. The ceremony being thus over, the parents of the woman give the dowry ; for the man gives none : and the marriage-feast continues for eight days^{*}.

Corpse exposed to birds of prey. THE manner of burying used among the *Parsîs* is very singular, as it is described by Mr. Ovington, who had seen the ceremony. The noblest sepulchre which they think they can bestow on their deceased friends, is that of exposing them to be devoured by the fowls of the air. After the body has lain dead for some time, the Halalchors, a kind of sordid *Hindûs*, carry it out upon a bier (X) into the open fields, near the place of burial, about a mile from *Surât*. There, having laid it down, some friend of the dead person hunts about in the neighbouring villages till he finds a dog, whom, with a cake, he intices, drawing as near the corpse as he can : for the nearer the cur approaches, the better hopes they have of the defunct's future happiness ; and if he can be allured to take a bit out of the dead man's mouth, it is an infallible sign of his going to heaven : but in case the dog, not being hungry, or loathing the object, refuses the morsel, they then consider their friend's state as truly miserable. This happened to be the case of the *Parsî*, whose corpse our author saw interred ; for the sturdy cur could not by any means be induced to come near it.

Place of sepulture, WHEN the dog has finished his part of the ceremony, two *Darûs*, at a furlong's distance from the bier, stand up, and, with joined hands, loudly repeat a form of prayer ; which, although they utter it with all the hurry imaginable, lasts for half an hour. All this while, a piece of white paper, fastened to each ear across the face, hung down two or three inches below the chin ; and, as soon as they finished their prayer, the bearers conveyed the corpse to the place of sepulture, which was round, inclosed with a wall, twelve feet high and one hundred in circumference. In the middle was a door of stone (Y), six feet from the ground, which was opened to admit the corpse. The ground with the (Z) walls is raised above four feet, and made shelving towards the center, where there is a sink for receiving the moisture, which continually drains from the carcases. The body being left here, the company betake themselves to a neighbouring rivulet, to wash ; after which they return home : but, a day or two after, some of the nearest relations come hither again, to observe another prognostic of the defunct's state in the next world. For if they find that the vultures have first plucked out his right eye, they take it for an undoubted sign of his soul's felicity ; if the left, they then conclude that his lot is miserable^y.

a horrible prospect. THE *Parsîs* are very careful to preserve their hair, and whatever is cut off their heads or beards ; that, once a year, those relics may be decently interred in their burying-place ; which affords a horrid prospect, and is much more shocking than a field of slaughtered men. It contains a number of carcases of very different, disagreeable colours and aspects. Some are seen there bleeding fresh ; but so torn by the vultures, which croud upon the walls, that they may truly be called raw heads and bloody bones, with the eye-balls out, and all the flesh on the cheeks picked off. The musculous parts of the body are full of great holes, and the skin on every part is mangled with the beaks of those ravenous birds. Here was a leg, there an arm : here lay half, and there the quarter, of a man. In this place one body appeared picked as clean as a skeleton ; and near it another, with the skin of several putrified colours. Some looked as if they were turned to jelly ; others were hardened like tanned

^a LORD, ubi supr.^u OVINGT. p. 372.^{*} LORD, ubi supr.^y OVINGT. p. 376, & seqq.(X) This bier, *Lord* says, must be of iron : for that the law forbids that the corpse should touch wood ; because it is a fuel to the fire, which they account holy.

(Y) Doubtless for the same reason that the bier was not of wood.

(Z) Perhaps it should be *within* the wall. In *Herbert's* draught the ground or floor seems raised within a foot of the top of the wall.

leather,

^a leather, by the various operations of the sun and air. Nor is the stench less intolerable than the prospect terrible; being sufficient to strike any man dead, who was to endure it but a little while. Yet the vultures sit on the wall, enjoying those loathsome vapours: some were so gorged with human flesh, that they seemed scarce able to take wing; and the feathers of others were much moulted away, by such kind of rank feeding ^z.

V.

Particulars relating to the Hindûstâns in general.

^b **T**HE diversions used in *Hindûstân* are hawking and hunting; in which they employ *Their exercises*, leopards, as well as dogs. They likewise practise shooting, both with the bow and *cifs*, gun; and are excellent marksmen. Riding and managing their horses is also an exercise. For their domestic recreations they have pleasant gardens, accommodated with shady walks, and cooling *tanks*, or fountains; while variety of fruits and flowers regale both their smell and taste. In those *tanks*, which are small and round, they bathe themselves; and, in their garden-houses, which are very near, spend the heat of the day, sitting, or lying on carpets: where, if persons of quality, their servants give them air, and drive away the flies, with fans. This is commonly the place where they are attended by the barber; who shaves and rubs them all over; after which they usually go to sleep a while. The people here are fond of mount- *and diversions*, banks (A), and jugglers; who are very dexterous in their professions. One of their methods ^c to amuse the multitude, is to suffer themselves to be bitten by snakes, which they have in baskets for the purpose; and, when they are swelled considerably by the venom of the reptile, cure themselves by means of oils and powders; which they sell to the standers-by. Within-doors, they pass the time often in playing cards; which differ from ours, both as to the figures and greater variety of suits ^a.

THE *Hindûstâns* delight much in music, and have many sorts of instruments; most of them *Music*, blown: some few are strung. They have the use also of the timbrel; but their tunes were unpleasant to our author, favouring more of discord than harmony ^b.

THE common diseases found in *Hindûstân* are fluxes, hot fevers, and calentures; which *Diseases*, seize the head and brain more than other parts. But they are free from agues, as well as those *Fevers*, ^d two torments, rather than diseases, the gout and stone (B), so common in *Europe*. However, they are sometimes visited with an inflammation, or extreme burning (C), or rather a grievous pestilence; which, on a sudden, sweeps away thousands, when it gets into populous cities. The bodies of those who are seized with it, are set on fire, as it were, all over at once: it kills the party in twenty hours at most; tho' many of the *English* died in twelve. Just before their death, broad black and blue spots appeared on their breasts; and their flesh was so hot with the violence of the distemper, that one could scarce bear to lay his hand on it. Great blisters, filled with a thick yellow watery substance, rose on the bodies of those who survived it; which, on their breaking, issuing out, did scald and corrode their skin. Almost all the *English*, who arrive in the *Indies*, are seized with some violent sickness; but if ^e they escape, and live temperately, are very healthy afterwards.

In these hot diseases, the natives, as our author could observe, made very little use of physicians, although there are many of them; unless it be to breathe a vein sometimes: after which they starve out the distemper, by fasting, or a very low diet ^c.

AMONG other distempers is that called by the *Portugueses* *mordechîn*; which is a violent *The morde-* vomiting and looseness, caused most commonly by excess in eating; particularly of fish and chin. flesh together. It has been cured by a red-hot iron clapped to the heel of the patient, till he feels the smart; but some die of it. Another distemper, which afflicts the *Europeans*, is the *barbeers*, or a deprivation of the use of their limbs; whereby they are rendered unable to move either hand or foot. This arises sometimes from the neglect of guarding the limbs *The barbeers*, ^f from the cold vapours of the night, and moisture of those nocturnal mists, which now-and-then are felt in those parts. The most effectual remedy for this, is to frequent the hot baths ^d.

BESIDES the *mortudchin* (or *mordechîn*) the *sonipât*, and *pilhay*, are most common in *Lethargy*, *Bengâl*. The *sonipât*, or lethargy, is cured by putting *chenopodium* (D), pounded with

^z OVINGTON, p. 379, & seq.^a TERRY, Voy. Ind. sect. 9.^b Ibid. sect. 12.^c Ibid. sect. 13.^d OVINGTON's Voy. Surât, p. 350.

(A) Their tumblers far exceeded ours in suppleness and feats of agility. *Trav. Ind.* part iii. cap. 45. p. 77.

(B) To these *Bernier* adds aches of the kidneys and rheumatisms; which he attributes to the people's abstaining from wine, and great sobriety, joined to the

constant evacuations by sweat; so that those, who bring those distempers thither, as he did, are at length freed from them. Neither is the pox so pernicious as in *Europe*. *i'ernier's Mem.* part iii. p. 28.

(C) Such as is spoken of, *Deut.* xxviii. 20.(D) A plant of the *Chenoput*, or goose-foot, kind.

vinegar, into the eyes. For the *pilbay*, or obstruction of the spleen, the *Jaghis* (or *Hindû* penitents), whose specific remedy this is, make a small incision over the spleen; then, drawing a long needle between the skin and flesh, apply a piece of horn to the wound; from whence they draw out a viscous matter like corruption.

Cholic.

Strangury.

THE common people use very simple remedies. To cure the cholic, arising from wind and phlegm, they give the party four spoonfuls of water, in which anise and a little ginger are boiled, till the water is half consumed. They likewise pound a raw onion, with ginger, and apply them cold to the part where the pain is felt. A stoppage of urine is cured by drinking a spoonful of olive-oil, well-mixed with an equal quantity of water. Our author has seen fevers cured, by giving the patient, before the fit comes on, three large pills, composed of ginger, black cummin, and long-pepper. Tertian agues are removed by administering three spoonfuls of tencrium-juice, or germander, mixed with a little salt and ginger, for three days together^c.

Longevity.

THE inhabitants of *India* not only live up to the greatest ages of the *Europeans*: but have more old people among them; which is owing to their temperance, both in eating and drinking^f. They are generally more healthy, but then not so full of vigour, as those who inhabit the cold climates; which feebleness and languor of body is a perpetual malady, very troublesome to all, in the great heats of summer; especially to *Europeans*, who are not inured to heat.

Computation of time.

THE *Hindûs* begin their year with the first day of *March*; the *Mohammedans*, on the tenth; when, as their astrologers compute, the sun enters into *Aries*. Their year is divided into twelve months, or rather thirteen moons; and their time distinguished in a different manner from that used in *Europe*. They divide the day into four parts, and the night into the same number; which they call *pores*: each *pore* is again subdivided into eight parts; which they name *grîs*. These parts of time are measured according to the antient method, by water dropping out of one vessel into another (E); and when the vessel is emptied, a man, who attends, fills it again, and then strikes the number of the *pores* and *grîs* which have passed, with a hammer, on a concave piece of metal, hanging by the brim on a wire: it has a deep sound, and may be heard very far. But these time-measurers are not common among them; neither have they the use of clocks, or sun-dials^g.

Buildings.

THE people of *India* are not infected with that plague of building, as the *Italians* call it. The poor cannot afford to erect sumptuous piles, and the grandees do not care to do it: partly, because, from the middle of *September* to the middle of *April*, they live in tents, removing from place to place, as often as they think fit, for change of air; and partly, because they have no inheritances, but subsist wholly on pensions from the emperor; whose favour is precarious. However, they have excellent materials for building; as timber, bricks, stone, and marble of various kinds and colours; with which their mosks and tombs are often raised.

Houses:

OF the houses to be found in cities and towns, some may be said to be handsome; others well to pass, such as are inhabited by merchants; and none very despicable. They are built low, not above two storeys, and many flat at top; which flat roofs, being made thick, and laid over with a plaister, like that of a *Paris*, keep both the sun and rains from penetrating. The upper rooms, in the houses of two storeys, are often very large, and furnished on the sides with folding doors, to let in fresh air; which is also introduced by the windows, always lying open, without glass, or any other shuttings, to keep it out. Neither have they any chimneys in their buildings; because they never use fire, but to dress their food, and that they do out of their houses, or tents, against a wall, or a bank of earth, to avoid the heat. In many places, they plant tall spreading trees about their houses; which are kept cool by their shade: so that in approaching some places, as *Abmed abâd*, in *Guzerât*, one seems to be entering a wood, rather than a city. Most of the houses there are of brick, and many with ridged roofs, covered with tiles: but the houses in their villages are generally very poor and mean. They are all contiguous; for our author never saw one standing by itself. The walls of some are of earth mixed with straw. They raise them immediately after the rainy season is over; so that, having time to dry thoroughly, they stand firm afterwards, and suffer little by the weather. But, for the generality, the cottages in those country villages are miserably small and poor; being raised at a very little charge, as sticks, rather than timber, are employed in building them^h.

Their form:

Several forts.

MANY houses, even in *Debli* itself, the capital of the empire, are not much better than these. There is in that city a great mixture of the good, passable, and mean. These last, of which there is a prodigious number, are made up only of mud and straw. They are inhabited by the common soldiers of the emperor's cavalry, and their servants, with the sutlers

^c PAPIN ap. Lett. Ediff. tom. ix. p. 426.

^f TERRY, sect. 13.

^g Ibid. sect. 13.

^h Ibid. sect. 9.

(E) A sort of *clepsydra*, or hour-glass.

- a who follow the court and the army. These thatched houses make *Debli* very subject to fires. In one year, while our author was there, above 40,000 were consumed, at two or three times that they took fire, when the winds happened to be stormy; in which many horses and women were burnt. On account of these pitiful houses, *Bernier* looked upon this metropolis ^{midling} almost no otherwise than as many villages joined together; and as a camp of an army, a little ^{house.} better and more commodiously placed than in the field. The houses of the second sort are inhabited by the *Mansebdars*, or little *Omras*, the men of the law, many of the great merchants, and other private men. Yet there are but few of them all built of brick, or stone; while no small number consist only of earth, and are covered with thatch. For all this, they are generally airy, and furnished with courts and gardens: the walls within are neatly plastered,
- b and apartments provided with fine moveables.

As to the houses of the first class, where dwell the *Omras*, it must be observed, that in those ^{the 1st sort:} hot countries, to entitle a house to the name of good and fair, it ought to be situated commodiously for receiving the air from all quarters, and principally from the north. It should have courts, gardens, trees, reservoirs, and little jets of water, in the halls, or at least at the entrance. It should be accommodated likewise with good cellars, and great flaps to keep the air in motion, during the time of reposing; which is from twelve o'clock till four or five, when the air under-ground begins to grow hot and stufing. In lieu of cellarage there should be little *kas kbanays*, that is, little houses of straw, or rather of odoriferous roots; which are very neatly made, and commonly placed in the midst of a grass-plat, near some

c reservoir (or *tank*), for sake of watering them easily. It is required also for the beauty of a house, that it be seated in the midst of some large parterre; that it have four great *divâns*, or raised-ways, about six feet high, exposed to all winds. Lastly, a good house ought to have raised-terraces to sleep on in the night, on the same floor with some great chamber, for the conveniency of drawing in one's bedstead, in case of being surprised by storms of dust, or rain; or forced by the day-break breezes, or piercing dew, to seek for shelterⁱ.

THESE are the qualifications for the exterior part of a polite habitation, and the inside must ^{how furnished.} be furnished answerably to it. The whole floor must be covered with a cotton mattress, four inches thick, and that with a fine linen sheet during the summer, and with a piece of silk-tapestry in winter. In the most conspicuous part of the chamber, near the wall, there must

d be one or two cotton quilts, set about with fine silk embroidery, wrought with gold and silver; with fine flowered coverings over them, for the master of the house, or visitors of quality, to sit on. Every quilt must have its cross-board purfled with gold, to lean upon; and several other such boards must be set round the chamber along the walls, covered with velvet, or flowered sattin, for standers-by to lean on. The walls, five or six feet from the floor, must be almost wholly taken up with niches, or little windows, cut in an hundred different figures, very fine, and well proportioned among themselves, with some china vessels and flower-pots in them. Lastly, the ceiling must be painted and gilded; but without any figure of man, or animals; their religion not allowing it. Thus there are houses in *Hindûstân*, which are truly handsome, although they be not like those in *Europe*^k.

e THE manufactures of *India* are chiefly silks and calicoes; of which there is great variety. ^{Manufactures.} Of the former you find velvets, sattins, taffetas, both plain and striped. Of the latter, calicoes, white, dyed, and painted; which last are called chints, being often very rich and beautiful. They likewise make curious silk, or cotton, carpets, with a silver or gold ground; cabinets, standishes, boxes, and the like; which are nicely inlaid, or varnished^l.

THE merchants of *Hindûstân* trade to several countries, according as the parts which they ^{Commerce.} inhabit are situated. Those in the western parts of the empire send their commodities to *Mekka*, in the *Red Sea*; whither the merchants of *Egypt* and *Habâsh*, or *Abissinia*, repair to traffic. The goods exported are chiefly cotton and calicoes of several kinds. They are carried in ships called *junks*, some of fourteen or fifteen hundred tons; built so large for the conveniency of pilgrims who go to *Mekka*. They are mounted with ordnance, but very sluggish, being broad and short like a lighter: so that, although the voyage is but short, they are a long time making it. One of these will carry 1700 passengers; and, at her return, her cargo may be worth 200,000 pounds, most of it in gold and silver. Besides the commodities before-mentioned, *Hindûstân* affords diamonds, indigo, lak, musk, and many others, with which foreign countries are supplied^m.

THE money current through the *Mogol's* empire are *rupis* of gold and silver. The latter ^{Coin.} is in value about half-a-crown *English*, and of the purest bullion; all silver which comes into the country being refined to the highest perfection, before it is sent to the mint. The gold *rupi* is equal in value to fourteen *rupis* of silver. These pieces are divided into half and quarter

g pieces. Their copper money varies in value from time to time: of it there are three sorts; the first worth about two pence, the second one penny, and the third six deniers. This last

ⁱ BERN. Mem. Mog. Emp. part iii. p. 13. & seqq.

TAVERNIER, part iii. p. 120. THEVENOT, part iii. ch. 21.

^k Ibid. p. 17, & seqq.

^m TERRY, sect. 5.

^l TERRY, sect. 3. 5.

is called *pesha*, which may be changed into shell-money (or *kori*); fifty or sixty of which make a *pesha*. There is other money; as *mahmúdi* half *mahmúdi*, and *almonds*: but it is current only in the province of *Guzerát*. Five *mahmúdi* make about a crown. They have also the copper *pesha*, twenty of which go to a *mahmúdi*; and forty *almonds* for a *pesha*. As these *almonds* are extremely bitter, there is no danger that the children should eat their money^a.

Travelling.

THEY have several conveniencies for travelling in *Hindústán*; such as coaches and chariots, oxen, horses, mules, camels, and dromedaries; on which the women ride astride like the men. Of these several voitures an account hath been already given occasionally. The roads are for the general very good in this country, and much frequented on the score of trade; the karawáns consisting sometimes of 1000 oxen. But, besides wanting inns to lodge passengers, who find them for the general only in great towns, they are infested much with robbers; who lurk in some woods, or desarts, not far distant from the highways, and often attack whole karawáns, if they be not strong enough. They commonly kill those they overcome, before they fall to plundering; which obliges the merchants to hire soldiers, and go well armed^b.

^a TAVERN. part. ii. p. 2.

^b TERRY, sect. 6. 8, & 9. THEVENOT, part iii. p. 53, 54. 73.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Great Mogol's Court, his Forces, Revenues, and Government.

S E C T. I.

Of his Court, Women, and Eunuchs.

Fortress of
Lehli.

THE fortress of *Debli*, in which is the *Mábl*, or *Harám*, and the other royal apartments, is built round on the river: yet there is between the water and the walls a pretty large and long sandy space, where commonly elephants are exercised, and often the militia of the *Omrás* and *Rájahs* is mustered, in the emperor's presence; who beholds them from the windows of one of his apartments. The walls are built partly of brick, and partly of a red sort of marble (or jasper), with round towers like those of the city: but these walls are much higher, stronger, and broader, so as to bear some field pieces, which are pointed towards the town; and, though sufficient to keep the *Indians* in awe, would make but small defence against *European* cannon. The fortress is encompassed on all sides: but, towards the river, with a fair ditch full of water and fish; and the ditch by a pretty large garden, at all times full of flowers, and green apricots; which, viewed at some distance, with the red walls, make a very agreeable prospect.

Place royal.

BETWEEN this garden and the city is a vast street, or rather *place royal*, to which the two principal gates of the fortress do answer; and to these two great gates, the two chief streets of the town. In this spacious place are set up the tents of the *Rájahs*, who are in the *Great Mogol's* pay, to keep there, each in his turn, their weekly guard; whereas the *Omrás* and *Mansebdárs* do duty within the fortress. In the same place the king's horses are exercised, and others in his service viewed. Here also a kind of market is kept, and players, jugglers, and astrologers, resort to tell people their fortunes; sitting in the sun, and all covered with dust, on a piece of tapestry, with some old mathematical instruments, and a book of figures, lying before them^a.

The entrance.

THERE is nothing remarkable at the entrance of the fortress, except two great stone elephants, with the *Rájah* of *Cbitor* on one, and his brother on the other. These are on the sides of one of the gates: which having passed through, you find a long and broad street, divided by a canal of running water, and having on both sides a wall five or six feet high, and four broad; and further-off some arches shut, which follow one another in form of gates. It is upon this long raised place, that the inferior officers of the court sit to dispatch their business, without being incommoded by the horses and people who pass beneath. There also the *Mansebdárs* keep guard at night. The water of the canal is brought from the river five or six leagues distant; and, having divided itself through the whole *mábl*, falls into the ditches; which are thus supplied.

Fair streets.

IF you enter by the other gate, you also find a long street, having its risings on the sides like the former; but with shops upon them, instead of arches. The street is properly a

^a BERNIER, Mem. Mog. Emp. part iii. p. 6, & seq.

a *bazâr*, or exchange, very commodious in summer, and the rainy season; as being covered above, arch-wise, with great openings by intervals to let in the light. Besides these two streets, there are many other lesser ones on each side; which lead to the stately guard-rooms of the Omrâs, raised pretty high, with parterres and fountains before them. Here they keep watch for twenty-four hours, and are supplied with meat from the emperor's table. In divers places also, one meets with raised walks and tents; which are the offices of so many officers. There are besides many great halls, called *kar khânays*, where embroiderers, painters, goldsmiths, silk-weavers, and other artificers of all kinds, repair daily to work^b.

HAVING passed all these apartments, you come to the *amkas*, or *place of audience*; which ^{The amkas,} is a great square court with arches along the sides, separated by walls, with doors to pass from one to the other. Over the great gate, which is in the middle of one of the sides, there is a large raised-place, open towards the court, and called the *nâgar khânay*; for there the hautboys and cymbals play at certain hours of the day and night: which noisy musick, tho' disagreeable at first to an *European*, has something in it that is very majestic and melodious, when heard at a distance. Having passed through this gate, you enter into another court: where, on the opposite side, stands a large and stately *salon*, or hall, open on three sides ^{or audience-} toward the court; and supported by rows of pillars, which, as well as the ceiling, are painted ^{ball,} and gilded. The back-wall of this *salon* joins the *mâhl*; and has in the middle of it an opening, like a huge window, the bottom of which is seven or eight feet from the ground. It is here that the emperor appears seated on his throne, with his sons beside him, and several eunuchs attending to fan him, to drive away the flies with peacocks tails, and do other offices. From hence he beholds beneath him all the Omrâs, Râjahs, and ambassadors; and a little behind them the *Mansebdârs*, or lesser Omrâs, all standing upon a raised floor, inclosed with silver rails, with their eyes downwards, and their hands across their breasts. At a small distance from the rails, in the remaining part of the hall, and in the court, the people stand in crouds: for there, every day, about noon, the *Great Mogol* gives a general audience to his subjects of all degrees^c.

THIS assembly lasts about an hour and half; during which time that monarch is diverted ^{Emperor's af-} with seeing his horses, elephants, and leopards, besides other sorts of wild beasts, and birds of ^{fiduity} the game, pass before him. Sometimes he reviews the cavalry of one or two Omrâs: at other times, he orders the young Omrâs, *Mansebdârs*, and *Gûrzberdûrs*, or mace-bearers, to try their strength and skill, with cutlasses, on embowelled carcases of sheep; by cutting through the body, and the four legs joined together, at one blow. They who come thither to seek for justice, hold up their petitions; which the emperor observing, causes to be brought to him, and read: then, ordering the parties to approach, he examines them, and often causes justice to be executed on the spot. This is the more remarkable, because he is usually pre- ^{to administer} sent once a week at the *adalet khânay*, or *chamber of justice*, attended by his two prime Khâdis, ^{justices.} or chief justices; and another time in the week spends two hours in private, hearing the complaints of the common people. All this is truly great and royal: the worst is the abject flattery one hears in the *amkas*, from even the principal Omrâs; who, at every word almost which drops from the emperor's lips, lift up their hands, and cry, *karamat! karamat!* wonder! wonder! This kind of flattery passeth even to the common people; who, in applying to a physician, or painter, load him with fulsome praises, preferring him to the greatest master of the profession^d.

FROM the hall of audience, one enters into the court of the *ghuzl khâneh*; that is, ^{The ghuzl} *the ball* ^{to wash in;} which is very spacious and handsome, being painted and gilded, and its door ^{khâneh.} raised four or five feet high. There at night the emperor seated in a chair, with his Omrâs standing round him, gives audience to his officers, receives their accounts, and examines the most important affairs of state. His majesty never fails to be at these two assemblies, unless hindered by sickness, or some extraordinary business. In this second also, the same things pass before him in review; except the cavalry, which could not be seen at night. But, in place thereof, all the *Mansebdârs* who are on guard, salute the emperor, the *Kours* marching at their head. These are silver figures of diverse animals, carried on the tops of poles of the same metal, which make a pompous shew.

No lord of the empire can enter farther than the *ghuzl khâneh* into the *mâhl* (A); and ^{The mâhl im-} though *Bernier* was several times admitted to the apartment of a great lady, who was sick, to ^{penetrable.} attend her as a physician, yet his head was always covered, so that he could see nothing, as he was led by eunuchs. From these he learned, in general, that in the *mâhl* there are very handsome apartments, more or less large and stately, according to the quality of the women

(A) *Mihl* (or *mâhal*, as commonly written) signifies kept; and answers to the Harâm, or Saray, of Persia and Turkey.

^b BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 31, & seqq.

^c BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 36, & seqq.

^d Ibid. p. 40, & seqq.

who resided in them: that there is scarce a chamber, but has at its door plenty of running a water: that it is full of parterres, pleasant walks, shady places, rivulets, fountains, cascades, grottos, and great caves, to retire from the heat of the day. There are likewise large terraces, raised very high, for sleeping in the cool air. In a word you know not there what it is to be hot. They chiefly boast of a little tower facing the river; which they say is covered with plates of gold, like two others which are at *Agra*; all the inside is ornamented with gold and azure, as well as hung with costly pictures, and looking-glasses^c.

Classes of women. If you will believe the editor of *Manuchi*, this physician had access into the most inner apartments; which he describes. According to him, the *mâhl* contains more than 2000 women, which may be divided into six orders, or classes. 1. The queens, or women of the first rank; 2. the concubines, or his women of the second rank; 3. the princes and princesses; b 4. the ladies of the palace, who watch the conduct of the queens, and the governesses of the princesses; 5. the musicians of the court; 6. the women slaves and eunuchs.

The queens. WITH regard to the queens, or women of the first order, the *Great Mogol* has sometimes to the number of six; whom he marries according to ceremony. These usually are the daughters of Râjahs; though he sometimes raises to that dignity his favourite concubines, and even his female musicians and dancers, to whom on that occasion he gives new names. They are the sons only of these queens, who are looked on as legitimate, who bear the title of Soltân, and have a right of succeeding their father: but what our author says, that we never hear of the sons of concubines, or ever of more than four legitimate ones, is not fact.

The other ladies. THE women of the second rank are distinguished from those of the first in several respects. c Their apartments are not so fine, nor their pensions so great. Their cloaths are not so rich, nor their female slaves so numerous. They are likewise at the expence of their own victuals; the queens and princesses only being furnished out of the *Imperial* kitchen: and hence it is, that these latter are intitled *Begûm*; that is, *without care or trouble*^f.

The princes. THE princes and princesses of the blood are treated with the same magnificence as the queens. As soon as the Soltâns are born, they are assigned a pension; which is always more considerable than that of the greatest Omrâs. This revenue is kept for the young prince in a particular treasury, and he is put in possession of it on the day of his marriage; at which time also he quits the palace. When these Soltâns have attained the age of thirteen or fourteen years, they have separate palaces assigned them, and their court is scarce inferior to that of the emperor d himself. He only, who is nominated to the succession, remains at court. All the rest are sent in quality of viceroys into the remotest provinces. The eldest son of *Aureng Zib* had for his maintenance twenty millions of *rupîs*; which amount to about 1,500,000 *l. English*. While these princes remain in the palace under the eye of the father, an eunuch has the care of their education. They are taught to read, and sometimes to write, both in *Persian* and *Arabic*: their bodies are inured to military exercises, and their minds formed to principles of justice; being set to give their judgment upon the causes which daily happen, or on cases proposed for the purpose. Lastly, they are instructed in the *Mohammedan* religion, and the interest of the nation; which it may be their fortune one day to govern.

The princesses: As to the young Soltânas, their sisters, they are bred up with the greatest delicacy. Being e the principal amusement of the emperor their father, all their study is to please him; and by this means they often obtain more liberty than is becoming the condition of princesses: for his indulgence goes so far as to permit revelling; which spreads afterwards through the palace. However, the women live in great harmony. There are but few disputes among them; and, if any arise, they are soon suppressed by the governesses. The same dress is common to the queens, the ladies of the second rank, and the princesses of the blood. Their hair is made up in tresses, and perfumed, interlaced with pearls; some strings of which hang down the forehead, having a rich jewel in the middle. Some are permitted to wear turbâns, adorned with heron's feathers and jewels; or else scarfs, in form of pyramids, and hanging f behind down to the ground. About their necks they have collars of pearls, intermixed with jewels. Their habit is of silk, so fine, that the whole weighs not more than an ounce. They sleep in these gowns, which they never wear but one day. For the rest, they are loaded with precious stones. Two bands of diamonds, set with two rows of pearls in the middle, go round the neck of their robes, and cross over the stomach. Their ear-rings and bracelets are surprisingly splendid. Both their fingers and toes, which are uncovered, as they only wear sandals, are adorned with rich jewels. All the wives of the *Great Mogol*, as well as his daughters, wear on the right thumb a little mirror, set round with pearls, in which they are perpetually viewing themselves. But the ornament, which they most set-by, is a gold girdle, two inches broad, garnished with precious stones; from whence hang narrow plates of the same metal, set with diamonds, and terminating at the points with bunches of pearls. What g

^c BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 45, & seqq.

^f MANOUCHI Hist. Gen. Emp. Mog. par Catrou, p. 334, & seqq.

a is most surprising, each of these ladies has six or eight changes of such jewels. But this is no wonder, when one considers the immense riches of this court; which have been gathering since the time of *Bâbr*. It is incredible what expence is made in perfumes, which are burned both night and day in their apartments².

THE ladies who are governesses to the young princesses, and spies upon the conduct of the *queens*, have indeed less share in the luxury and magnificence of the *Harâm*; but then they *regis.* have a great deal more in the government of the empire. It is by them that all intrigues are carried on; that peace and war is made; and that viceroyships and governments are obtained. These ladies, venerable for their age and wisdom, have each an office and name, correspondent to the employments and titles of the principal officers of the crown. One has the function of prime minister, another that of secretary of state, a third that of viceroy. Thus, she, who is stiled first minister, keeps a correspondence with the first minister, by means of eunuchs, who are continually carrying letters between them. It is by the intervention of the ladies of the palace, that matters, which were but slightly touched-on in the halls of audience, are instilled into the mind of the *Great Mogol*; so that they are, properly speaking, his privy-council. He learns from those, who bear the title of viceroys, all the news which come from the frontiers; whither they are permitted to send their couriers. From what has been said, it is easy to apprehend, that the chief care of all the great officers of the empire is to cultivate a good intelligence with each his lady in the palace, whose smallest displeasure may be the ruin of his fortune.

c THE female musicians and dancers are divided into bands; each of which has its mistress *Singers and* to teach them to sing, play on the lute, and dance. She is likewise the governess of those *dancers.* young creatures, who are chosen indifferently from among the *Mohammedans* and *Pagans*. The pension of the intendants of the musick is equal to that of the ladies of the palace, for whom they provide new airs and fancies. In short, all the *Great Mogol's* wives and daughters have each her band of musick (B); from whom they chuse their confidants: but all these bands unite on certain feast days, either to sing hymns to the deity, or celebrate the praises of the emperor. Their chief merit is to invent diversions to please their respective mistresses, especially comic scenes; one of which, well acted before the emperor, has often gained the actress a place among the women of the first or second order^h.

d THE women slaves of the palace do all the servile work belonging to the *Harâm*. They *Women slaves;* are divided into companies of ten or twelve, under the direction of a mistress. The emperor gives these names, as he does the other women; and distributes them among the rest at pleasure. He himself is served by none but women; and, what is not usual in other courts, is always guarded in the palace by a company of one hundred *Tatar* females, armed each with a bow, a poniard, and a simetar. Their conductress has the rank and pay of an *Omrâh* of war. This guard is a necessary defence to the *Great Mogol* against the fury and plots of so many rivals, which compose his court.

As to the eunuchs, who are very numerous in the inner apartments of the palace, some *The eunuchs;* serve for porters: a very nice and slippery post, it being equally dangerous to guard the entrances of the palace with too much or too little care. By too much rigour, they draw on themselves the aversion of the queens and princesses; while, by too much complaisance to them, they run a risque of losing their lives. Other eunuchs are the superintendants of the *Harâm*. He especially, who is called *the Nâder*, that is, *Chief of the Harâm*, is one of the principal officers of the crown. His business is to keep good order in the palace, which he effects by his severity. He regulates the expences of the emperor's women and daughters, is keeper of the imperial treasure, and grand master of the wardrobe. He is answerable for all the precious stones and jewels of the emperor: the providing of victuals, cloaths, linen, and perfumes, in short, the whole expence of the palace, is trusted to his management. The inferior eunuchs have all their offices under him. Some take care of the essences and perfumed oils; others, of the stuffs; a third party, of the furniture.

f THE eunuchs, most in favour with the princesses, are they who make and distribute the *their employ-* liquors which are drank in the palace: for, by their means, the ladies sometimes come at *ments.* wine, and other intoxicating liquors; which they are the fonder of, as they are forbidden. The eunuchs of the lowest class are employed solely to run on errands for the ladies of the court; and it is incredible, what a number of them are seen running about the streets on their occasions. Thus, every thing which is done in the city is known in the palace; and none are better acquainted with the news and intrigues of the town than these ladies, who are

² *Manougian*, ubi f. pr. p. 336, & seqq.

^h *Ibid.* ubi. supr. p. 341, & seqq.

(B) *Bâbr* does not speak of any women singers, or dancers, who reside in the palace. He says, there were some of the better sort, who were sometimes

admitted into the palace, to divert the emperors; but that *Aurang Zib* would never suffer them to stay a night there, as his father used to do. *Tom. iii. p. 60, & seqq.*

so closely confined. The expences of the inner palace do not amount to less than fifteen millions of livres (C) every year¹.

S E C T. II.

The Forces and Armies of the Great Mogol.

Mogol soldiers.

IT is commonly said in *Europe*, that the armies of the *Great Mogol* are more to be feared on account of the multitude, than valour of their soldiers: but, in truth, they do not want courage, so much as the art of war, and skill to manage their arms. Although on this score they are much inferior to *European* troops, yet the subjects of this empire surpass in valour all the nations beyond the *Indus*. Military discipline, as well as the art of making war, are likewise better known to them than any of their neighbours; and it is owing to these advantages, that the predecessors of the present emperor so greatly extended the bounds of their dominions.

ALL the forces of this great empire may be reduced to three classes. The first is the army; which the *Great Mogol* keeps always in his capital, and which mount the guard every day before his palace. The second consists of the soldiers; who are distributed through the several provinces of the empire. The third class comprises the *Indian* auxiliaries; which the Râjahs, who are the emperor's vassals, are obliged to furnish.

Army at Dehli.

THE army, which daily encamp at the gates of the palace, whether the court be at *Dehli*, or *Agra*, amount at least to 50,000 horse; without reckoning that infinite number of infantry, which both capitals are full of. So that when the emperor takes the field, those cities look like two desert camps; which a great army had abandoned. Every body follows the court; and, excepting the quarter of the *Baniyâns*, or traders, all the rest of the cities become unpeopled. A prodigious number of victuallers, link-men, slaves, and pedlars, follow the army, to serve them in the same respects as they do in the cities. For the rest, this militia of the guard is not all upon the same footing. The most considerable among the *Mogol* troops are those called the 4000 slaves, to denote their attachment to the person of the emperor. Their commander, named *Deroga*, is an officer of such consideration, that he is often entrusted with the command of armies. All the soldiers belonging to this troop are marked in the forehead, by way of distinction; and out of them are taken the *Mansebdârs*, or subaltern officers; who by degrees rise to be *Omrâs* (D) of war, a title answering to that of generals.

The guards.

THE guards of the gold, silver, and iron mace, also compose three different companies; whose soldiers, marked differently in the forehead, are chosen for their valour, and have more or less pay, according to the metal with which their maces are covered. It is necessary for a person to serve, and distinguish himself in one of these troops, in order to arrive at the dignities of the state. As in the armies of the *Great Mogol*, not birth, but merit, only gives precedence, the son of a principal *Omrâ* is often seen in the lowest posts of the militia: nor is there any nobility among the *Mohammedans* in *India*, excepting those who pass for the descendants of *Mohammed*^k.

Garrisons in cities.

WHEN the court resides at either *Dehli*, or *Agra*, he keeps there in pay no fewer than 200,000 soldiers (E). But when the emperor is absent, there are commonly left in garrison 15,000 horse, and double the number of infantry. This proportion is observed in all the other provinces, which, though reckoned fifty-four, may be reduced to about twenty large ones; whose garrisons are as follow. In *Labor* 12,000 horse: *Azmîr*, 6,000: *Guzerât*, 10,000: *Mâlwa*, 7,000: *Pâtan*, 7,000: *Moltân*, 6,000: *Kâbûl* has always 60,000 to defend it, as being a frontier against the *Persians*, *Tatars*, and *Pâtans*: *Tâtta*, 4,000: *Bâkar*, 4,000: *Uresha*, 4,000: *Kashmîr*, 4,000: *Dekan*, 8,000: *Bara*, 7,000: *Brâmpor*, 6,000: *Baglûna*, 5,000: *Rajemâbl*, 4,000: *Nânda*, 6,000: *Bengâl*, being another frontier province on the east-side, has 40,000 horse: *Ugen* (or *Eujen*) surrounded by the most powerful Râjahs, 15,000: *Visapor* was the theatre of war against *Sevaji*, when our author wrote; therefore the garrison troops are not mentioned. Lastly, their number in *Golkonda*, which had been newly conquered, was 20,000.

Hindû troops.

THE auxiliary troops, which the Râjahs, who are the *Great Mogol*'s vassals, are obliged to furnish, still add to his forces; although they are entertained more for grandeur than necessity,

¹ MANOUCHI, ubi supr. p. 343, & seqq.

^k Ibid. ubi supr. p. 345, & seqq.

(C) That is about 750,000 pounds *English*.

(D) According to *Gemelli*, the number of *Omrâs* is generally under forty: and there are generally two or three hundred *Mansebdârs* at court, besides such as are dispersed through the provinces. See *Church. Cal. Trav.* vol. iv. l. 2. ch. 7. p. 235.

(E) *Gemelli* says, the *Great Mogol* has dispersed thro' his empire 30,000 horse, and 400,000 foot; who have all great pay. *Church. Collect. Trav.* vol. iv. l. 2. c. 6. p. 234.

a and to secure thereby the fidelity of those tributary princes. They reckon eighty-four of those *Indian* royalists, who still preserve a kind of sovereignty in their antient country. They have lands in property, which their children inherit: which is an advantage they have above the Omrâs, who have none, and yet treat them with much contempt. However, some of these pagan Râjahs still maintain a shadow of grandeur, even in the presence of the emperor himself; especially three of them, whose territories are well peopled, rich, and inaccessible¹.

THE first, who pretends to derive his original from *Porus* (F), and is called *the son of him* Commanded by who escaped from the deluge, is sovereign of the kingdom of *Seduffia*, whose capital is *Ujêpûr*. All the princes of this great state bear the name of *Râna*; which signifies *the man with a good aspect*. He keeps always on foot 50,000 horse, and 200,000 foot. He is the only *Indian* prince, who retains the privilege of marching, covered with an umbrella; an honour reserved solely for the monarch of *Hindûstân*. The Râjah of *Rator* is sovereign of nine provinces, and equals him of *Seduffia*, both in riches and power. He who lived in the time of *Menuchi* was named *Jakout Sing*; that is, *the master-lion*. The third sovereign prince, whose territory is named *Chagha*, and his capital *Amber*, is able to bring into the field 40,000 horse. The prince, who reigned there in the time of *Aureng Zib*, was called *Ja Sing*; often mentioned in *their own* *Râjahs* his wars.

BESIDES these principal Râjahs, there are thirty others, whose forces are not contemptible. Among the rest, four of them have each in pay 25,000 horse. All these princes, when they join the emperor's forces, command their own troops; give the *Râjahpûts* the same pay which is given to the soldiers of the empire, and receive appointments themselves equal to those of the first *Mohammedan* general. Such numerous forces spread through the empire procure security to the frontiers, as well as peace in the heart of the state. The smallest country-town has at least two horsemen and four foot soldiers to guard it, who are the spies of the court; which by that means is informed of all that passes throughout the empire.

THE emperor's stables are filled with horses and elephants. The former, it is said, amount to 12,000; whereof, however, only twenty or thirty are set apart for the emperor's use; the rest being kept either for pomp sake, or to bestow in presents: it being the custom with him to give a habit and a horse to all those, from whom he receives the slightest service. All these horses come from *Persia*, *Arabia*, and especially *Tartary*; for those bred in the *Indies*, besides being restive and apt to start, are sluggish and without vigour. For this reason above 100,000 are brought yearly from *Bâlk*, *Bokhâra*, and *Kâbûl*; which, at their passage of the *Indus*, pay twenty-five *per cent.* to the *Great Mogol*: for whose service the best are reserved, and the rest sold to those whose business it is to remount the cavalry. In these countries, where the forage is burned-up with the sun's heat, they feed the horses with paste. In the morning, they give them bread mixed-up with butter and sugar; in the evening, they have rice-milk, seasoned with pepper and aniseed^m.

As to the elephants, the *Great Mogol* has 500; which are kept in great porches, built for the purpose. The harness of these animals is surprisingly magnificent. That especially, which the emperor rides on, has on its back a throne, glittering all over with gold and precious stones. The rest are covered with plates of gold and silver, housings embroidered with gold, and with gold tufts and fringes. The throne-elephant is called *the captain of the elephants*: for to them the emperor gives names, as well as to his horses; and is always attended with a great train, and a considerable number of officers. Whenever he walks abroad, he is preceded by drums and trumpets, and banners are carried before him. He is allowed three times the maintenance of other elephants; each of which has twenty-five rupees a day, and ten servants to attend him. Two, called *Kornakas*, are to exercise and govern him: two others put on the chains; two supply him with the wine and water which he drinks: two carry the lance before him, and clear the way: two more are employed to accustom him to artificial fire: the ninth litters him; and the business of the tenth is to drive away the flies, and throw water on his body to cool him. These elephants are trained to slaughter, by attacking lions and tigers. They are taught also to break open gates; the method of which has something in it that is very military.

THERE are no public arsenals in the *Indies*, but every commander of a troop is obliged to furnish his soldiers with arms; among whom one sees a mixture of muskets, bows, swords, simeters, and lances, in the same corps: which disorder *Aureng Zib* in some measure rectified. As for the emperor's arsenal, nothing can be more magnificent. His javelins, bows, carquoises, and sabres, are ranged in order, all glittering with precious stones. Every *Friday* morning his majesty prays in the arsenal: where he intreats God, that with his sabres he may obtain victories, and make his enemies reverence the divine being.

¹ MANOUCHI, p. 349, & seqq.

^m Ibid. ubi sup. p. 352, & seqq.

(F) This must not be understood of king *Porus*, who lived in the time of *Alexander*; but of *I'ouan*, the first

man, or *Adam* of the *Indians*, according to the *Shâster*, or explanation of their *Fedâm*.

his artillery:

THE *Great Mogol's* artillery is very numerous; and, for the most part, more antient than any to be found in *Europe*: it being certain (says our author) that cannon and powder were known in the *Indies* long before the conquest of *Timûr Bek*. The tradition is, that the *Chineses*, who they say invented those instruments of death, were once masters of *Dehli*, and founded some peices there. Each peice has its name, as well as the other arms. Formerly the cannoners of the empire were *Europeans*; but *Aureng Zib* ordered, that *Mohammedans* only should be employed in that service. At present no *Franks* are seen at court, excepting physicians or goldsmiths: the rest have left the country, where liberty of conscience is not as freely allowed, nor their service so much regarded, as heretoforeⁿ.

S E C T. III.

The Great Mogol's Revenues.

TO give our readers a just idea of the riches of this monarch, it will be necessary to consider, 1st. The fertility of *Hindûstân*. 2d. The wealth brought in by commerce from *Europe*, *Africa*, and the rest of *Asia*. 3d. The tributes which the emperor exacts of his subjects.

from the lands;

THE lands of *Hindûstân* produce abundance of grain, fruits, cotton, silk, cattle, diamonds, and other valuable commodities; but then of those lands many large tracts are incapable of culture; and the inhabitants of other parts neglect to till them. Besides, as the emperor is sole proprietor of those lands, in which the people have no share, no great care is taken to improve them. To remedy, in some measure, this inconvenience, *Akber*, who was the reformer of the finances of his empire, instead of paying the pensions of the viceroy and governors in money, as formerly, assigned them lands in their respective departments, to cultivate for their own advantage; obliging them to pay for the rest of their province a certain sum, in proportion to the fertility of the soil. These governors, who are properly no more than the farmers of the empire, farm it again in their turn. But as the husbandmen have nothing for their labour but their subsistence, it is difficult, without force, to get the peasants to work. This occasions them to fly into the territories of the *Râjahs*, who treat them with a little more humanity: and thus the dominions of the *Great Mogol* become dispeopled insensibly, and remain uncultivated.

from commerce.

HOWEVER, the gold and silver, which commerce brings into *Hindûstân*, effectually repair this defect, and extremely enrich the sovereign^o. According to *Bernier*, all the silver of *Mexico*, and gold of *Peru*, after circulating for some time in *Europe* and *Asia*, passes at last into the *Great Mogol's* empire, never to go out any more. One part of that wealth is transported to *Turkey*, to pay for the merchandizes brought from thence. From *Turkey* the money passes into *Persia*, by way of *Smyrna*, for the silks of that country. From *Persia* it enters *Hindûstân*, by the commerce of *Mokka*, *Bâb al Mandel*, *Bâfrab*, and *Bander Abbâsi* (or *Gomrûn*). Besides, it passes immediately from *Europe* to the *Indies*; particularly by the trade of the *Dutch* and *Portuguese*. Almost all the silver which the first of them bring from *Japan*, goes into the dominions of the *Great Mogol*, in exchange for commodities. It is true, that *Hindûstân*, for all its fertility, is obliged for some things to other countries; as, to *Japan* for copper, to *England* for lead; to *Seylân* for cinnamon, nutmegs, and elephants; to *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *Tartary*, for horses. But commonly the traders are paid in merchandizes: so that the greater part of the gold and silver of the world finds a thousand ways into *Hindûstân*, and has none to come out again.

Vortex of silver:

yet money not plenty.

WHAT is most astonishing, continues our author, for all this prodigious influx of gold and silver into *India*, one meets with no more plenty of it there, in the hands of private people, than elsewhere. It is true, that much gold and silver is consumed there in the manufactures; and that the *Indians* bury a great deal of it, in a belief, that they may stand in need of it in the other world: but, after all, that which contributes most to the scarcity of money, is the conduct of the emperors, who amass vast treasures, and deposit them in caverns under-ground, to prevent money being plenty; which they consider as pernicious. Thus all the treasure brought in by commerce falls at last into the coffers of the emperor^p. This being the case, no wonder this monarch should be immensely rich. In short, the whole revenue which he receives only from the produce of the provinces of his empire, farmed out, as aforesaid, amounts to no less than three hundred and eighty-seven millions one hundred and ninety-four thousand rupees (G).

BESIDES

ⁿ MANOUCHI, ubi supr. p. 356, & seqq. mem. Mog. emp. vol. i. part 3. p. 1, & seqq.

^o Ibid. ubi supr. p. 364, & seqq.

^p BERNIER,

(G) 387,194,000 rupees, at two shillings and sixpence each, amount to 48,399,250 pounds sterling; which differs only about 2,674,635 pounds from Mr.

Frazer's account. Hist. *Nadir Shâh*, p. 35. *Gemeib* censures *Thevenot* for reducing the *Great Mogol's* revenue to thirty millions; and *De Lact*, for making it infinite: yet

a BESIDES these fixed revenues, the casual revenues of the empire are another vast fund of wealth, being equal to, if not surpassing, the other. These arise from, 1. The annual poll tax, which the *Hindús* pay. 2. The duty of five *per cent.* on all commodities belonging to the *Hindú* merchants; from which *Aureng Zib* exempted the *Mohammedan*. 3. The duty laid on bleaching cloth. 4. The diamond mines; of which the most fair and perfect stones belong to him. 5. The vast customs from the ports of the *Indian* sea, and bay of *Bengál*. 6. The estates and effects of his *Mohammedan* subjects in his pay; of which he is the heir. 7. The tributes received from the *Râjahs*. *Taxes and mines.*

b GREAT part, however, of these casual revenues enter the emperor's treasury, only to pass out again among his subjects; half of whom subsist by his bounty, or at least receive wages from him. Besides that vast number of officers and soldiers, who subsist solely on his pay, all the peasants who cultivate the lands only for the sovereign are maintained at his expence; and all the mechanics of the cities, who work for him, are paid out of the imperial treasury. *Vast expence.*

S E C T. IV.

The Government and Police of the Great Mogol.

c WE have but little to say concerning the kind of government and police which the *Mogols* have established in the *Indies*. Nothing is more simple than the means which *Officers of State.* set this great empire in motion. The affairs of state are all at court in the hands of three or four *Omrâs*, of the first rank, who manage them under the authority of the sovereign. The *Itemâdo'ddawlet* is the first minister; a post like that of grand vizir in *Turkey*. But, as often a person of no experience, as a prince of the blood, or some favourite, is exalted to this dignity, the office is in effect vacant; in which case the burthen of affairs falls upon the two secretaries of state. One collects the treasures of the empire; the other pays them out of the officers of the crown, the troops, and the husbandmen. There is a third officer of the finances, whose business it is to get the effects of those who die in the emperor's service; a gainful but hateful employment. There is no arriving at these eminent posts but by the way of arms. The ministers who govern the state, and the generals who conduct the troops, are equally taken from among the officers of the army. Such as want them to speak to the emperor, in their behalf, must never approach them without a present; which the *Omrâs* expect, not out of avarice, but as it is looked on to be a mark of respect.

d THE command of the armies, when the emperor himself is not at the head of his troops, *Commanders and soldiers.* is often conferred on a prince of the blood: and, when no such prince is present, two generals are appointed by his majesty, one a *Mohammedan* *Omrâ*, the other an *Indian* *Râjah*, who command their respective troops: for the *Râjapûts* will obey none but a *Râjah*. It was the emperor *Akber* who regulated the state of his armies, and their pay. When a *Mansebdâr's* pension amounts to 50,000 rupees a year, he is accounted an *Omrâ*: who is out of it to maintain an elephant, and 250 horse, for the service; furnishing each with two horses. As the expence of each man is computed at ten rupees a day, the *Omrâ's* pay is not sufficient to maintain so large a company: but then the lands assigned those lords to cultivate, produce much more than what will answer the expence of his cavalry.

e THE *Omrâs* do not all receive the same pay of 50,000 rupees, which is called *azari*: that of some amounts to two, three, four, and five times as much. In short, those of the first rank receive even to six *azari*; that is, three millions of rupees *per annum*: so that their train is magnificent, and the cavalry which they maintain equal our little armies. By this means the *Omrâs* have sometimes become formidable to the prince himself. There are usually six *Omrâs* who enjoy this great pension; the *Itemâdo'ddawlet*, the two secretaries of state, the *viceroys* of *Kâbul*, he of *Bengál*, and the third of *Ujen* (or *Eujen*). The pay of the soldiers is at the discretion of the *Omrâs* who raise them. By the law, they are to be paid every day; but they put them off to once a month; and then oblige them often to take in part the old furniture of the *Omrâs* palaces, and cast-off cloaths of their wives. It is by such oppressions as these that the first officers of the empire accumulate great treasures; which, at their death, return into the coffers of the sovereign. *how paid.*

f NOTHING is more uniform than the exercise of justice in the *Great Mogol's* dominions. *Justice well administered.* The viceroys, governors of provinces, as well as those of cities and towns, do, in their respective jurisdictions, just what the emperor himself does at *Agrâ* or *Debli*. They alone

¹ MANOUCHI, ubi supr. p. 370, & seqq.

² MANOUCHI, ubi supr. p. 373, & seqq.

yet says, he was told it amounted to eighty kror of rupees; and every kror being ten millions, the whole comes to one hundred millions sterling. He adds, that the daily expence at court, to maintain the eunuchs,

musicians, dancers, elephants, and other beasts, is not less than 50,000 rupees, or 6,250 pounds. See *Church. collect.* vol. iv. l. 2 c. 6. p. 234.

administer justice, and give judgment with regard both to the effects and lives of the people. a
It is true, that in all cities a Kotwâl, and a Kâzi, have been established to determine certain matters: but then the parties are at liberty, whether they will bring their affairs before their tribunals or not: for every body has a right to have recourse immediately, either to the *Great Mogol* himself, in the place where-ever he resides, or to the viceroys, and governors, in their respective cities.

Police in cities. THE Kotwâl discharges the function both of civil and criminal judge. The chief duty of this magistrate, as judge of the police, is to prevent drunkenness; to punish all those who distill arrak, to suppress taverns, and, in general, all places of debauchery. As he is obliged to give the emperor an account of all dissensions in private families, as well as nocturnal assemblies; he therefore has in all parts of the city a vast number of spies, whose business b
it is to sweep the houses every morning, and set the moveables in order. They at the same time pry into the secrets of the family, put questions to the slaves, and then make their report to the Kotwâl; who, in quality of grand provost (or judge criminal) is answerable for all the robberies committed within his district: for this reason he has always soldiers in the country, and men disguised in the city, to keep things in good order. With regard to the Kâzi, his jurisdiction is confined to matters of religion, divorces, and the like. For the rest, neither of these two judges is permitted to pronounce sentence of death upon any person whomsoever, without making a report to the emperor; who must confirm the sentence on three different days, before it can be put in execution. The same rule is observed in the province, where only the viceroys, or governors, can condemn to death. e

Care of life. THERE is no delay in administering justice in the *Mogol's* dominions. Without any of those formalities and rules which protract causes in our courts, every one opens his own case, or gets one of the Omrâs to do it for him. Immediately, the witnesses being called and examined, judgment is pronounced on the spot, almost always as equitable as it is speedy. It is not to be denied, that the bribery of judges, and subornation of witnesses, is to be found in *Hindûstân* as well as other countries: but then both false witnesses and corrupt judges are punished there with death: which is a great check upon both. Iniquitous judgments seem to be an universal disorder, which the length of proceedings is not likely to remedy. For the rest, this small number of judicial officers, who are never more than three in the great cities, as well as the small, have not so much business on their hands as the least of our judges in d
Europe; who yet are so very numerous. Although the customs observed in this great empire may not all be free from exception, yet we have remarked a mixture of barbarity and uprightness; which, taken all together, renders the government of the *Great Mogol* not inferior to that of many other of the best of nations^s.

Excellent form,

in law-suits.

^s MANOUCHI, ubi sup. p. 376, & seqq.

C H A P. V.

The History of the Descendants of Timûr Bek, who have reigned in Hindûstân, under the Names of Jagatays and Mogols.

Historians of India. THE history of this branch of *Timûr's* family has been written by a great number of a
Asiatic historians; of which as yet only a few extracts have been transmitted to us, by those skilled in the eastern languages. The best of these is that *short history of the Moghol emperors*, inserted by Mr *Frazer*, by way of introduction, in his history of *Nâdir Shâh*. A piece very valuable in its kind, but too concise to give the reader a satisfactory information concerning the first princes who founded the empire; or indeed of any who preceded the present monarch. It is true, we meet with some account of them all in the several travellers who have visited *India*, from time to time: but the memoirs, which, during their short residence, they have collected, chiefly from the report of *Europeans* residing in that part of the world; are so imperfect and uncertain, and, for the most part, relate to such trivial matters, that they contribute very little to form a good history of the *Hindûstân* b
emperors.

Manouchi censured.

As for the general history of the *Mogol empire from its foundation*, by *Catrou*, the Jesuit, said to be composed from the *Portuguese* memoirs of *Manouchi*, a *Venetian* physician, written about the year 1695, and taken from the registers of the empire, it is a mere romance; at least, with regard to the first *Mogol* monarchs: wherein the few hints, to be gathered from *Texeira* and *D'Herbelot*, are worked-up with the copious product of invention, to supply the deficiencies. Nor are the reigns of the latter monarchs free from fiction, altho' the

- a the travellers, such as *Tavernier* and *Bernier*, have afforded the author pretty large supplies of facts. Yet, as they carry their history no lower than the end of the reign of *Shâh Jêhân*, *Manouchi's* memoirs, it seems, end there too; although, when he left *India*, *Aureng Zib* had sat on the throne above thirty years. But the contriver of the history, whoever he was, was in the right not to run the risk too far of being detected, by entering upon a history so near his own time, since he had no good guides to conduct him, and might be reproached with imposture by many persons who had really been in *India*; where, in all probability, he never was. If there be any thing in the whole, which may be depended on, it seems to be the remarks relating to the court of the *Great Mogol*: in which, however, it is easy to perceive a great mixture of matters taken from the above-mentioned authors, if they be not his principal funds.
- b

I.

The reign of Soltân Bâbr, surnamed Zehîro'ddîn Mohammed (A).

- THIS prince, as hath been already observed^a, was the son of *Omar*, or *Aumar*, *Sheykh*, fourth son of *Abusaid Mirza*, son of *Mohammed*, sixth son of *Mirân Shâh*, third son of *Timûr Bek*, *Bâbr*.
 or *Tamerlan*. He was born the 12th of *February*, 1483; and, by the death of his father, on the 8th of *June*, 1494, became sovereign of the country of *Andekbân*, or *Andjan*, in *Mâwara'nâhr*, or *Great Bukhâria*: at which time he was eleven lunar years, seven months, and twenty-nine days old. On the death of *Soltân Ahmed*, son of *Abusaid Mirza*, which happened in 899 of the *Hejrab*, he ascended the throne in *Samarkant*, the capital of all that region. But five years after, viz. in 904, *Shaybeg Soltân*, invading *Great Bukhâria*, with an army of *Uzbeks*, from beyond the river *Sibân*, or *Sîr*, drove him out of his kingdom, and took possession of it himself. *Hej. 899. A. D. 1493.*
Bâbr, or *Bâbor*, being thus driven out, retired to *Gâznen*, or *Gâzna*; from whence he began his expeditions into *India*. Thus some writers give an account^b: but according to others, after his expulsion from *Mâwara'nâhr*, he conquered *Gosnari* (or *Gazna*), with the other provinces of *Kâbul*, *Kandabâr*, *Biddukshân*, and the places dependant on them: after which he invaded *Hindûstân* five times. In the first four, he was unsuccessful; but in the fifth, on the first of *May*, 1526, he gave battle, near the village of *Maltia*, to *Soltân Ibrâhîm Lawdi*, who had with him 100,000 *Afghâns* (B), besides 1000 armed elephants. And, although he had scarcely 12,000 effective men in his army, yet he intirely defeated those numerous forces. *A. D. 1498. invades Hindûstân.*
- d

ELATED with this great success, *Bâbr*, pursuing his good fortune, in a short time subdued all that empire, excepting the kingdoms of *Dekkân*, *Guzerât*, and *Bengâl*. Eleven months and five days after the above-mentioned battle, he came to an engagement with *Râna Sînga*, the most powerful of the *Indian* princes; and, although the army of the latter was incredibly numerous, as well as strengthened with many armed elephants, yet he at length obtained the victory. *Great conquests there.*

- Bâbr* died on the 25th of *December*, 1530, in *Charbâghi*, near *Agrâ*, on the banks of the river *Chun* (C): from whence his body was carried to be interred at *Kâbul*; after he had lived forty-nine lunar years, four months, and one day. Of this time he reigned in all thirty-seven years, eight months, and two days; thirty-two years, ten months, and three days before the conquest of *India*; and four years, nine months, and twenty-nine days after the conquest. The best history of his actions are the commentaries written by himself, called *Vakeat Bâbri*; that is, *Bâbr's Occurrences*. *His death.*
- e

- THE *Indians* relate, that *Bâbr*, before his expeditions into *India*, to discover the condition which it was in, as to strength, entered that country, accompanied with thirty of his lords, in the disguise of pilgrims. But that, at *Debli*, they were discovered by *Sekânder*, the *Potan* (or *Pâtan*) king, and arrested: but, on *Bâbr's* taking an oath, not to attempt the conquest of *Hindûstân*, during either of their lives, *Sekânder* pardoned them. This story is painted at *Lahûr*. The oath was inviolably kept: but when both were dead, *Homayûn*, invading the country, dispossessed *Ibrâhîm*, and *Shâh Selîm*, *Sekânder's* son, of their dominions^d. *His good fortune.*
- f

^a See before, Vol. II.

^b D'HERBEL. *Bibl. orient.* p. 38, and 163. art. *Abusaid Mirza*, and *Miran Shâh*. ^c FRASER *Hist. Nadir Shâh*, p. 6. & seqq.

^d D'HERBELOT *Bibl. orient.* p. 58, art. *Bâbr*; and DE LAET *de Imper. Mag.* p. 166.

(A) *Soltân Bâbr* assumed the title of *Zehîro'dîn*, which signifies *the supporter of religion*; and the name of *Mohammed*, which signifies *praised*, is prefixed (or supposed to be so) to every *Musfulman's* name. *Frazer.*

(B) *Afghans* are the several tribes of *Mohammedans* who inhabit the northern parts of *India*; over the whole of which some of them are spread. They are known often by the name of *Pattans*, and are esteemed

the best soldiers in the country. *Frazer.*—The *Afghans* are called by some authors *Angans*, *Augwans*, and *Ougans*. Some travellers, as *Bernier* and *Thevenot*, make the *Patâns*, or *Pataus*, natives of the country about *Patna*, to the east of the *Ganges*; and to have reigned in *India* before the *Mohammedans* conquered it.

(C) The *Chun* is often called *Jamna*. *Frazer.*—*Jamna*, and *Jemini*; written also *Gemny*.

II.

The reign of Hemayûn.

² Soltân, Hemayûn, BABR being dead, his son *Hemayûn*, by some called *Homaiun*, and *Hemayon*, surnamed *Nefsîro'ddîn* (D) *Mohammed*, succeeded him. This prince was born in the castle of *Kâbul*, on the 4th of *March*, 1508; and, on the 26th of *December*, 1530, sat on the throne at *Agrâ*. In *November*, 1534, he set out to conquer *Mâlva*, and *Guzerât*, then possessed by Soltân *Babâdr* (E); who prepared to meet him. The two armies met; and the Soltân, having been defeated, fled to *Mandow*; whither being pursued by the victor, he retired to *Chanpanûr* (F); from this place to *Kambait* (or *Kambaya*), and from thence to *Diu* (or *Dîv*). *Hemayûn* followed him as far as *Kambait*; where he stopped a while^c, with a design to attack *Diu*: but the Soltân having in the same time made a peace with the *Portugueses*, and obtained their assistance, by granting them leave to build a fort there, *Hemayûn*, despairing to take the place, returned to his own dominions^f. However, this prince, the next year, entering *Mâlva* and *Guzerât* a second time, made an intire conquest of those provinces^g, excepting *Diu*, and a few other places.

conquers Bengal. HEMAYUN, encouraged by this success, in 1538, turned his arms against *Bengâl*; which he subdued: but, in 1540, being forsaken by his good fortune, he was driven out of his dominions by *Shîr Khân*, the *Afghân*, and obliged to fly into *Persia*; where he remained five years, five months, and fifteen days. The particulars of this transaction, with his reception by *Shîh Tahmasp*, son of *Shîh Ismail Sîfi*, is related at large in several histories (G). At length (by the assistance of that monarch) on the 1st of *September*, 1545, he took *Kandabâr* from *Mirza Askeri*, who governed it as deputy to *Mirza Kamrân*; and, on the 15th of *November*, 1545, took *Kâbul* from *Mirza Kamrân* himself. *Hemayûn*, pursuing his good fortune, in the spring, 1546, marched into *Biddukhsbân*, and recovered that province from *Mirza Soleymân*, who had revolted, and usurped the government of it.

AFTER so many prosperous enterprises, *Hemayûn* for some time laid aside the toils of war, to take a little repose, and settle the reconquered provinces. At length, in *December* 1554, he began his march from *Kâbul* to *Hindustân*; and, on the 22d of *February*, 1555, arrived at *Labûr*; in *May*, he came to *Serbend*, and, on the 20th of *June*, encountered and defeated *Sekânder Sowr*, son-in-law to the usurper *Shîr Khân*. His first name was *Ahmed*, and he governed *Panjâb*, or *Labûr*, under *Selîm Khân*: after whose death he assumed the government of that state, which extended from the river *Send*, or *Indus*, to the *Ganges*, and called himself *Sekânder*^h.

Shir Khân attacks THIS in brief is the history of the reign of *Hemayûn*, or *Homayûn*, as given by Mr. *Frazer*: the conciseness of which we shall supply from a curious fragment, communicated by *De Laet* (H); and beginning with that prince's first expedition into *Bengâl*, which was in 1558, as before remarked. *Hamayon* (or *Hemayûn*), departing from *Agrâ* with an army, entered that country; and, having defeated the *Pâtan* forces, soon conquered it, and changed the name to *Senetabâd*. But the fruits of his victory did not last long: for *Ferried* (I) *Khân*, who assumed the name of *Shîr Khân*, one of the *Pâtan* kings, departing from *Naw* with 65,000 troops, quickly recovered the province of *Babar* (K), with the castle of *Râjah Rotas*, and compelled *Hemayûn* to fly hastily out of *Bengâl* in *Pâtan*. *Shîr Khân* followed him, and, overtaking him at *Tzioka*, obliged him to retreat back to *Agrâ*; where having gathered his scattered troops, and augmented them with supplies from several provinces, he marched a second time towards the *Ganges*. As soon as *Shîr Khân* had notice of his coming, he set forward, sending before 20,000 horse, to prevent his passage of the river.

and defeats him. THE *Mogols* were there incamped; but, relying perhaps on their own strength, spent the night in revelling, and took no care to keep a guard. This being made known to *Shîr Khân*,

^c FRASER Hist. Nadir Shah, p. 6. ibid. p. 9.

^f DE FARIA Asia Port.

^g FRASER, ibid.

^h FRASER,

(D) *Nefsîro'ddîn*, or *Nafsîro'dîn*, signifies the assister, or helper, of religion.

(E) Called *Badur* in the European histories.

(F) Called *Champanel* by *De Faria y Sousa*, in his *Asia Portuguesa*. According to whom it was *Badur's* capital.

(G) As *Akber Namâ*, *Pâdshâh Namâ*, *Tebkat Akber Shâhi*, *Tarikh alim Aray*, and *Montekheb al Tawarikh Beda'uni*: they all five treat of the *Mogol* emperors, excepting the fourth, which contains the history of the *Shâhs of Persia*. *Frazer*.

(H) In his tract, *De imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India vera, commentarius*, inserted in the *Respublicæ*,

printed by *Elzevir*, 1631. This fragment, supposed by *De Laet* to be extracted from the historians of *Hindustân*, was given to him by the famous *Peter Vanden Broecke*, who founded *Batavia* in *Java*. It agrees almost in every thing with Mr. *Frazer's* abstract; which serves to supply the date of actions, omitted in the fragment. *Herbert*, who has made use of it, passes but slightly over the reign of *Hemayûn*: nor are his extracts, relating to *Akber* and *Jehân Ghîr*, made with due care.

(I) Perhaps *Ferhad Khân*.

(K) Perhaps rather *Bîrar*, in which the castle of *Rotas* is.

- a by his spies, he sent *Ghâwas Khân*, with 10,000 light horse; who, having but fifteen miles to ride, early in the morning, rushed upon the enemy, buried in sleep and wine, and made a great slaughter. *Hemayûn*, awakened with the cries and confusion which were in his camp, and seeing his soldiers already flying on every side, made haste and fled himself. When he came to the river, with only a few followers, he, by the assistance of a water-carrier, swam over to the other side. There he luckily found a horse, belonging to some soldier, who had been drowned in passing the stream, and, mounting him, escaped to *Agrâ*. All his elephants and horses, with a considerable treasure, fell into the hands of the *Pâtans*. The women likewise and daughters of him, as well as his *Omrâs*, became a prey to *Shîr Khân*¹.
- b THIS prince, having obtained so unexpected a victory, used it with the greatest moderation; *Hemayûn* neither offering any indecency to the captive females himself, nor suffering his officers to commit any. To improve the opportunity to the utmost, and give the enemy no time to breathe, he immediately advances towards *Agrâ*; taking many cities in his way. Mean time *Hemayûn*, quite destitute of troops, taking with him *Jemla Begûm*, one of his wives, who was big with child, retired to *Azmîr* or (*Ajmîr*), and thence to the province of *Shermel*; where, in the castle of *Ammer*, she brought him a son, named afterwards *Akber*. Not thinking himself yet secure, he fled to *Labûr*, where *Mîrza Kamrân*, his half-brother, commanded. This prince, vexed to see his brother's want of courage, asked him leave to go fight the *Pâtans*, who were already arrived at *Sherbind*, since he was so much afraid to face them. The king, beyond measure offended with his brother's speech, left *Labûr*, and went towards *Kashmîr*, expecting shelter from one of his *Omrâs*, who governed there: but, that commander being lately dead, the inhabitants had taken different measures, and not only fortified the capital, but shut up the straits of the mountains called *Kotbel*; so that there was no entering the country without great difficulty.
- c *HEMAYUN*, finding himself excluded there also, directed his course towards *Kâbûl*: but his brother *Kamrân*, having been obliged to quit *Labûr* (which *Shîr Khân* had now taken, as well as *Mûltân*); and, being greatly incensed against the king on that account, by great marches, got to *Trinlebeg*; and thus cut off his retreat to *Kâbûl*. In this distress he applied to *Mîrza Askeri* (L), who resided at *Kandabâr*, desiring that he might put his castle in a state of defence: but he would not so much as let him into it. Nor did he meet with more obedience from *Khân Housseyn*, governor of *Tâtta*: for the king having sent to desire leave to pass through his province, he returned for answer, that if his majesty intended for *Persia*, his best way was to go by *Kandabâr*. Accordingly he took that road, seeing himself deserted by all his people; and, leaving his wife, and son, then but one year old, with his baggage, domestics, and harâm, in the town of *Shanwan* (M), entered *Persia*, and came to *Sebistgân*, accompanied only by *Beyrâm Khân*; who a little while before had joined him with a few choice soldiers^k.
- d As soon as *Askeri* knew of his brother's flight, he seized on every thing which he had left behind, with his treasure, and confined his wife with her young son in the fortress. But *Hemayûn* received more friendly treatment from *Shâh Tâhmasp* (N); who, on the first news of his misfortune and flight, sent orders to the governor of *Herât*, to receive him with all imaginable honour, in case he should repair to that city. The governor accordingly, on the king's approach, went out, with the principal inhabitants, twelve miles to meet him; furnished him with all necessaries while he staid at *Herât*, and wrote to the governors on the road to court, to receive him with honour in his passage. When *Hemayûn* drew near *Kazban*, where the *Shâh* then resided, the *Persian* monarch sent his brother *Mîrza Bayrâm*, accompanied by all the great lords, to receive, and introduce him to his presence.
- e *TAHMASP*, having embraced and comforted the refugee prince, ordered his brother *Bayrâm* to wait on him at table. The king, observing with what assiduity the prince performed that office, said, *the Shâh did rightly, so to teach his brother to be obedient; for that he, who had heaped honours and riches on his brothers, found them the worst enemies in his distress*. *Bayrâm*, enraged at this offensive speech, put his brother in mind, that, in the reign of *Shâh Ismâil*, *Babr*, the father of *Hemayûn*, was no more than a gardener; and so far incensed him, that he brought him to a resolution to make his guest away. This resolution had undoubtedly been executed, if *Begûm Soltâna*, the *Shâh's* sister, had not in pity to the exiled prince, by her eloquence, diverted her brother from his purpose: putting him in mind, that he was descended from *Timûr*, to whom their ancestors owed numberless favours, even their empire; and that therefore he could not, without ingratitude, desert the *Mogol* prince.

¹ DE LAET de Imp. Mag. Mogol, p. 172, & seqq.^k Ibid. p. 174, & seqq.(L) In *De Laet, Affari*.(M) In the original, *Tzanzaban*.(N) In *De Laet, Tâmas*; afterwards *Tamas*.

returns to
Kâbûl ;

TAHMASP, moved by what his sister had urged, gave orders that *Hemayûn* should be furnished with troops, and all things necessary for his return to *Hindustân*. At the same time he commanded *Dein* and *Khân Tramma*, *Babadr Khân*, *Klân Kûl Khân*, *Nareajin* (a kinsman of *Hassan Kûl Khân*), *Ismaël Kûl Khân Wâttebel*, and other great officers, to accompany him thither. *Hemayûn* immediately leaves *Kazbîn*, and, hustling to *Kandahâr*, surrounds it with his forces. On *Askeri*'s refusing to deliver up the fortress, he ordered the walls to be battered : but when he beheld his son, then two years old (O), exposed on the walls, he gave over the attack ; after which, he, upon oath, granted his brother's life, and liberty to depart the place. *Askeri* went to his brother *Kamrân*, who then resided at *Kâbûl* : but the king following him, with very little trouble, took *Kâbûl*, and *Kamrân* in it. Then, having ordered his eyes to be put out, banished him to *Mekka* ; where soon after he died ^b.

recovers Hin-
dûstân ;

IN the year of the *Hejrah* 960, and of *Christ* 1552 (P), *Shir Khân*, or *Tiekmeke* (Q), king of the *Pâtans*, breathed his last in the castle of *Gwaleer* ; leaving behind him a son, named *Fer Khân*, no more than twelve years old : but while the principal ministers prepared to set him in the throne, his uncle *Adel Khân* (R), blinded with a lust of reigning, made him away, and usurped the kingdom. The nobles, in detestation of this atrocious action, revolted in almost every province. *Adel Khân*, however, hoping to divert the storm, set out from *Gwaleyar* with a great army ; and, with little or no difficulty, took *Chilnâr* (S), a large and wealthy city. The death of *Shir Khân*, and the troubles which ensued thereon, soon reached the ears of *Hemayûn*, still residing at *Kâbûl* ; who, judging this a proper juncture to recover his loss, immediately, with an army, enters *India*. There, not daring to resist him, all the towns and provinces submitted, till he came to *Serhind*, which was governed by *Rekander Khân Affega* (T), a faithful minister of the late king. This lord, with ten thousand horse, had the courage to take the field against the *Mogols* : but, being overpowered, after a sharp dispute, with one thousand only of his troops, fled to the mountains of *Kangera*.

enters Dehli

AFTER this victory, *Hemayûn* intrusted *Beyrâm Khân Kânna* with the education of his son *Abdol Fetta Jelîlo'ddîn Mohammed* ; and withal, giving the whole command of the army to that lord, sent him in pursuit of *Rekander*, who had retired to *Dehli*. At the same time *Allan Kûl*, *Semaran Khân*, and *Babadr Khân*, were dispatched to recover the province of *Do-ab* (U), which lies between the rivers *Ganges* and *Jamna*, or *Semena*. Success attended both expeditions ; for *Rekander* was slain, and that province reduced. Hereupon *Hemayûn* entered triumphantly into *Dehli* ; where he laid the foundation of a magnificent palace : but he had scarce been settled in his capital three months, when, by an accident, he was snatched out of the world. For, descending the palace stairs, on hearing the cryer call to afternoon prayers, he sat down, leaning on his staff ; and, having taken too large a dose of opium, fell asleep : when suddenly, the staff slipping, he pitched headlong down forty steps, and was so bruised with the fall, that he died in three days ^m. The prince departed this life on the 24th of *January*, 1556 (X), and was buried in a monument erected on the banks of the river *Chun*, or *Jemni*, at the age of forty-nine lunar years, four months, and ten days ; of which he reigned twenty-five years, ten months, and five days ⁿ.

His death.

S E C T. III.

The reign of Akbar, or Akber, surnamed Jalâlo'ddîn Mohammed.

3. Sultân
Akbar.

AKBAR, son of *Hemayûn*, was born in the fort of *Amkorot*, on the 12th of *October*, 1542 ; and, on the 12th of *February*, 1556, being then thirteen solar years and four months old, was proclaimed emperor, at *Kalanôr*, in the province of *Labûr*. He was reckoned a great and good prince, and was very fortunate in war ; having in his reign made several conquests, and reduced almost all *India* to his obedience. This in general is all which our author relates concerning this *Mogol* monarch ; excepting that, as he was fixed to no reli-

¹ DE LAET de Imp. Magn. Mogol, p. 175, & seqq. supr. p. 10.

^m Ibid. p. 178, & seqq.

ⁿ FRASER, ubi

(O) This supposes *Hemayûn* to have been in *Persia* no more than one year ; whereas he was there five years and half.

(P) *De Laet* puts 1550. *De Faria*, who gives the history of him, says, he was killed at *Kalijar* (or *Gavaliyâr*), which he took from the *Rajaputs*, by the bursting of a cannon which he fired. *Pert. Asia*, vol. i. ch. 9. p. 422.

(Q) Before he is called *Ferriad Khân*.

(R) He is in the next reign called *Abdol Khân*.

(S) In the original, *Tzibilnar*. The names are Dutch spelling, and inaccurate.

(T) Perhaps for *Sekander Klân Affgân*. If so, the *Affghâns* seem to differ from the *Pâtans*, or to be a particular branch of them : or, instead of *Affghân*, it may be *Afkan* ; which signifies an overthrower.

(U) Or *Do-w-ab* ; which, our author observes elsewhere, signifies *Mesopotamia*, or *Interamnâ*, as lying between the *Ganges* and the *Jemni*. It is called also *Sanbal*, or *Sambel*.

(X) According to the fragment of *De Laet*, *Hemayûn* died in the year of the *Hijrah* 962, or of *Christ* 1554 ; and not 1552, as that author puts it.

a gion himself, so he persecuted none; and that, in 1582, he wrote to the king of *Portugal*, desiring him to send him a translation of the scriptures into *Arabic* or *Persian*; and, at the same time, some learned person, to explain the Christian religion (Y)^a. It were to be wished, that, instead of *Akbar's* letter, Mr. *Frazer* had given some account of his actions from the authors to which he refers his readers (Z). For want of such a supply, we must have recourse again to *Vanden Broecke's* fragment, published by *De Laët*; which gives the best history of this and the following reign to be met with in any *European* author.

WHEN *Abdol Khân* heard, at *Skilnari*, where he had lain close all this while, of the sudden death of *Hemayûn*, he sent his chief general *Kuli Khân Hemow*, an *Indian*, of no great birth, but very valiant, with 100,000 horse, 500 elephants, and a great military chest, towards the city of *Debli*, to make war on the *Mogols*. Mean time *Akbar*, who, with *Beyrâm Khân*, *Khân Kânna*, and the greater part of his army, went in pursuit of his father's enemies, in the mountains of *Khoshtân*, as before mentioned, so soon as he received tidings of his death, marched to *Kalanir*; and, being there proclaimed king by his governor, made what haste he could to *Debli*. In the way he met *Turdi Khân*; who, venturing out of the city, to fight *Hemow*, was defeated, and fled. This commander was received by *Akbar* in a friendly manner; but, after treating him at a banquet, he was stabbed by a slave, set on by *Beyrâm Khân*. At this time *Alla Kûli Khân* and *Bahâdr Khân* were in *Do-ab*, or the interamnian province: but, being sent for, they were dispatched before to *Panipatam*, with an army, to stop the career of *Hemow*; who had already taken *Debli*, while *Akbar* followed with the rest of his forces^b.

THE two generals, meeting *Hemow* at *Tilleputli*, between *Panipatam* and *Debli*, immediately resolved to give him battle: but his soldiers mutinying for want of pay, forsook their leader, and dispersed. So that the *Mogols* took all their baggage, with the elephants; and *Hemow* himself, being shot in the eye with an arrow, fighting, was obliged to fly likewise. But, being overtaken by *Kûli Khân Mûbrem*, was brought to *Akbar*, now come up with the army; who, calling for a sword, smote off his head, and ordered it to be fixed on the gate of *Debli*. After this, *Alla Kûli Khân* and *Bahâdr Khân* are sent back into the province of *Do-ab*, to pursue the remains of the *Pâtans*: who, collecting all their forces, are met at *Sambel* by those generals, and vanquished, with great slaughter. The routed enemy fled to *Laknow*; and, making a stand there, were again defeated. After this they received a still greater overthrow at *Jounpûr*, on the banks of the river *Tsatsa* (A): so that all *Hindûstân*, between this river and the *Ganges*, was recovered in a short space of time.

MEAN while *Akbar* spent his time at *Agrâ* in hunting and other diversions: yet was inwardly grieved to see that his tutor *Beyrâm Khân* took the whole administration of affairs on himself, and had the army all at his devotion. This jealousy, it is likely, was in a good measure owing to the whispers of parasites, and chiefly to the insinuations of his nurse *Maghem*, who devised the following stratagem to free him from his governor's power. One day, not unknown to *Beyrâm Khân*, passing the *Semmena* (or *Jemni*), accompanied by a large retinue, under pretence of hunting, he proceeded to *Kobeh*; from whence his nurse, who followed him by easy journeys, conducted him to *Debli*; where, for a long time, the kings of *Hindûstân* used to be inaugurated. There, the lords of the neighbouring provinces being called together, the prince was enthroned, and acknowledged king by the whole assembly. As soon as *Beyrâm Khân* heard this news, he, without delay, sent all the *Omrâs* and *Mansebdârs* who were about *Agrâ* to the king, with a letter, importing, that, as he had never made use of the power which *Hemayûn* had intrusted him with, but for the good of the state, and what he thought the benefit of him the prince, so, now he found that he was able to manage affairs by himself, he wished him all happiness and success; only desiring, that, as he was quite broken with age and ministerial fatigue, his majesty would give him leave to go to *Mekka*, there to spend the remainder of his days^c.

His request having been readily granted, the good old man left *Agrâ* with all his family, and took his way through *Meuwat* (or *Mevat*) towards *Guzerât*; where he intended to embark: but when he came to the town of *Patang*, he there received a mortal stab by one of his *Pâtan* slaves, whose father formerly the *Khân* had slain. Hereupon his domestics returned

^a FRASER'S Hist. of Nadir Shâh, p. 10, & seqq. p. 181, & seqq.

^b DE LAËT India Vera, p. 180, & seqq.

^c Ibid.

(Y) Of this affair an account is given at the end of this king's reign.

(Z) As the *Akbar Nâma*, *Tibkat Akbar Shâhi*, and *Montekheb Tavarikh Beda'uni*, three histories mentioned before. The first was composed by his secretary and wazir, named *Abûlfazl*, which signifies the father of excellence; the most learned and best writer then in the east. He was murdered by order of Soltân *Selim*, on

suspicion that he had created a misunderstanding which subsisted between him and his father. He left several works unfinished, and had carried down that of the *Mogol* emperors to the 38th year of the reign of *Akbar*; who, among others, greatly lamented his death. *Frazer*.

(A) So *Herbert* writes. *De Laët*, variously, *Thatsan*, and *Tziatsom*; which is *Chatsom*, or *Jatsom*.

to *Agrâ*, with *Mirza Abdol Kakiem*, son of the deceased lord, then but twelve years of age, a whom *Akbar* caused to be educated according to his quality.

Agra walled. THE mud wall, with which the castle of *Agrâ* had been long before inclosed by the *Pâtan* kings, being in many places fallen to ruin, *Akbar* ordered it to be built with stone. *Kassim Khân Mierbar*, an excellent architect, who had the direction of this work, took his materials from *Shikeri* (now called *Fettipûr*), and assembled masons from all parts, that it might be finished as soon as soon as possible.

Chitor fortress taken. MEAN time *Zimet Pâta* (B), a certain *Râspût* (or *Râjabpût*), having revolted from *Râjah Râna*, the most potent of all the *Hindû* princes, and seized the strong castle of *Chitôr*, of which he was governor, with many other towns, made several incursions into the *Mogol* provinces. Hereupon *Akbar*, no way discouraged by the difficulty of the enterprise, marched b with a great army, and besieged that fortress. After battering it for several months to no purpose, and receiving much damage from the defendants, he ordered the principal bulwark of the castle to be undermined; which being intirely blown up, made a wide breach for the besiegers to enter. *Zimet Pâta*, perceiving all to be lost, first set fire to a house wherein he had assembled his wives and children; and then, rushing desperately upon the enemy, perished himself, with all who were about him. In remembrance of this great victory, *Akbar* caused the statues of *Zimet*, and one of his chief commanders, mounted on elephants, to be placed on each side of the gate of his palace at *Agrâ*. This fortress formerly had been besieged by *Alao'ddîn* twelve years in vain.

Rebellions suppressed. HOWEVER, to allay his joy for this victory, he presently after received advice from *Saffer Khân*, and *Râjah Bagwander*, viceroy of *Labûr*, that his brother *Mirza Mehemmet Hâkem*, with 30,000 horse, from *Kâbûl*, had invaded that province: but *Akbar* came upon him, at *Sherbinda*, so unexpectedly with his forces, that *Mohammed* fled, leaving his camp and followers at the mercy of the vanquisher. The *Mogol* monarch hereupon put all the advantageous posts in a better posture of defence, and gave the command of them to trusty officers: but while with this view he was surveying *Panjâb*, he received advice from his mother, at *Agrâ*, that *Babâdr Khân* and *Ali Kûli Khân Zemaen* (who had been left at *Laknow* against the *Pâtans*, as before related) had rebelled, spoiled all the neighbouring provinces, and threatened even *Agrâ* itself: but *Akbar* by swift marches arrived so suddenly at the river *Jemni*, that the d revolters, seized with fear, took to flight. The king's troops pursued them, and, after a great slaughter of their men, between *Fettipûr* and *Karamemekpûr*, the chiefs themselves met their fate. *Ali Kûli Khân* was trodden to death under the horses feet, and *Babâdr Khân* strangled on the spot by command of *Akbar*†.

Akbar's pilgrimage. THIS rebellion being thus nipped in the bud, *Khân Kânna* and *Munim Khân* are sent to *Jûmpûr* (C), to govern that province, and watch the *Pâtans*, who were with *Mirza Soleymân Lodi* (or *Lawdi*), at *Choutsa*, not far from that city. Mean while the king returned with the rest of his forces. Some time after, he resolves to make a pilgrimage, on barefoot, to *Azmîr* (or *Ajmîr*), 150 kos, or 200 miles, distant, to visit the tomb of *Haji Mondî*, by that saint's intercession to obtain children. In this walk he ordered a stone to be placed at the end of every kos; and, in his return, at *Shikeri*, or *Sikeri*, eighteen miles short of *Agrâ*, visits e Sheykh *Selim*, to whom he relates the occasion of his pilgrimage. Hereupon the Sheykh foretels him, that he should have three sons, and that one of his concubines was then with child. For this reason *Akbar* called the first of them *Selim* (D), from the Sheykh: the other two were named *Morâd* (E), and *Dbæn*, or *Daniel*. This prediction was so pleasing to *Akbar*, that he inclosed the town with a wall, and called it *Fettipûr* (F). He likewise erected a magnificent mosk, with a palace of great beauty; and had made it his capital, if the river had been wholesome: but the badness of the water obliged him to quit that situation; which presently fell to ruin.

Guzerât subdued. DURING *Akbar's* abode at *Fettipûr*, advice arrived from *Khân Azem*, that a rebellion was broken out in *Guzerât*, by *Ibrâhim Hossèyn* (joined by *Mirza Khân*, *Mirza Mohammed f Hossèyn*, and *Jebân Khân*), who had ravaged the country as far as *Barock*, and was marching with his troops of thieves and *Kûlis* to attack *Abmed abûd*. *Akbar*, on this news, mounting dromedaries with his most trusty commanders and dependants, posts with incredible haste from *Shikeri* into *Guzerât*, riding 400 kos in seven days, and fixed his tents near that city. This unexpected arrival of *Akbar* so astonished the rebels, ignorant of his strength, that they immediately raised the siege and fled. Hereupon *Khân Azem*, and the other *Mogol* commanders, who had dispersed to different places for fear of the enemy, marched to meet the king; who,

† DE LAET India Vera, p. 184, & seqq.

(B) *Zimet* is afterwards written *Zimel*.

(C) *Herbert* writes, *Joonpore*, and *De Lact*, *Ziaupor*.

(D) Which signifies *peaceful*, *safe*, *secure*. The feminine, *Selima*, is a proper for women. *Frazer*.

(E) *Morâd* signifies *wished for*, *desired*. *Frazer*.

(F) Or *Fatehpûr*; that is, *the place of victory*, not *the place of pleasure*, as *Herbert* says.

a being by these reinforcements become pretty strong, sent Khân Goga, with 12,000 horse, to pursue the fugitives. This general coming up with them, a fierce battle ensued; till the Khân being slain, his troops began to give way. Akbar, provoked at this, rushed into the middle of the battle with such fury, that the enemy, unable to withstand the shock, took themselves to a shameful flight. Mirza Ibrâhim and Mirza Khân were slain in the fight: but Mohammed Housseyn, being taken prisoner, was beheaded. After this, the castle of Surât was reduced, without any difficulty, and the whole province of Guzerât subdued. To secure which, Akbar fortified Ahmed abâd, and then returned to Hindûstân.

THE same year the castle of Agra was finished: which magnificent edifice, built with stones of a vast size, was twelve years erecting, although sometimes 1200 hands were employed about it; and cost him 50,000 krons of taks, or two millions five hundred thousands rupees, of two shillings and three pence each. At the same time he expended in the walls and palace of Fetti-pûr one million and half of rupees. At Sekânder, or Skânder, three kos, or five miles, from Agra, in the road to Lakûr, he likewise began the sepulchres of his family (G). While these vast buildings were going forwards, Khân Kânna, and Monim Khân, who governed at Jaunpûr, prosecuted the war in Bengâl against Soleymân Kaberani; who dying suddenly, his son Skânder succeeded. But, two years after, he was slain by conspirators, and Douwet, son of Barât Khân, advanced in his room. As this was an indolent prince, and immoderately given to drinking, without minding either military or state affairs, Akbar judged this a proper season to subdue the Pâtans, and conquer Bengâl. Accordingly, marching thither (with an army of 50,000 horse and 600 elephants) he passed both the Ganges and Jotfa (H), and advanced towards Pâtan. Shâh Douwet, on the news of his arrival, sent 12,000 horse to obstruct his passage, under the command of Râjah Bekan, who met the Mogols between Jotfa and Mobeh ali pûr; but after a brave attack, of three hours continuance, was obliged to retreat, while the enemy pursued them to the city of Pâtan, where Douwet shut himself up. Akbar lay before the walls six months; nor in all that time could bring the Pâtans to a battle; but in the seventh month he takes the city by force. On this occasion a great number of Pâtans fell by the sword; many commanders likewise, with their wives and children, were made prisoners; a great deal of treasure also taken. Shâh Douwet, at this time so drunk that he knew nothing of what had happened, was carried down the river in a boat by his domestics, the distance of three days journey. There, at length, detesting him for his slothful disposition, which had brought that calamity on them, they cut off his head, and sent it to Akbar; who, having thus become master of all Bengâl, returned to Fetti-pûr.

WHILE he there oversaw his building going forward, he sent Rustan Khân and Zadok Khân at the head of an army, who in two months time took Rantipûr (I), a very strong castle (in Mâiva) from its Râjah. His next design was against the castle of Rotâs, in the province of Babâr (K); reckoned the strongest, both by nature and art, in all Asia. After he had in vain thought of the means of reducing it, Mobeh Ali Khân, an enterprising officer, obtained leave to try his skill, and, without imparting his intentions to any body, set out with some chosen troops. When he drew near the castle, he first, by making presents on all hands, cultivated a friendship with the Râjah; and then, pretending to be upon business in Bengâl, which required the greatest expedition, desired leave that his hâram, or women, might be lodged, for security, in the castle, till his return. The Râjah, not apprehending any fraud, too readily consents; and Mobeh Ali Khân fills the 200 litters, which carried his women, with men, putting two in each. These being admitted into the castle, slew the guards at the principal gate; while Ali Khân, who followed them, entering the place, killed the Râjah, and seized the castle, with an immense treasure.

AFTER this, the invincible castle of Jelûr, or Jalûr, is betrayed to Akbar by Jedney Khân, to his own brother's confusion. The news of these losses greatly alarming the Râjahs, each did his best to secure himself against an attack; and some, to prevent one, took the field. Among these was Rûp Mathi, a beautiful princess, at Sarangpûr; who, having assumed the name of Babâdr (or valiant), entered the Mogol dominions, with her Pâtans, and began to ravage them: but being met in the midst of her career by Adam Khân, he with his troops assaulted her so furiously, that, after most of her people were slain, she was taken prisoner; but, to prevent farther disgrace, took poison and died.

ABOUT the same time the king's brother, Mirza Mohammed Hakim, who commanded at Kâbûl, dying, Akbar sent Râjah Manzing, with 5000 horse, who reduced that kingdom.

* DE LAET, ubi supr. p. 187, & seqq. HERBERT'S Trav. p. 61.

† DE LAET, p. 190. HERBERT, p. 62.

(G) Herbert says, that it was augmented by Jehân Gîr; and though scarce finished in his time, yet it had already consumed fourteen millions of rupees.

(H) Or Chotfa; in De Laet, Tziotfa.

(I) So named by Herbert; by De Laet, Rban Tambor.

(K) Herbert says, the castle of Rotas, or Raughtaz, is in Birar, a province of Bengâl. It lies on the west side of the Ganges. Rotâs is called Rbâdas by Tavernier.

into a province. The wives, children, and chief ministers, being sent to court, the king^a treated them with great respect; and put his two nephews (one ten and the other seven years old) into the hands of trusty persons to be educated. To the ladies he gave pensions; and to the commanders, troops, or governments.

Rebellions
quashed.

MEAN while (L), *Mozaffer Khân* rebels in *Guzerât*, having first strangled *Gotâbdas Mobammed Khân*, the viceroy, and some other Omrâs. Hereupon, *Abdol Rakim*, son of *Khân Kânna*, and *Beyram Khân* (M), were sent with numerous forces against the enemy, accompanied by *Norân Khân* and *Goufer Khân*, sons of *Gotâbdas*: but, as soon as they arrived on the borders of the province, the army of *Mozaffer*, consisting of no more than 12,000 horse, was immediately put to flight, and himself taken: but, to prevent an ignominious death, he laid violent hands on himself. *Abdol Rakim* hereupon obtained the name of *Khân Kânna*, and the com-^bmand of 5000 horse. These advantages did not however establish peace in *Akbar's* empire; for *Mazenow Khân*, *Gabiet Khân*, *Bama Khân*, and *Mohammed Masbûm Khân*, some of the *Kâbûl* lords, began a new rebellion in *Bengâl*. Against them are sent *Râjah Thormiel*, *Wazîr Khân*, and *Znebbar Khân*, with a strong army; who are twice or thrice defeated, and the general taken prisoner: but, at length, being vanquished, they were all slain in battle, excepting *Masbûm Khân*, who fled; and, by the troops he carried with him, enabled that rebel to attack the *Mogol* provinces more vigorously than ever. *Znebbar Khân* (late president of *Kâbûl*) for this service was made viceroy of *Bengâl*, and *Râjah Thormiel* returned to *Fettipûr*.

Rajahs com-
pliable.

AT the same time *Râjah Râmjend*, lord of *Bândo* (a province adjoining to that of *Agrâ*, but abounding only with sand and stones), at the persuasion of *Râjah Birmuel*, went to wait^c on the king at *Fettipûr*; and, never having given any umbrage to *Akbar*, was received with honour. His example was followed by the rest of the *Râjahs*, or petty kings: who in this manner began to win the *Mogol* monarch's friendship, and send him their daughters for concubines; which laid the foundation of mutual peace and confederacy. At the same time, *Akbar*, making a progress towards the *Ganges*, and, being greatly delighted with the place, where the *Ziotfa*, *Beak*, and *Jemni*, meet in that river, ordered a castle to be built there with stone, by skilful architects; which was five years in erecting, and cost one million two hundred thousand rupees^d. This place, before named *Praya*, he called *Elabâs*, or *Halabâs*^e.

The Pâtans
overthrown.

AKBAR, having thus subdued all his opponents, and being thus quite at ease, resolves to go to *Labûr*, there to meet *Abdo'llab Khan*, son of *Iskânder Khân* (N), the *Uzbek* king of^d *Mawara'lnâbr*, who was come into *India* to pay him a visit. Mean time, *Mîrza Tsfarof*, having received many injuries from the *Uzbeks*, came from *Badâkshân* to *Fettipûr*, where the court had now continued fifteen years. With this prince, *Akbar* went to *Labûr*, intending to proceed to *Kâbûl*: but, calling to mind that the *Ganges* was still in the power of the *Pâtans*, he turned off towards *Attek*; from whence he sent *Jebân Khân* and *Râjah Birmuel* to make war on those people. But the *Pâtans*, who were subject to *Jelâlia Afridi*, and *Turkoft Ji*, seizing the passages of the mountains, made a great slaughter among the *Mogol* forces, killing *Birmuel*, and many other Omrâs; so that *Chengam Goga*, with difficulty, escaped. However, a more numerous army being sent against them, all those provinces, which belonged to *Jelâlia*^e and *Turkoft*, were entirely reduced.

Kandahâr
betrayed.

SOME time after this, news arrived that *Mîrza Mozaffer Hosseyn* and *Mîrza Rûstân*, sons of *Mîrza Bayrâm*, who commanded at *Kandahâr*, being offended with *Shâh Abbâs*, son of *Khodabandeh*, on account of injuries done them, were determined to submit to *Akbar*: this prince, finding so fair an opportunity offered him of adding that fortress to his empire, sent *Kabîk Khân*, with 5000 horse; to whom the two brothers immediately delivered up the city, and repaired themselves to *Labûr*; where they were kindly received. *Akbar's* ambition being increased by these successes, he sends *Tzeddder Khân* and *Hakim Khân* to *Bokhâra*, under pretence of condoling with *Abdallab Khân* for the loss of his father *Iskânder Khân*; but in reality to pry into the state of *Mawara'lnâbr*, which their master longed to unite to his empire. These ambassadors, or rather spies, after a whole year's stay in that country, returned laden with presents, and a full account of the strength of the cities, as well as forces, of the *Uzbeks*.^f

Kashmîr
invaded.

AKBAR was well pleased with this information; but, before he undertook an expedition of such consequence, he judged it proper to reduce *Kashmîr*. To this end he sends *Kassem Khan Merbar*, and *Mîrza Ali Chili*, with all his forces towards that country; charging them at the same time with letters to *Yûsof Khân*, the king thereof, wherein he promised not in

^a DE LAET, p. 193. HERBERT, p. 64.

^e DE LAET, p. 71.

(L) Herbert places this in the year 968 of the *Hijrah*, and 1568 of Christ. Which of these years he accommodated to the other, we know not; but the year of Christ 1560 answers to 968 of the *Hejrah*.

(M) Herbert calls him *Abdul Râjah*, *Bayram Khân's* son. It should be rather *Abdol Rakim*, son of *Byram Khân*.

(N) In *De Laet* we read *Abdullach Ghan*, son of *Thander Ghan*: afterwards *Abdul Ghan*, and *Tsfander Ghan*: the *Exziver* copy being extremely incorrect, with regard to the proper and local names; which we cannot always rectify.

a the least to diminish his authority, provided he submitted, without obliging him to make use of hostilities. *Hüf Khan*, upon the receipt of this summons, immediately repairs to *Labâr*: but, as he left his son *Takûb* behind, *Akbar* suspected his sincerity, and looked on it as no more than a precarious submission. Nor did he judge amiss; for as soon as *Hüf's* back was turned, those who had the administration of affairs, disapproving of that measure, prevailed on *Takûb* not to bend so tamely to a foreign yoke. The young prince, following their advice, put his little kingdom in a posture of defence, and shut up all the passages into it. This vigorous resolution of the *Kashmirians* for some time embarrassed *Akbar*; who considered how difficult it would be to force the *kotlen*, or straits, of the mountain *Bimber*, ^{soon by} ~~trach.~~ by which only that country was to be entered. However, at length, he detached the above-mentioned generals, with an army of 30,000 horse, accompanied by some *Omrâs* of *Kashmîr*, to whom all the passages were known. As soon as *Takûb* received advice of their coming, he sent several of his *Omrâs*, with considerable forces, to defend those straits: but they, being corrupted by the bribes and promises of the *Mogols*, deserted their posts, and gave the enemy an easy admittance into the kingdom. *Akbar's* troops hastened to the capital, *Kashmîr*; which being unwall'd, they entered at the first attack, and took the young king prisoner; to whom and his father the victor allowed a yearly pension^r.

b AFTER this success, *Akbar* turned his arms against the kingdom of *Sindi*; whose prince *Mirza Jehân* was become odious for his tyranny. In this expedition he employed *Khân Kânna*, with 12,000 men; who, embarking his troops on the *Râvi*, sailed into the *Indus*, and thence to *Tâtta*, capital of *Sindi*; which he besieged. The city held out six months: but, in the seventh, the tyrant, surrendering himself, is sent to court; where he is kindly received, and his kingdom reduced to the form of a province.

c ABOUT this time, *Nezâm Shâh*, king of *Dekân* (O), dying, *Akbar* became desirous to conquer that kingdom also. With this intent he sends *Khân Khânna* from *Labâr*, with twenty-two *Omrâs* and a great army, towards *Brâmpûr*. Here they were joined by the forces of *Râjah Ali Khân*, governor of that province; but staid there six months without action: for *Jând Bibi*, daughter of the late king, governed the kingdom at *Amdanâger* with great prudence, and had an army under the conduct of *Koja Shubel*, an eunuch, eminent for his courage and activity. This general, with 40,000 horse, including the troops of *Viziapûr* and *Golkonda*, advanced to meet *Khân Khânna*; who, notwithstanding he had scarce 20,000 men with him, yet confiding in the valour of *Râjah Ali Khân*, *Mirzâ Ked Gassem*, descended from *Zadet*, and others, he ordered them to oppose the enemy with their troops; while he kept at a small distance with a body of 5000 men, in order to send relief from time to time. The battle continued all day and all night; during which time fortune seemed doubtful, and many were killed on both sides: among whom was *Râjah Ali Khân*. At length, towards morning, the *Mogol* troops began to give way; which *Khân Khânna* perceiving, he rushed with so much fury upon the fatigued enemy, that he presently obliged them to fly, after the general *Koja Shubel* had been slain in the fight. Although this was a signal victory, yet the province of *Dekân* did not suffer much by it; for the queen took care, with fresh forces, to repel the attacks of the *Mogols*^z.

e HITHERTO every thing succeeded to *Akbar's* wishes; but, from this time, many misfortunes in his family troubled his reign. In the first place, his desire of conquering *Dekân* still continuing, he ordered his son *Shâh Morâd*, who commanded 7000 horse, with *Zadok Khân*, and other *Omrâs*, to prosecute the war in that country. The prince, arriving at *Brâmpûr* with his forces, consumed six months in that city; where he gave himself up so entirely to drinking, that he fell desperately sick. On this news, *Akbar* sent *Abdol Fâzl* (P), president of the *Divân*, formerly *Morâd's* tutor, to reclaim him: but soon after his arrival the prince died (Q). On his death, many of the *Omrâs* and *Mansebdârs*, who accompanied him, fled, without any apparent cause. Hereupon *Abdol Fâzl* took on him the command of the army, and ordered several of the fugitives, who were brought back: to be trodden to death by the elephants. Then sending *Morâd's* corps to *Debli*, and distributing his treasure among the troops, he marched towards *Kapûr*, and encamped opposite to the enemy.

f THE same year, *Akbar* gave *Dhaen Shâh*, or *Shâh Daniel*, the command of 7000 men, and sent him to *Elabâs*, accompanied by *Koutel Mohammed Khân*, his chancellor, and other *Kandish Omrâs*, to subdue the rebels, who were in the neighbourhood of that city. Mean time, *Abdol Fâzl* annexed the provinces of *Barâr* and *Khândish* to the *Mogol* empire. After

^r DE LAET, p. 197. HERBERT, p. 66.

^z DE LAET, p. 200. HERBERT, p. 67.

(O) Herbert says, he was succeeded by his son *Mâlek Amber*; but, according to *Van Den Broeck*, the founder of *Batavia*, who was in *Mâlek Amber's* camp, in 1617, that lord was not *Nezâm Shâh's* son, but a foreigner, and general of the *Dekân* armies. By

Dekân, or *Dekkân*, here is to be understood the provinces of *Balagât*, *Baglâna*, and *Telingâna*.

(P) It ought to be *Abu'l Fazl*.

(Q) According to the historians made use of by Mr. *Frazer*, this happened in the year 1558.

which, he intrusted *Akbar* to remove to *Agrá*; alleging, that it would facilitate the conquest ^a of *Amadnagar*, *Viziapúr*, and *Golkondá*. The king takes his advice; and leaving *Labár*, where he had resided twelve years, repairs to *Agrá*, and there continues a whole year.

War with Rájah Rána:

Hejrah 1005
A. D. 1500.

In the year of the *Hejrah* 1005, *Akbar* thought fit to send his son to *Sháh Selím* to make war on *Rájah Rána Mardout*, by far the most powerful of all the *Rájahs* of *Hindústán*; who had lately rebelled. The prince was accompanied by *Shebber Khán*, with 5000 horse; *Sháh Kúli Khán Akbrem*, with 3000; *Rájah Jaganat*, with the same number: besides many other *Mansebdárs*; which formed a potent army^a.

A. D. 1508.
and in Dekán.

In 1007, the king himself departed from *Agrá*, in order to prosecute the *Dekán* war: but when he had passed the river *Nerabeda*, the *Rájah Bahádr Sháh*, not caring to trust him, put his castle of *Haffer* in a posture of defence, and furnished it with provisions. This fortress ^b consists of three castles: the first called *Kozanin*; the second, *Kommerghár*; and the third situated on a very high mountain, so that it may be seen at six kos distance. *Akbar*, judging it dangerous to leave such a place behind him, immediately laid siege to it; and, at length, after six months continual battery, *Bahádr Sháh*, finding himself unable to hold out much longer, not only submitted himself on promise of liberty and effects, but, with his relations, entered into the *Mogol* service.

Sháh Selím
rebels.

HERE *Abdol Fázl* met the king, and encouraged him by all means to go on with the war; alleging, that, if he could subdue *Dekán*, and defeat the kings of *Viziapúr* and *Golkondá*, he would sufficiently exalt his name, and enlarge his empire. But while matters stood thus, news ^c unexpectedly arrived, that *Zebbar Khán Kambau*, who had accompanied the prince *Sháh Selím*, was dead at *Azmír*; and that the prince, having seized his treasure, amounting to a kor, or ten millions of rupees, was marched with a numerous body of select troops to *Agrá*, in order to dethrone his father. Hereupon *Akbar*, leaving his son *Sháh Daniel* with *Abdol Fázl*, *Khán Khanzied*, *Nisof Khán*, and several other *Omrás*, to proceed to *Amadnagar* and *Viziapur*, he departed for his capital. *Sháh Selím* had been there a while before: but, finding that he could not reduce the castle, left the place; and, passing by the way of *Reben* and *Annewár*, came to *Elhabís*, twelve days journey distant. He had, however, gotten into his power several cities (R), in which he placed his own *Omrás*; turning out his father's commanders; to whom the greater part retired, leaving the rest, with all their effects, to *Selím*.

Success in
Dekán.

As soon as *Akbar* arrived at *Agrá*, he sent letters to his son; setting before him the judgments threatened by God against disobedient children, and promising to restore him to his favour, in case he returned to his duty. But the rebellious prince, despising his father's admonition, continued to extend his power; and, having subdued all the country as far as *Hassipúr* and *Patán*, sent to *Rájah Mánzing*, viceroy of *Bengál*, to deliver up that province to him: but the *Rájah* rejected his motion. Mean time *Daniel Sháh* advanced with his army towards *Amadnagar*, and came to *Gandezín*. On this advice, *Jánd Bibi* shut herself up, with all her father's commanders, in the castle of *Amadnagar*, and prepared to undergo a siege. ^d This castle is exceeding strong; for it is built on an eminence, and surrounded with deep ditches, in which several springs discharge their waters. However, prince *Daniel*, surrounding the place with his troops, after battering it for above six months, at length took it. A great ^e treasure fell into the victor's hands; but the princess *Jánd Bibi* had before made herself away by poison. After this *Soltán Daniel*, having given the command of the place to *Koja Bék Mirza*, went and reduced the provinces of *Gandes* and *Berar* (S); which done, he returned to *Brampúr*; where ambassadors came to him with rich presents, and submissive letters, from the kings of *Golkondá* and *Viziapúr*. The prince did nothing remarkable from this time forward; but gave himself up intirely to drinking^b.

Amadnagar
taken.

Sháh Selím's
insolence.

AT the same time, *Sháh Selím* sent *Koja Jebán* to his father, pretending sorrow for having offended him. Hereupon *Akbar* writes to him, giving him hopes of pardon, in case he without delay came and asked it. *Jebán*, after six months stay at *Agrá*, returns, and so wrought on the rebel son, that he resolves to submit himself. According he sets forward, and ^f on the road writes to acquaint his father with his coming: but, as he had now on foot an army of 70,000 select troops, he required not only that his commanders might keep what had been given to them, but also that they should not be considered as rebels. Neither of these two things *Akbar* would grant: upon which, the prince returned to *Elabás*; where he not only coined money in his own name, but, to provoke his father the more, sent some of it to him. *Akbar*, unable to bear such an affront, wrote an account of the whole affair to *Abdol Fázl*; who sent back for answer, that he would be with his majesty as soon as possible, and did not doubt but to manage things so as to bring the prince bound before him.

^a DE LAET, p. 202. HERBERT, p. 67.

^b DE LAET, p. 205, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 68.

(R) As *Siapúr*, *Babar*, *Kalp*, *Laknow*, *Ozede*, *Beraghe*, *Kerfama*, *Mekpúr*, *Kera*, *Gajlanpúr*, *Ghancuts*, and other places.

(S) These are the same with *Kbándish* and *Barár*, already said to have been subdued by this prince.

- a ABDOL FAZL upon this, taking leave of *Daniel Shâh*, with two or three hundred horse sets *Abdol Fazl* out for *Agrâ*. Mean time, *Shâh Selim*, who was acquainted with all which passed, calling to mind, that *Fazl* always bore him an ill-will; and therefore fearing that he would incense his father still more against him, judged it best to intercept him. To this end he sent to *Râjah Berfing Bondela*, who, at that time, resided in the province of *Ofsin*; desiring him to way-lay *Fazl* between *Sâr* and *Gwalhyâr*, and send him his head; promising for that piece of service, to give him the command of 5000 horse. The *Râjah* consents; and, with 1000 horse, and 3000 foot, encamps three or four kos from *Gwalhyâr*, placing spies in the neighbouring villages, to give him early notice of *Fazl's* approach. When the *Wazîr*, ignorant of the snares laid for him, was passed *Kollebâga*, on the way to *Sâr*, *Râjah Berfing* rushes on him with his troops; which were placed on both sides of the road. Hereupon began a fierce engagement; in which *Abdol Fazl* and his followers behaved courageously: but, being oppressed with numbers, they were almost all slain. *Fazl* himself (T), after having received twelve wounds, was taken, by the information of a captive slave, under a neighbouring tree, and had his head cut off.
- b THE head, being sent to the prince, transported him with joy: on the contrary, the king, *Shâh Daniel* when he heard of the death of that minister, whom he entirely loved, was extremely afflicted; *dies*. and for three days did not appear in public. Nor did *Akbar's* sorrows end here: for not long after news arrived of the death of *Shâh Daniel* (U) at *Brâmpûr*, occasioned by excessive drinking; which affected him so much, that his life became a burthen to him. At length, recovering from his grief, he sent for *Khân Khânna* to court; and was so enraged at him, for not taking more care of his son, that for some time he would not admit him into his presence: but at length, by the persuasion of his *Omrâs*, he received him into favour; and, constituting him general in chief, sent him back to the army in *Dekân*.
- c AKBAR, who all this while retained his anger against his son *Selim*, now resolved to turn *Selim submits:* his arms against him. He had already passed the river *Semena* (or *Jemni*) when, advice coming from court that his mother was fallen sick, he returned to *Agrâ*; two days after which she died, and was buried in the sepulchre of her son *Hemayûn*, at *Debli*. As soon as these ceremonies were over, *Akbar* dispatched *Mirafeddâr*, who had been *Selim's* tutor, with letters to that prince; wherein, after reproaching him severely for his rebellion, he put him in mind, that, as he was now his only son and heir, he was ready to receive him into favour, provided he came and humbled himself. *Selim*, moved with his father's letters, and the persuasions of *Mirafeddâr* (X), set out with his son *Soltân Perwîs* from *Elabâs*, in the year 1013; and A. D. 1604. passing the *Jemni* with his army, the second day after, as it had been judged lucky by the astrologers, he arrived at the castle of *Agrâ*; where he was introduced to his father by *Mortôja Khân*. When, according to custom of the country, he fell down before the throne, *received to fa-* his father, taking hold of his hand, carried him into the *mâhl*, or inner apartment, and, *vour*. falling into a great rage, gave him several blows on the face (Y); at the same time upbraiding him with his wicked attempts. Then changing his strain, he reflected on him for want of courage; who, having had 70,000 troops at his command, should yet so tamely come and submit himself, in that cringing manner. After this, he ordered him to be carried to another court of the palace, and confined. His *Omrâs* likewise, excepting *Râjah Batso*, who had fled in time, were seized, and conducted to prison, loaded with irons. *Selim*, who used to take opium every day, stunned with this unexpected usage, forbore taking opium for twenty-four hours: but next day, the king, going to see him, gave him some with his own hand. On the third, all the ladies of the *mâhl* waited on *Akbar*, and intreated pardon for the prince; which having obtained, he was sent to his own apartments. From thence he daily came, accompanied with a great train, to salute his father: but certain courtiers having infused a suspicion into the old king's mind, that *Selim* intended him some mischief, he was ordered to come for the future attended only by four of his *Omrâs*.
- f AKBAR did not long survive this reconciliation: for, being incensed against *Mirza Gaja Akbar's* (Z), son of *Mirza Jehân*, who governed *Sinda* and *Tâtta*, on account of some insolent *death:* expression which dropped from him, he resolved to get rid of that lord by poison. To this end, he orders his physician to prepare two pills in the same form, and put poison in one of

^c DE LAET, p. 208, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 70, & seq.

(T) This is the famous *Abu'l Fâzl*, who wrote the *Akbar Nama*, mentioned in a note at the beginning of this reign.

(U) This happened in 1604, according to *Frazer*.

(X) *Herbert* calls him *Myrad Zeda*.

(Y) *Herbert* says, he struck him so hard and often on the mouth, that the prince, throwing himself on the ground, opened his breast, and offered at his father's command to kill himself.

(Z) *Herbert* calls him *Mirza Gasbâ*, and says the *Mirza* brought the pills himself; and, being ordered to take one, took the best; which *Akbar*, by mistaking the mark, believed to be the poison-pill, and so took the other without hesitation. *Terry*, sect. 28. relates the story as in the text.

them;

them; resolving to give this to *Gaja*, and take the other himself: but, after holding the pills a in his hand for some time, he happened to give to *Aliza* the sound pellet, and swallowed the infectious one himself. As soon as he discovered his error, he took remedies, although it was then too late. On occasion of this accident, *Selim* paying him a visit, he put his own turbán upon the prince's head, and girt him with his father *Hemayún's* sword: but ordered him not to act within the palace, nor visit him till he was recovered. However, *Akbar* died the twelfth day after he had taken the fatal pill^d, in the year 1014 (A).

A. D. 1605.

ACCORDING to the Christian account, his death happened on the twelfth of *October*, 1605, at the age of sixty-three solar years and one day; of which he had reigned forty-nine solar years, eight months, and one day (B). His body was interred in the burying-place of *Sekandra*, near *Agrá* (C).

his children.

AKBAR had three sons; *Soltán Selím*, *Soltán Mocrád*, and *Soltán Daniel*: of whom the two latter died before their father; one in 1598, the other in 1604, as hath been already remarked. He had likewise three daughters; *Sháh Zâdeh Khânum*, that is, the royally born lady; *Shahr Nissa Begum*, or the sweetest of women princesses; and *Arâm Bânu Begum*, or the calm and peaceful princess^e.

Account of Xavier:

BEFORE we pass to this monarch's successor, we shall take further notice of an affair, which we have already mentioned in the beginning of *Akbar's* reign^f. It has been there observed, that, in 1582, *Akbar* wrote to the king of *Portugal*, desiring a translation of the scriptures into *Arabik* or *Persian*; and withal, that he would send him some person of learning to explain the Christian religion. Our author, *Fraser*, is not sure whether that letter went farther than *Goa*; but supposes the sending of *Geronimo Xavier*, a relation of the famous *St. Francis Xavier*, was in consequence thereof. However, the journey of this missionary to the court of *Akbar*, seems rather to have been the effect of another letter from that monarch thirteen years after; viz. in 1595, to *Matthias De Albuquerque*, the then *Portuguese* viceroy in the *East Indies*, for some priests to be sent to him. The persons pitched on for this mission were the before-mentioned *Geronimo Xavier*, then rector of the *Jesuits* college at *Goa*; *Emanuel Pigueira*, and *Benedict Goes* (D), two others of the same society.

ON their arrival at *Agrá*, they were kindly received by the *Great Mogol*; who built them a church there, and granted them many privileges; which, after his death, were all confirmed by his successor.

his spurious gospel:

AT *Akbar's* command, *Xavier* wrote two books in the *Persian* language. The first, intituled *the history of Jesus*, collected for the most parts out of the *Romish* legends, which he intended to substitute among the *Mohammedans*, instead of the gospel. The second was called, *A Looking-glass shewing the Truth*, and contains a defence of the doctrines of that gospel against the *Mohammedans*. *Xavier*, having learned the *Persian*, in order to obey the king's command, first wrote his *History of Jesus*; which he presented in 1602: the *Looking-glass* was not published till a year or two after. When it first came abroad, it unluckily fell into the hands of a learned *Persian* nobleman, of *Ispáhán* in *Persia*, named *Abmed ebn Zeyn Alabo'ddin*; who immediately wrote an answer to it, which he calls *The Brusher*, or burnisher, of the *Looking-glass*; wherein he makes terrible work with the *Jesuit*, through the advantages e which he gave him, by teaching the idolatry, superstitions, and errors, of the church of *Rome*, for the doctrines of *Christ*.

shows Christianity.

WHEN this book (which is reckoned the most acute of any that has been written by the *Mohammedans* against the Christian religion) first appeared, it so alarmed the college *de propaganda fide*, at *Rome*, that they immediately ordered it to be answered by *Bonaventura Malvasia*, a *Franciscan* friar of *Bononia*; who published his *Dilucidatio Speculi Verum Monstrantis*, in 1628. But, this not being judged by the college to be a sufficient reply, they appointed *Philip Guadagnol*, another *Franciscan* friar, to write a second answer, which he composed under the title of *Apologia pro Christiana Religione*. This was published in *Latin* at *Rome*, in 1631; and, being better approved of than the former, by the college, the author was ordered f to translate it into *Arabik*. This being performed in 1637, they sent it into the east, to be dispersed among the *Mohammedans*: but his performance, saith our author *Doctor Prideaux*, doth by no means answer the design, as abundance of his arguments are drawn from the authorities of popes and councils; which will never convince an infidel of the truth of the Christian religion^g.

^d DE LAET, p. 211, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 71. before, p. 57.

^e FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Sháh, p. 18. ^f See

^g See PRIDEAUX'S Life of Mohammed, p. 155, & seqq.

(A) Herbert makes it 984; we presume, by subtracting 620 from 1604, the year of Christ; mistaking the *Mohammedan* for solar years.

(B) De Laet says, he reigned 60 years: Herbert, only 25; and that he lived 73.

(C) De Laet, and after him Herbert, writes *Tzek-ander*; which is three kos from *Agrá*. The sepulchre was not then finished.

(D) He went from *Agrá*, in 1603, to *China*; and was the first missionary who went thither by land.

C H A P. VI.

The Reign of Jehân Ghîr, surnamed Nuroddin Mohammed.

^a **A**S soon as Akbar was dead, the principal Omrâs, who were about him, shut all the gates ^{4. Soltân Je-} of the castle of Agra, and gave the keeping of them to their most trusty officers. ^{hân Ghîr.} This done, Mortâza Khân, Seyset Khân, Kûli Mohammed Khân, Râjah Ramdas, and Râjah Mansing, met together at the house of Khân Azim, to consult what was best to be done at this critical juncture. Khân Azem and Râjah Mansing were for placing Soltân Khosraw, son of Soltân Selim, on the throne: but Râjah Ramdas, who had four or five thousand Râspûts within call, opposed their motion; and, seizing the treasury, would suffer nobody to meddle with the cash. Mean time, Soltân Selim, being informed of his father's death, assembled his Omrâs at his palace, and acquainted them with the designs of his adversaries: but, in the interim Mortâza Khân, to whom the chief gate of the castle was intrusted, went out to the prince, and saluted him king. His example was followed by the Nabâb Sayel Khân, his son Kûli Mohammed Khân, and soon after by Khân Azem himself: but Râjah Mansing, passing out by the gate which faces the river, carried Soltân Khosraw with him in a boat to his own house.

SELIM, having now gained all the principal Omrâs to his interest, went with them on foot, ^{proclaimed em-} attending the corps of his father, and buried him in great pomp. Then, returning to the ^{peror.} castle, they crowned him, and gave him the name of Mohammed Jehân Ghîr (A). Three days after, Soltân Khosraw was taken out of the hands of Râjah Mansing and Khân Azem, and brought to court; where his father seemed to be reconciled to him. Moreover, the coronation of Jehân Ghîr being soon made known in foreign countries, ambassadors arrived from Persia, Tartary, Golkondâ, Viziapûr, Dekân, and the neighbouring Râjahs, with magnificent gifts, ^c to felicitate his accession to the throne.

AT this time the following provinces were subject to him; Kandâhâr, Kâbûl, Kasbmîr, Ghassanî, and Benazâd, Guzerât, Sindî, or Tâtta, Gândhees (B), Brampûr, Barar, Bengâl, Orixâ (or Orissâ), Odé, Malow (or Malwa), Agra, and Dehlî; out of which the annual tax, according to the register of Akbar, amounted to six ares and ninety-eight krors of dams (C).

IN 1015, which was the first of Jehân Ghîr, this king, jealous of his son Khosraw, asked ^{Provinces sub-} Mirza Omra (D), his chief minister, what was the proper course to be taken with him? ^{ject to him.} The Mirza answered, to deprive him of sight. But, while the king delayed coming to a resolution, Soltân Khosraw flies: ^{A. D. 1606.} the prince, who had discovered what was in agitation against him, writes to his friend Hassan Bek (E), to hasten towards Agra with his choicest troops, and carry him off to Labûr. Hassan Bek, whom Akbar before his death had sent to Kâbûl to collect the revenue of that province, upon receipt of Khosraw's letter, immediately set forward with two or three thousand horse; and, being arrived at Akbarpûr, within twenty kos of Agra, the prince, with 500 young men, departed in the evening from the castle, the Kotwal Kôja Mâlek Ali not daring to hinder him. In their way, they put out their lights every-where, and plundered some shops; then getting into the fields, early in the morning arrived at Akbarpûr; from whence they hastened to Labûr.

AS soon as the king was informed of his son's flight, he sent the Kotwal Kôja in pursuit of ^{besieges Lahûr} him, with 300 horse: he was followed the same night by Mortâza Khân, with 1500 more; ^{castle:} and the king himself, by the persuasion of Mirza Omra, set out in the morning after the rest, with the swiftest elephants, and several Omrâs. These four parties were not above ten kos one before the other. The prince plundered all the country people along the road, took the king's horses out of the stables, and whatever merchants he met with, carried them with him: so that on the ninth day, when he arrived at Labûr, he had gathered a tolerable army. But Ibrâhîm Khân, the Pâtan, whom the king had a little while before made governor of Labûr, getting into the castle before the prince could come up, shut the gates against him.

THIS was an unluckily accident; but he met with another presently after, still more mortifying: for, hearing that Sayd Khan was encamped with his people, only three kos from

^a DE LAET'S Ind. Vera, p. 214. HERBERT, p. 72.

(A) Or, more fully, Nûro'ddin Mohammed Jehân Ghîr, that is, *the light of the religion, Mohammed the conqueror of the world*; which titles, as Frapier observes, Selim assumed to himself on his ascending the throne, on the 21st of October, 1605; at which time he was aged about 36 solar years, having been born at Fattalpûr, on the 19th of August, 1509.

(B) Perhaps Khandîsh.

(C) A dam is the fortieth part of a rupee, which is

two shillings and six pence *English*: 100,000 rupees make one lak; 100 laks, one krôr; and 100 krors, one arrib. Fraî. Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 25, & seq.

(D) Mirza Omra is doubtless a mistake for Mirza'l Omra, or Mir al Omra, that is, *the prince of princes*, the first and most honourable post at the Mogol's court. It is the same with Amir al Omra of the Arabs.

(E) Herbert calls him governor of Kabul.

the city, in his way to *Bangbe*, he sent to desire him to join his forces. *Sayd Khân* seemed a to consent; but, when he came with the soldiers of the prince to the river *Râvi*, he deceived them, and brought the boat to the castle (F).

he retreats:

MEAN time, *Jalâlo'ddîn Hassan* came from the king, to offer the prince *Kâbul* and *Banâsid*, provided he could quit *Labûr*. But *Khosraw* demanded, that all the country of *Serbînd* should be yielded to him: and as he found this treaty was set on foot only to delay time, till the *Imperial* forces came up, so soon as he heard that the king had passed the river at *Soltân-pûr*, and that *Mortâza Khân* was ready to cross the *Nakhod*, he breaks up from before *Labûr* castle, after a fortnight's siege; and with 20,000 men turns back, determined to give his father battle. When he had proceeded about 30 kos, he came to a place, where *Mortâza Khân*, apprised of his march, had already posted himself, having with him scarce 300 men. b

and is defeated:

Although it happened to be a very rainy and tempestuous day, yet the prince ordered his troops to attack the *Khân's*; which they did, at first, by light skirmishes. In a little time they were quite surrounded, and *Shân Kbelial*, the commander, slain; when *Koja Mûlek* arrived seasonably with the royal standard, and gave out aloud, that the king himself was at hand. This news so much animated the *Imperial* troops, and dispirited the prince's, that *Abdol Râjab*, his standard-bearer, threw it on the ground, and fled. The rest of his forces were so confounded at this action, that, concluding *Khosraw* was slain, they took to flight also, and dispersed. Thus were they for the most part slain, or taken, with all their baggage, either by the country-people, or the troops of the king: who, when he had joined *Mortâza Khân*, in memory of this great victory, called the place *Fettipûr* (G). c

taken prisoner.

THE prince, accompanied by *Hassan Beg*, *Khân Pâdishâh*, and *Abdol Râjab*, hastened back to *Labûr*; where leaving the *Râjab*, he, with *Pâdishâh*, crossed the *Râvi*, in order to get to the strong castle of *Rantas*. But, coming to pass the *Cbenâb*, the watermen, by the direction of the sons of *Kâssef Kân Nimek*, who commanded the garrison there, when the boat was in the middle of the stream, jumped out; and, swimming to the other side, left the prince and *Hassan Beg* in the power of their enemies. Being brought to the king, who by this time had passed the river *Latir* (H), he returned with them to *Labûr*; where *Abdol Râjab* was drawn out of his concealment. To punish the rebels now in his power, he orders the peasants to fix without delay a long series of sharp stakes on each side of the road; on which some were impaled, and others hung upon trees. This done, the king carries the d captive prince with him towards the city; and, the more to mortify him, had him set on an elephant with *Zemâna Bek* (afterwards called *Mobabet Khân*) behind him, in order to shew him the criminals as they passed along, and tell him their names (I). When they arrived at *Labûr*, he was given in custody to the same lord; and *Hassan Bek Pâdishâh*, being sewed up in a raw hide, was left to die in horrible torment. Afterwards his head was cut off, and sent to *Agra*, to be fixed on the castle gate.

A new conspiracy.

THIS rebellion being thus quashed, *Jebân Ghîr* for some time took the pleasure of hunting; and, when he had staid four months at *Labûr*, set out to visit *Kâbul*. *Soltân Khosraw* still remained confined, the *Omrâs* and *Mansebdârs*, by turns, guarding him. One day, as *Mirza Fetulla*, son of *Hâken Mirza Sharîf*, son of the *Etimâdo'ddawlet Mirza Murroddin*, nephew e of the great *Ajfos Khân*, *Mirza Jâffer Bek*, and several other *Omrâs*, were upon that duty, they conspired among themselves to slay the king in passing the *Kâbul* mountains, and set *Khosraw* upon the throne: but a proper opportunity not offering, *Jebân Ghîr* got laie to that city.

Shîr Afghân slain.

A. D. 1609.

MEAN time, the *Etimâdo'ddawlet*, who was great treasurer, is accused by *Ottem chend*, one of his *Indian* slaves, of having converted fifty millions of rupees to his own use, and is committed to the custody of *Dianet Khân*. Moreover, in the year 1018, the king received advice, that *Shîr Afkân Khân* (K), son-in-law of the imprisoned treasurer, had slain *Kolbo'ddin Mohammed Khân Goga*, viceroy of *Bengâl*, at *Râjab Mâhl*. *Sheykh Ghiatbo'ddîn*, the brother, and *Kizwer Khân*, the son of the viceroy, revenged his death, and sent *Shîr Afkân's* head to f *Agra* (L). They likewise imprisoned his brother *Gommer*, with his son and mother: also his

^b DE LAET, ubi supr. p. 217, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 73.

(F) Herbert says, the prince was taken, but by a bribe escaped to *Hassan Beg*.

(G) Or *Fattehpûr*, that is, the place of victory. Herbert mistakes this for the city of *Fettipûr*, which is but twelve kos from *Agra*; whereas this place is but thirty kos south of *Labûr*.

(H) Herbert says, it is seven days journey from *Rantas*.

(I) According to Terry, scilicet 28, there were 800 thus impaled; and the king himself shewed them to the prince, who told his father, that he ought to have spared them,

and served him so; adding, that he had no pleasure in life after beholding the execution of so many brave men.

(K) *Shîr Afkân* signifies the lion-overthrower. It is written in the copy of *De Laet*, *Affen*; elsewhere, *Affegan*. He is afterwards said to have been a *Turk*. *Frazer* says, of a *Turkman* family, which came from *Persia*. He was esteemed the bravest man in the army.

(L) *Frazer* says, p. 21, that, for sake of his exquisitely beautiful wife, *Jebân Ghîr* sent *Shîr Afkân*, with some troops, to command a place in *Bengâl*, and afterwards sent another with a greater force to cut him off.

wife

a wife *Mehîr Mejâ*, daughter of the *Etimâdo'ddawlet*; whom they treated in a very ignominious manner.

THIS murder greatly aggravated *Jehân Ghîr*'s resentment against this last-mentioned lord : *The plot discovered.* but what soon after happened completed his ruin. For just as the king was ready to return to *Labûr*, *Koja Veîz* comes, and, both by word of mouth and in writing, accuses the above-mentioned lords, and several others, of a plot against his majesty's life. *Jehân Ghîr*, highly enraged at this treason, ordered all the conspirators, with the *Etimâdo'ddawlet*, to be brought before him bound. This being done, he commanded their heads to be cut off, and their bodies fixed upon the battlements; only the *Etimâdo'ddawlet*, at the request of his keeper, was pardoned, on promise of paying eleven lak (M) of rupees for his life; but led back to prison in the most disgraceful manner. After this, the king left *Kâbul*, and returned to *Labûr*; where, by the counsel of *Mirza Omra*, and other lords, he ordered *Soltân Khosraw* to be deprived of sight, with the juice of *æk* leaves; which yet did not so effectually blind him (N), but that he could see a little with one eye.

AT the same time, *Jehân Ghîr* vented his anger against *Khân Azem*, father-in-law of the prince, on account of this latter. After confiscating all his effects, he ordered him to be brought before him, cloathed in a disgraceful manner, and all the *Omrâs* to spit on his beard. Then he sent him loaded with chains to the castle of *Gwâliyâr*, where he was imprisoned: but at the end of two years he was, by the intercession of some ladies of the *Harâm*, restored to favour and his places at court. The same year (O) *Mirza Omra* was rendered incapable of business, by losing the use of one side, after the fit of an apoplexy; and *Salâm Khân*, who acted the part of *Fausdar* (P) at *Agra*, or rather that of captain of the robbers in the neighbouring country, was made governor of *Bengâl*, in the room of *Kothbo'ddîn Khân*, slain as above-mentioned^c.

THE king, having gotten his fill of hunting, and intending to return to *Agra*, gave permission to the *Etimâdo'ddawlet*, and his keeper *Dianet Khân*, with all his family, to repair to that city, in order to collect his fine of rupees, and soon after came thither himself. From thence he wrote to *Salâm Khân*, to send him with all speed the family of *Shîr Affegân*; namely, his widow *Meher Mejâ*, and his brother. *Salâm* obeys the order, and the parties set forward. When they had entered the province of *Babâr*, a *Darwîsh*, reported to have foretold many things, accosts *Meher Mejâ* on the road; and, looking her in the face, predicts her favour with the king, and future splendor. As soon as they arrived at *Agra*, the brother and son of *Shîr Affegân* were given in charge to the *Omrâs*: but *Meher Mejâ* and her young daughter were introduced to *Rokkiâ Soltân Begum*, the king's mother; who, embracing her with the greatest affection, could scarce ever after bear her to be out of her sight.

Soon after, the queen mother happening to carry *Meher Mejâ* into the *mâhl*, or women's apartment, the king came in; and putting aside her veil, looks in her face. A few days after this, on the feast of the new year (called by the *Mohammedans Nova Rosa*) (Q), the king being very merry among his ladies, *Meher Mejâ* brought her daughter, but six years old, before the king; who, deeply enamoured with the mother, said with a smile, Henceforward, I will be father to this child. The lady answered, that she was an unhappy widow, unworthy to be numbered among his majesty's wives; and only desired he would have pity on her daughter, and do something for her. After this, *Jehân Ghîr* became so doatingly fond of *Meher Mejâ*, that every evening he went by water to the *Etimâdo'ddawlet*'s house, and did not return to his palace till early in the morning. He had loved her when a virgin, in his father *Akbar*'s life-time; but, as she had been espoused to *Shîr Asfân*, his father would not give her to him for a wife: for all this, he still retained an affection for her.

^c DE LAET, p. 220, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 74, & seq.

(M) That is 132,550 pounds sterling; reckoning the lak at 12,500 pounds. Herbert says, he paid 200,000.

(N) Terry, sect. 28, says, his eyes were sealed up, by something put before them, which was not to be taken off for three years; at the end of which, the seal was removed, that he might freely enjoy the light tho' not his liberty. He doubtless seemed to have his sight perfectly, to this author; who often saw him following the king in his progresses; particularly once, when he stopped to talk to Sir Thomas Roe. Terry says, he had a very lovely presence, and fine carriage. Sir Thomas himself only says, that his person was comely, his countenance chearful, and his beard grown down to his girdle. He was attended with no great guard; and his questions shewed ignorance of all that was done at court. Roe's Journal, Church's Collect. Trav. vol. i. p. 718.

(O) That is, in 1609. Herbert says, that this year the Jesuits, with *Jehân Ghîr*'s consent, baptised three of his brother's sons, by the names of *Philippo*, *Carlo*, and *Henrico*; with another grandson of *Akbar*, whom they called *Don Edoard*. He said, that the king was prevailed on to suffer this, by the persuasion of his son *Soltân Khorm* and his friend, in order to make his way the easier to the throne.

(P) It ought, no doubt, to have been *Fojhdâr*, an officer who has command of a body of horse, and is entrusted with the care of the suburbs and out parts. Fraser.

(Q) This does not mean *the new rose*, although the *English* comes nearer the true word than the *Latin*; but *Nawerûz*, or *Nawrûz*, which, in the *Persian*, signifies *the new day*, or, if you will, *new year's day*. The names throughout the original are so corrupted, or disfigured, by the *Dutch* spelling, we cannot warrant many of them to be right, as we have reduced them to the *English* idiom.

AFTER

Marries Jehân Ghîr.

AFTER he had thus for forty nights made his court to her, he orders *Koja Abdol Hassan* a to go and demand her of the *Etimâdo'ddawlet*; for that he was determined to marry her, and give her the precedence of all his other wives. *Abdol Hassan*, going about to remonstrate how dishonourable it would be to his majesty, to marry the daughter of an infamous person, *Jebân Ghîr* bade him angrily begone, and obey his commands. The *Etimâdo'ddawlet* received the royal message, and, having declared himself unworthy of the honour designed him, gives his consent; after which, a fortunate day being fixed, the king married her, and changed her name to that of *Nûr Jebân Begum* (R). In short, he loved her to such excess, that he not only preferred her to all his other wives, and gave her father the command of 5000 horse, but also conferred honours and places at court on all her relations.

Preferments at court. A. D. 1611.

IN the year 1020 of the *Hejrab*, and sixth of his reign, he sent the Nabab *Mortâza Khân*, b with his youngest son *Soltân Shebriâr* (S), with absolute command, into *Guzerât*; *Khân Jebân*, with several *Omrâs*, to *Brampûr*; the province of *Kbor* was given to *Khân Khânnâ*; and *Mobabet Khân* was sent with an army to make war upon *Râjah Râna*. The same year arrived *Zeynel Bek*, ambassador from *Shâh Abbâs*, king of *Persia*, with a magnificent equipage, and very rich presents. He was received with great honour, and sent back with presents suitable to the occasion. In *Bengâl*, the territory of *Râjah Kots* is reduced into a province by *Salau Khân* (T); and *Mursa Khân*, son of *Hissa Khân*, with many other lords, brought into subjection to *Jebân Ghîr*. As for *Mobabet Khân*, sent against *Râjah Râna* (U), after taking some towns from *Râjah Mardout*, he was recalled to court; and *Abdol Khân*, with other *Omrâs*, sent to command the army in his room.

War against Rana:

WHEN *Abdol Khân* arrived at *Sissimîr*, he was met by an army of *Râspûts*; whom *Râna* had sent to oppose him: but he fell on them with such vigour, that, being quickly routed, they fled to *Oudepûr*. That province being thus subdued, the wives and children of the *Indian* inhabitants were carried into slavery. From thence he marched with his army to *Siavend*, where the ancestors of *Râna* formerly had their palace: for it was a place so strongly fenced, being surrounded with impenetrable woods and deserts, that the kings of *Debli* never durst attempt it. But *Abdol Khân*, commanding his pioneers to cut down the trees, and open passages through the rocks, by degrees cleared the way to *Siavend*. When *Râna* saw this, he left two or three thousand *Râspûts*, with a great deal of provision, in the castle; then, taking with him his domestics and women, withdrew into the woods and mountains.

His country reduced.

MEAN time *Abdol Khân* sits down before the castle, and, making a wall with the trees which had been cut down, attacked the place with such vigour, that at length he took it, after all the garrison had been slain. As soon as he had taken possession, he ordered all the pagods, or *Hindû* temples, to be destroyed, which had stood for above one thousand years; and, in their room, a stately *Masjed* to be erected. At the same time, he pursued *Râna* so closely, that, after obliging him several times to shift his quarter, he at length forced him to leave his provinces at the mercy of his enemies. *Jebân Ghîr*, highly pleased with *Abdol Khân's* proceedings, sends him next into *Guzerât*, to command there; with particular orders to pursue the *Bielsgrats* and *Kowlis*, who infested the ways, and robbed the karawâns, and either reduced them to obedience, or quite extirpated them. In his march, many *Râjahs* and their subjects e met him, with presents, and voluntarily submitted; excepting *Râjah Eder* and *Lael Kowli*, who, trusting in the ruggedness of their country, refused to come in^d.

Successes in Guzerât.

ABDOL KHAN, resolving to humble them, as soon as he had gotten to *Abmed abâd*, marched at the head of 500 select men, with so much speed, that he arrived at the castle of *Eder*, seventy kos distant, before the garrison knew any thing of his coming. However the *Râjah* ventured out to meet him with his followers: but, by a smart conflict of some hours continuance, was so roughly handled, that he was compelled to fly, accompanied by only four or five of his soldiers; leaving his castles and treasures to be possessed by the victor. Not long after, *Abdol Khân*, being informed, that *Lael Kowli* had robbed a karawân of all its merchandises, moved towards him with an army: the *Kowli*, far from retreating, met him with f two or three thousand horse, and ten or twelve thousand foot. But, after a bloody engagement, the victory fell to *Abdol Khân*; and *Lael* himself having been slain in the battle, his head was cut off, and set over the gate of *Abmed abâd*.

Mâlek Amber attacked.

MEAN time, *Khân Jebân*, who was sent against *Mâlek Amber*, king of *Dekân*, finding he made no progress, chiefly through the discord among the commanders, sent to desire *Jebân Ghîr* to command the army. The king hereupon sent *Soltân Parweis*, accompanied by *Râjah Ramdas*; who, being arrived at *Brampûr* with his forces, wrote to *Adel Khân*, and *Kotbb Mâlek* (X), to know why the accustomed tribute was not paid: and, being answered, that it

^d DE LAET, p. 224, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 75, & seqq.

(R) In *De Laet*, *Nourziam Begem*. It signifies the lady, who is the light of the world.

(S) *Shebriyar*, or *Shebr riyar*, that is, the friend of the city. In *De Laet* it is written *Tzerriar*.

(T) Before called *Tzalam*, or *Salam Khân*.

(U) Herbert calls him *Rana*, or *Rahanna of Mandaw*.

(X) Rather *Adel Shâh* and *Kotbb Shâh*; the first, king of *Viziapûr*, the other of *Golkendâ*: for *Shâh* was the title used by the kings themselves; that of *Khân* being given them by the *Mogols*, by way of contempt.

- a had been ready a considerable while, he sent a person to receive it. As soon as he had secured the money, he dispatches Khân *Jebân*, Râjah *Mansing*, and Râjah *Ramdas*, with a strong army, into *Ballagât*, against *Mâlek Amber*; who, with his forces, daily encountered them. After this, *Jebân Ghîr* sent Khân *Azem*, with three or four thousand soldiers more, to *Brâmpûr*, and removed himself to *Azmîr*. Mean time advice arrived, that Râjah *Râna* had appeared in the field again, and recovered *Oudenpûr*, *Pormândel*, and other neighbouring places. Here-*Râna submits.* upon, the king sent against him his son Soltân *Kourm*, with a potent army. The prince, advancing to *Oudenpûr*, sent out troops on all sides; whereby *Râna* was hemmed in so straitly, that he intreated *Kourm* to mediate his pardon with the king; and, at the Soltân's demand, sent his son *Karen*, as a pledge of his fidelity, with rich presents, valued at 100,000 rupees.
- b With these he repaired to *Azmîr*, and made peace for *Râna* with his father, who kept *Karen* about him, and gave him the above-mentioned places.

KHAN *Azem*, being arrived at *Brâmpûr* with his forces, sent to Khân *Khânna*, who resided Dekân *invad-* in the kingdom of *Khûr*, to join him. After which, it was resolved in a council of war, that *ed.* the Râjahs *Abdol Hassan*, *Mansing*, and *Ramdas*, with several Omrâs, should march before towards *Ballagât*, while Khân *Khânna* and Khân *Jebân* followed with the rest of the troops. *Mâlek Amber*, on the news of their march, set out to meet them, with 50,000 forces; 20,000 of his own, 20,000 brought by *Adel Khân*, and 10,000 by *Kolbb Mâlek*. Here- upon *Jebân Ghîr* ordered *Abdol Khân*, who then commanded in *Guzerât*, to set out in haste with all his troops for *Dekân*. By this time the *Mogol* army was advanced as far as *Kerki*, c the regal seat of *Dekân*, but not inclosed with walls, yet within five or six kos of *Dawlet abâd*, a very strong fortrefs. *Mâlek Amber*, being determined to fight them, sent *Fassen* to defeat *Abdol Khân* before he could join the other forces: but when he drew near, and found those forces to amount to no fewer than 100,000 horse, he became astonished, and fled with only a few followers; leaving in the camp *Molbena Mohammed Lâri*, and the Wakil of *Adel Khân*, who, with 20,000 men, were come to assist him.

- WHEN therefore the king of *Dekân* saw, that he was no match for the *Mogols*, he had recourse to stratagem. He ordered counterfeit letters to be written, giving an account, that *Notable stra-* *Jebân Ghîr* was dead; and contrived, by unknown messengers, to convey them to the hands *tagem.* of Râjah *Mansing*, Râjah *Ramdas*, and Khân *Khânna*. The Omrâs, giving credit to these letters, immediately break up their camp, and in great haste return to *Brâmpûr*. *Abdol* d *Khân*, deceived by the same artifice, distributes his forces into garrisons, and marches back to *Guzerât*. *Mâlek Amber*, being thus delivered from his enemies, quickly recovered the places which they had taken from him, and fortified them with new works. When *Jebân Ghîr* heard how his generals had been duped, he was greatly incensed at their easy credulity; which he severely chastised in his letters to them. When he got to *Mândow*, he sent *Mohabêl* *Khân* to command in *Brâmpûr*, and the province of *Barar*; who was so fortunate, as, in a short while, to reduce the whole country a second time as far as *Kerki*. After *Jebân Ghîr* had resided for one year and five months at *Mândow*, he proceeded to *Guzerât*; from whence, being come to *Ahmed abâd*, he sent *Abdol Khân* to govern the provinces of *Kalpi* and *Khûr*.
- e Then, having diverted himself another year with hunting, returns to *Agra*.

At this time, *Shâh Bek*, governor of *Kandabâr*, being superannuated, the king recalls him, and places *Babâdr Khân*, the *Uzbek*, in his room. He likewise dispatched *Sejad Khân* to *Bengâl*: *Commissions in* *Salâm Khân*, viceroy of *Bengal*, that he might place him in the government of *Odia*: but *Bengâl*: *Ozmân Khân*, the *Pâtan*, who for many years had been master of the country lying between that city and *Daak* (or *Duka*), came in the mean time, with a great army, and besieged the latter. Upon this advice, *Salâm Khân* moved towards him with his forces, sending before *Sejad Khân*, *Mirza Effagber*, and other Omrâs; while he followed about fifteen kos behind with the rest of his troops to support them. The two armies meeting, *Effagber* and *Mirîk* f *Jelâyir* gave the enemy so furious an onset, that they obliged them to fall back: but *Ozmân* sending a fierce elephant among them, they, in their turn, were obliged to give way, and *Effagber* was slain. *Sejad Khân* also himself, to avoid that furious animal, threw himself off the elephant which he rode on, and broke his leg in such a manner, that his people had much ado to carry him out of the battle. Hereupon the *Mogols* began to fly on every side: and had been utterly overthrown, had not an unexpected accident restored the fight. For a soldier, who lay wounded on the ground, happening to hit *Ozmân* in the eye with a knobbed stick, as he rode by on his elephant, that *Pâtan* soon after died of the wound; which so terrified his soldiers, that they immediately fled. *Salâm Khân*, being informed by a courier of the victory, arrived two days after on the field of battle; and, finding *Sejad Khân* dead of his wound, set himself in pursuit of the enemy. By forced marches, he at length overtook the brother, g widow and children of *Ozmân Khân*, whom he seized, with the elephants, and all the treasure of the deceased; which, at his return to *Daak*, the capital of *Bengâl*, he sent to *Jebân Ghîr*.

* DE LAET, p. 229, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 76, & seq.

Province sub-
dued.

IN the year . . . that monarch removed from *Agra* to *Labûr*. Mean time, *Abdol Khân*, a who had been sent to govern the provinces of *Khûr* and *Kalpi*, intirely subdued them: for he brought in subject on, or destroyed, all the Râjahs and others, who had rebelled, and never would obey the former governors. He likewise made captives their wives and children; amounting, it is said, to so great a number, that, being sent to *Irân* (or *Persia* at large), the sale of them amounted to eleven lak (Y). Lastly, to humble the natives effectually, he razed all their fortified places to the ground.

Embassy to
Persia:

JEHAN GHIR about this time, resolved to send an ambassador to Shâh *Abbâs*, pitched on *Khân Azem*, a man of prudence and high birth, to execute that commission. That he might appear at the *Persian* court with greater lustre, he was intrusted with magnificent presents for the king. These consisted of agate vessels, all sorts of cotton and woollen cloths, made in *Hindûstân*, intermixed with gold and silver; daggers and swords, adorned with gold and precious stones, with other curiosities of great value; amounting in the whole to fifty thousand rupees. He likewise ordered sixty thousand more to be paid out of his own treasury for defraying the expences of the Khân's journey, and the train of noblemen, who accompanied him. In his letters to the Shâh, he bestowed great commendations on the ambassador; styling him not only his friend, but brother.

honourably re-
ceived.

WHEN he arrived with his retinue at *Serâd*, *Hassan Bek*, governor of that city, met him; and, with great honour, conducted him thither. Likewise, on his approach to *Spîbân* (or *Isfâbân*), the Shâh sent *Konstalik Khân*, with several other lords, to compliment, and usher him into his capital. When he was introduced to the king, his majesty rose up, and walking a few steps to meet him, took him by the hand, and placed him by him on the throne. Thenceforward banquets were made, and shews exhibited daily for his entertainment. At length, after two years stay, *Khân Azem* was dismissed with magnificent presents, both for his master and himself. Among those for *Jebân Ghîr*, besides great quantities of silk, and cloth of gold and silver, were 500 *Persian* horses, twenty he and fifty she mules, with 150 dromedaries of both sexes, all very beautiful in their kind. Shâh *Abbâs*, at the same time, desired the ambassador to speak to his king, to restore *Kandabûr*, which had been betrayed to his father *Akbar*; or else, to take an equivalent elsewhere in lieu of that province.

Affairs of
Bengâl.

KHAN AZEM returned to *Labûr*, at such time as *Jebân Ghîr* went for the first time to *Kashmîr*; and *Soltân Khosraw*, who till then had been in custody of *Affos Khân*, was delivered into the hands of *Khân Jebân*. *Mohabet Khân* likewise was made viceroy of *Kâbul* and *Banghes* (Z). *Salam Khân* having deceased in *Bengâl*, the king made his brother *Sheykh Kâssef* lieutenant of that province. *Kherram Khân*, son of the late governor, hearing of his uncle's coming, who ever hated him, leaves *Daik*, with all his father's effects, in order to repair to *Agra*: but *Kâssef*, meeting him at *Râjah Mîbl*, took from him some elephants and other goods. Of this *Kherram Khân* complained to the king, who was so incensed at *Kâssef* for the same, that, at the year's end, he recalled him; and, in his room, appointed *Ibrâhîm Khân*, a relation of *Nûr Jebân*, with the command besides of 5000 horse. As soon as *Kâssef* had received notice of his disgrace, he in haste, with his family and all his effects, departed from *Daik*: but *Ibrâhîm*, meeting him at *Râjâb Kom*, demand restitution of what he had taken from his nephew. *Kherram*, instead of the goods, returned ill-language; which, at length, produced blows: but, finding himself the weaker party, he killed several of his women, that he might fly the faster; and, leaving all his effects behind, escaped with a few domestics; while *Ibrâhîm* was, with great submission, received as governor by all the inferior *Omrâs*^h.

74. Mughals
exp. Lab.

AFTER this, *Jebân Ghîr* sends an army against the *Mûkbans*, who had committed hostilities; and *Ibrâhîm* joining them with his forces, fell upon the rebels; of whom he made a great slaughter, and took many captives, with considerable spoils. These actions rendered *Ibrâhîm* so much in favour with the king, that, besides sending him horses, a sword, and a dagger, he conferred on him the name of *Firûz Jebân Khân*. The same year he sent *Mortûza Khân* to besiege *Kangra*, a castle so strongly fortified by nature and art, that the kings of *Dehli* never could take it from the *Hindûs*: for it is surrounded by steep mountains and deep ditches; nor is there any getting to it, but through a wood fifty kos in breadth, and a very narrow path between the rocks. The Khân, nothing dismayed with these difficulties, commanded the trees to be cut down before him: and, although he advanced scarce half a kos each day, yet he persisted in the work, till at length, after eight months labour, he arrived before the castle. He immediately ordered a wall to be built round it, and battered the place so furiously, that in a short time it seemed in a fair way of being taken; when his death put an end to the expedition.

75. Khot-
tan, 1618.
A. D. 1618.

IN 1628, *Jebân Ghîr* made a second progress to *Kashmîr*; but quickly returned to *Labûr*; when, by the persuasion of *Nûr Jebân*, and her brother *Affos Khân*, *Soltân Khosraw* was g

^h DE LAET, p. 231, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 77, & seqq.

Y. That is lak of rupees; which, at 12,000 pounds to a lak, amount to 137,500 pounds sterling.

(Z) Rather *Banghîr*, or *Pengîr*, a city about thirty miles north of *Kashmîr*.

a taken out of the custody of Khân Jēbān, and delivered into the hands of his brother Soltān Khūrm. This prince was now greatly in favour with his father; who gave him the command of 40,000 horse, and sent him to the war in Dekān, accompanied by *Koja Abdol Hassan*, and other experienced generals. The ground of this expedition was, that the kings of *Viziapūr* and *Golkonda* had for several years forborne to pay the tribute; and *Milek Amber* had surpris'd the provinces of *Kbāndīsh* and *Barār*: so that Khân Khānna was in a manner besieged by an army of *Rāspūts*. Mean time *Abdol Azīz Khān* was appointed governor of *Kandahār*, in the room of *Babādr Khān Uzbek*, who was sent against *Kangra*, before mentioned; and the command of *Multān* given to Khân Jēbān: that of *Kalpi* to *Abdol Khān*, and the government of *Bondela* to Rājān *Lala Bertsing*. Lastly, Soltān *Parweis* was nominated to that of *Pātan*.

b IN 1029, Rājāh *Rāra* dying, *Jebān Ghīr* sent *Karen* from court, to succeed his father in his territories: and at the same time ordered his brother Rājān *Ribem*, to assist Soltān Khūrm with 2 or 3000 *Rāspūts*. This prince, who now assumed the name of Shāh Jēbān, at length arrived at *Brāmpūr*, with his whole army; from whence he detached before *Abdol Khān*, *Lala Bertsing*, and *Koja Abdol Hassan*, with several other Omrās, to make war on *Mālek Amber*, *Ziādū Rājāb*; and *Mirza Makkey* was sent to invade *Golkonda*. At the same time *Mohammed Takki* was dispatched to *Viziapūr*, with letters for *Adel Khān*; in which he gave them notice, that, unless the tribute was forthwith paid, he would enter their dominions, and drive them out. In the interim *Abdol Khān*, with his forces, pass'd through *Ballagāt*, followed by the prince, at the distance of ten or twelve kos, with the rest of the army.

c AT length they are oppos'd by the troops of *Mālek Amber*; with whom they had several battles, in which they had always the victory; and then advancing to *Kerki*, took it a second time: where, to be revenged on *Mālek Amber*, they demolish'd his palace, and carried away a vast booty. Thus the province of *Kbāndīsh* and *Barār*, with all the places about *Amdanigar*, again fell into the hands of the Mogols.

d IN 1030, the king, returning to *Agra*, spent his time much in hunting, and the gardens of Soltān *Parweis*, beyond the river. The same year died the *Itemādo'ddawlet*, prime wazīr to *Jebān Ghīr*; who bestow'd all his effects on his daughter *Nūr Jēbān*, and his post on *Koja Abdol Hassan*.

e SHAH Jēbān, who resid'd at *Brāmpūr*, began to contrive how to make away with his brother *Khoṣraw* (whom he had in custody) without suspicion: and, having imparted his mind to Khān Khānna, and other Omrās he confid'd in, rode out a hunting. *Reza* (A), his slave, whom he had engag'd to commit this murder, going in the night with his assistants to the prince's apartment, knock'd at the door, pretending he brought him vests and letters from his father, with orders to his brother *Shāh Jēbān* to set him at liberty. As *Khoṣraw*, who suspected his errand, refus'd to admit him, the ruffian forc'd the door off the hinges; and throwing the prince on the ground, with the help of the rest, strangled him. Then, laying his dead body on the bed, went out, and shut the door again¹.

f NEXT morning his wife, who was daughter of Khān *Azem*, going into the chamber, and finding her husband dead, fill'd the house with lamentations. Every one was griev'd for the prince's unexpected death; but nobody suspected that he was murdered. As soon as Shāh Jēbān return'd to the city, he wrote his father an account of his brother's death; and, the better to conceal his crime, got all the Omrās and *Mansebdārs* to sign the letter: after which he had the corpse interred in a garden without the city. But the *Nabāb Nūro'ddin Kowli*, happening to be there at that time, sent a detail of the whole matter to *Jebān Ghīr*. The king mightily bewail'd his son's death, and wrote very sharply to the Omrās; demanding, Why they fail'd to let him know, whether his son died a natural or violent death? He likewise command'd the body to be taken up again, and sent to him, that it might be buried at *Elabās*, in his mother's tomb. Then sending for Khān *Azem*, the deceased prince's father-in-law, he comforted him, and committed to his care the education of his nephew Soltān *Bolaki* (B); on whom he confer'd the command of ten thousand horse.

S E C T. II.

From the rebellion of Soltān Khurm to the recalling Mohabet Khān to court.

g MEAN time *Abdol Khān*, departing from Shāh Jēbān without leave, retires to his government of *Kalpi*; but the king resent'd this liberty, and order'd him to return to the army. While affairs were in this confusion, a courier arrives from *Azof Khan*,

¹ DE LAET, p. 239, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 78, & seqq.

(A) Herbert calls him Rājāh *Bander*.

(B) Herbert writes *Bolaki*, or *Bolaki*. Frazer says, he was also called *Dawr Buksh*; that is, God's gift.

governor of *Khandabâr*, with advice that *Shâh Abbâs*, king of *Persia*, was advancing to a besiege that fortress, and to desire immediate succours. *Khân Jehân*, who commanded at *Multân*, was accordingly ordered to set out, with what forces he had, upon that service; but while he delayed to obey his orders, the *Persians* came and besieged the place; which they attacked continually both day and night. *Jehân Ghîr*, anxious to relieve *Khandabâr*, by advice of his council, sent for *Abdol Khân*; who now, with the prince's leave, was gone back to his government. The *Khân* no sooner received the king's orders than he set forward, with 5000 chosen horse and 100 elephants. *Jehân Ghîr* was so well pleased with this instance of that lord's zeal for his service, that, on his arrival at *Labûr*, he gave his grand-daughter (C) in marriage to his son *Mirza Khân*.

taken by Shâh
Abbâs. THE siege of *Kandabâr* had now continued six months, when *Shâh Abbâs* came in person, b with a great army, against that fortress: of which the news arriving at court, *Jehân Ghîr*, on reflection that he could not send relief in time, wrote the *Shâh* word, that he would deliver up the city to him of his own accord; and sent *Azof Khân* orders for that purpose: but this lord, suspecting the letters to be counterfeit, held out the place, till the principal bulwark being blown up, he was obliged to surrender. *Shâh Abbâs*, having appointed *Ali Kuli Khân* for his governor, marched back to *Ispahân*; while *Azof Khân* and *Abdol Khân* returned to *Labûr*.

Solrân Khurm
advances BEFORE this, *Jehân Ghîr* had sent *Azof*, or *Affof Khân*, brother to *Nîr Jehân Begum*, to *Agra*, to bring the treasures from the castle of that city to *Labûr*. But *Ethabar Khân*, governor of *Agra*, and *Ethamat Khân*, keeper of the treasure, both eunuchs, first refused c to deliver it; and when they had consented, still raised many objections against it. Mean time *Affof Khân* sent letters privately to *Shâh Jehân*, in which he gave him an account of his journey to fetch away the treasure; advising him to come and seize it between *Agra* and *Dehli*. The prince had long since coveted his father's throne; and for this end had married the daughter of *Affof Khân*; who with his brothers and other *Khorassân* lords, governed almost every thing at court. He had likewise, with the same view, so attached his *Omrâs* to his interest, by gifts and pensions, that they did not scruple to swear obedience to him, in opposition to their rightful sovereign.

to seize the
treasury: BESIDES these supports, *Shâh Jehân* had received, from the indulgence of his father, several large and wealthy provinces; as all the country between *Mandow* and *Brâmpûr*, *Gandersi*, d *Oudepûr*, *Barâr*, *Amdanâgar*, all *Guzerât*, extending from *Brâmpûr* to *Surât*, and from thence to *Ahmed abâd*, its metropolis. In all which provinces, and the cities belonging to them, he, by his own authority, appointed governors, to serve his ambitious design, as before mentioned: and, lastly, to remove his chief obstacle, he made away with his elder brother, by the advice of *Râjah Bikkermansid* (†); who was thought to have the gift of foretelling what was to come. So that nothing farther seemed wanting to compass his ends, than to join his father's treasures to those which had been gathering, for five or six years, out of the provinces subject to him.

besieges Agra;
A. D. 1621. HAVING therefore received the above-mentioned message from his father-in-law, he, with- e out delay, assembled all his *Omrâs*, with *Râjah Bikkermansid*, who governed *Guzerât*, and other commanders; and, in 1031, set out from *Brampûr*, with an army of 70,000 horse under pretence of going towards *Mandow* to hunt. He made such great expedition, marching twenty or thirty kos a day, that he arrived at *Azmîr* with all his forces, before *Ethabar Khân* knew any thing of his coming; and on the fifteenth day got to *Fettipûr*. As soon as *Ethabar Khân* heard this news, he carried back the treasures, which he had gotten ready to deliver to *Affof Khân*, into the castle of *Agra*; and, by couriers, immediately gave the king notice of the prince's coming, and design. Hereupon *Jehân Ghîr*, without delay, set out from *Labûr* to that other capital. Mean time the prince detached *Râjah Bikkermansid*, his chief general, *Beyrâm Bîk*, *Rostom Khân*, *Tsoffalia Deria Khân*, *Wazîr Khân*, and *Mohammed Takki*, with an army, to take the castle of *Agra*. But *Ethabar Khân*, faithful to his king, f had already fortified it, prepared his warlike engines, and walled up all the gates^k.

but is repulsed. BEYRAM BIK, who first entered the city, posted himself in the house of *Mirza Abdollatr*, son of *Khân Azem*, from whence he went to attack the castle-gate: but he was bravely repulsed by the garrison, under the conduct of *Râjah Baderois*. Next came *Râjah Bikkermansid*, who, taking up his quarters in the house of *Affof Khân*, sent to search those of *Nûro'ddîn Kûli*, *Laskar Khân*, and other lords, who defended the castle. In the house of the first they found ten lak; in that of the second lord, sixteen; and several more in *Affof Khân*'s. Having thus in three days time gathered fifty or sixty lak out of the houses of

^k DE LAET, p. 243, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 80, & seqq.

(C) The daughter of his son *Dahen*, or rather *Dhan Shâh*; that is, *Daniel Shâh*.

(†) Called also *Bikker mansa*.

a several Omrâs, they returned to the prince at *Fettipûr*, without doing any other damage to the citizens.

WHEN Shâh *Jebân* found himself baulked in his design of seizing his father's treasures, *The king taken,* and having no hopes of taking the castle in a short space of time, he resolved to meet his father, and give him battle. For this end he distributed money among his soldiers; and, having reviewed his forces, departed from *Fettipûr* the twenty-fifth day after his arrival there. The king began his march with only a few troops: however he had sent for *Mohabet Khân* from *Kâbul*, and *Khân Jebân* from *Multân*. Soltân *Parweis* also was on the road from *Pâtan* with succours, designing directly for *Agra*. Shâh *Jebân*, with his army, comes on the third day to *Fern abâd*, within ten kos of *Debli*; three kos from which the king was encamped: b so that the two armies were no more than seven kos asunder. Next day the prince sent Râjah *Bikkermanfid*, with other commanders, to attack his father's army; who sent against them *Abdol Khân*, *Mohabet Khân*, *Affof Khân*, Râjah *Bertzing*, and other Omrâs, with forces divided into three bodies: but some of these lords, having given their faith to the prince, deserted *Jebân Ghîr*; whom they had even determined, if practicable, to deliver into his son's power.

THE forces of the king were commanded by *Shebriar*, his youngest son, and *Mohabet* yet gains the *Khân*; those of the prince by *Bikkermanfid*. When the two armies were drawn out ready *victory.* for battle, *Jebân Ghîr* sends *Zaberdaft Khân*, with a sword, bow, and arrows, to *Abdol Khân*, conjuring him to do his best to defeat his rebellious son: but that lord, advancing with c fifty horse nearer the enemy's front than he imagined, was attacked and cut off. Mean time, the battle growing hot, and many other Omrâs being slain, *Bikkermanfid* broke his way through the king's troops to his very tent, and takes him prisoner: but before he could secure his prize, he was killed by one of the guards, with the stroke of a mace on the poll; which accident so astonished the rest of the Omrâs, that they immediately drew-off, with their forces, to three kos distance, and left the victory to the king's troops.

AFTER this *Khân Khinna* persuaded the prince to give over the war; and, retiring to the mountains of *Mevat*, endeavour by all methods to regain his father's favour. Which advice *Khurm submits.* the prince follows. On the other side, Soltân *Parweis* meeting *Jebân Ghîr* at *Balzol*, the whole harâm was sent to *Agra*, and *Ethabar Khân* ordered to open the gates of the castle d again. The king hereupon wrote to acquaint Shâh *Jebân*, that provided he came to him to *Azmîr*, and would swear not to attempt any thing against his person for the future, he would not only pardon, and take him into favour, but would also confer on him great honours and riches. The prince, on receipt of these letters, immediately set forward with *Khân Khinna*, *Abdol Khân*, *Beyrâm Bik*, and other Omrâs, who all arrived at *Azmîr*, and were well received.

AFTER the death of Râjah *Bikkermanfid*, Shâh *Jebân* conferred the government of *Guzerât* *Guzerât taken* on *Abdol Khân*; who, continuing with the prince, sent his eunuch *Baffadar Khân* to command by in his absence. When he arrived at *Abmed abâd*, he thrust out the *Nabâb Shaffi Khân*, the king's chancellor; who, enraged at this affront, went to *Kanksi*. From thence he wrote to *Nâzar Khân*, governor of *Pâtan*, and *Babon Khân*, who resided at *Kapperbeniz*, giving e them an account of what had passed. As he knew that Soltân *Bolaki*, and his grandfather *Azem Khân*, were on the road with an army to recover *Guzerât*, and command over it for the king, they blamed him for suffering himself to be so easily thrust out; and ordering him to meet them at *Kapperbeniz*, it was resolved to march to *Abmed abâd*: therefore, setting forward in the evening, they early next morning arrived before the walls of that city; and, having divided their forces (D) into three bodies, each attacked a gate, which with their elephants they broke open; and, thus entering the place, seized *Baffadar Khân*, and other lords, who had deserted to the prince.

As Shâh *Jebân*, then at *Mandow*, was greatly concerned at this news, *Abdol Khân* made *the royal army.* light of it; saying, that they who had taken *Abmed abâd* were only three merchants, and f would easily be obliged to quit their conquest. But it happened otherwise; for when he, accompanied with several other Khâns, and 70,000 horse, was come to *Wasset* (E), he found *Shaffi Khân* prepared to receive him, though not expected. This lord, finding the king's army, under Soltân *Bolaki* and *Khân Azem*, was at a great distance, and, being short of money, stripped the throne, which Shâh *Jebân* had caused to be made at *Abmed abâd*, of its gold and jewels; and therewith, in nine day time, procured out of the neighbouring places 19,000 horse, 500 musketeers, 28 elephants, and 22 Omrâs¹.

WITH these forces he encamped without the city, at *Kanki*, from whence he removed to *Khurm*, *ge-* *Assempûr*; where, being informed of *Abdol Khân*'s coming, he posted himself with his army *ncral*

¹ DE LAET, p. 248, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 82, & seqq.

(D) Herbert says, they had 1000 horse and 5 elephants.

(E) Beyond (or to the south of) *Brodra*, which is

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five days march from *Mandow*. He had 1,400,000 rupis to pay the soldiers: but Herbert says, it was to increase his army with 12,000 foot.

at *Bowben talaw*, six kos from *Abmed abîd*. *Abdol Khân*, on this advice, leaving *Ana-mogherri*, advances to *Neriâd*, and thence to *Momod abîd* (F), but six kos from the enemy, whom he despised, too much confiding in his own strength. Here discovering by an intercepted letter, that *Matza-bayb Khân* intended in the battle to go over to the king's troops, he had him arrested, with his son *Koja Soltân*, and confiscated their effects. Next morning he moved towards *Kanisa*: but, when he understood how strong the royal army was, and knowing that some of his commanders were not to be trusted, he turned off towards *Baroch*, with design to attack *Shaffi Khân* in the rear. However, his design being discovered by the watchful enemy, he resolves to give them battle without delay. To this end, next morning, he divides his forces into three bodies, and gives the right wing to *Hamed Khân* and *Zali Beg*; the left to *Zardi Khân*, *Mashûd Beg*, and *Mohammed Kûli*, reserving to himself the main body.

attempts to re-
cover it;

In this order the whole camp advanced by *Jetelpûr* to *Fettabâgh*; where *Shaffi Khân* being already arrived with his forces, *Nakar Khân*, with his five sons, and two sons-in-law, *Karâ Mohammed Khân* and *Shâb Mohammed Khân*, with 3000 horse, began the fight, and made a great slaughter of *Abdol Khân*'s troops. *Shaffi Khân*, having at the same time chosen a more commodious ground, so galled the enemy with his cannon, that one of the chief elephants, being wounded, turned about, and made great disorder among their ranks. *Abdol Khân* was not wanting all this while to encourage his soldiers; and, having in some measure restored the battle, challenges *Nabar Khân* to a single combat. The brave old man did not fail to meet him; but, having been wounded by his adversary in the head with a lance, his men came in to his assistance. Hereupon began a fierce conflict, in which one of his sons-in-law was killed, and three of his sons wounded. *Nabar Khân* finding the enemy too strong for him, began to fly: but *Delawer Khân* called him back, and renewed the fight.

but is defeated.

SAID KHAN and *Sîd Yakûb* in the mean time attacked *Sali Beg*, who had advanced before with 1000 horse, with so much bravery, that all his soldiers dispersed; yet, with only four more, he still fought gallantly, till being at length thrown from his elephant, *Said Khân* ran him through. *Abmed Khân* also, who ventured to assail *Râjah Hallen* and *Abdol Rhamân*, had his head cut off; which with that of *Sali Beg* was sent to *Shaffi Khân*. The death of these great officers so astonished the whole army of the enemy, that they immediately fled on all sides, excepting *Zaitfi Khân*, governor of *Brodra*, who, with 400 horse and three elephants, still stood his ground in the rear; but, on *Shaffi Khân*'s advancing towards him, he surrendered. His son *Mohammedan Kûli Khân*, much offended at his father's cowardice, with forty horse and one elephant, fled to *Abdol Khân*: who, being informed of those misfortunes, thought it best to fly likewise towards *Brodra*; whither he arrived with only a few followers, great numbers of his troops having been cut-off in their way by the people (G) of the country. From thence he went to *Surât*, where having staid eight days, he returned with a few troops to *Brâmpûr*.

Khurm other-
thrown;

MEAN time *Jebân Gbîr*, who remained at *Fettipûr*, detached his son *Soltân Parweis*, with *Mohabet Khân*, *Râjah Lala Bertzing*, and the whole army of *Râspûts*, to pursue his rebellious son, and, if possible, take him alive. At the same time *Mirza Khân*, son of *Abdol Khân*, is sent laden with chains to the castle of *Agra*; while *Abdol Ajef Khân*, who had by the contrivance of *Abdol Khân* been put into the power of *Shâh Jebân*, makes his escape, and returns to the king. As soon as this prince knew that the royal army was advancing, he removed from *Azmîr* to *Mandow*, and assembled all his forces, in order to try his fortune in battle. When the two armies were now within five or six kos of each other, the vanguards began the fight, and soon after ensued a general engagement: but *Rostan Khân* and *Berkendash Khân* deserting to the king's forces, *Shâh Jebân* was overthrown. Hereupon he fled, fighting by the way; and, passing the *Nerebeda*, or *Nardaba*, arrived at *Brâmpûr*.

flies to Malek
Amber.

MEAN while *Beyrâm Bek* and *Darab Khân* being left at the river, to hinder the passage of the king's forces, *Khân Khânna* persuades *Shâh Jebân* to send him to his brother *Soltân Parweis*, in order that he might intercede for them with his father; nor could *Abdol Khân* divert the prince from entering into this measure, or induce him to suspect *Khân Khânna*'s fidelity. The *Khân* having crossed the river, and arrived at the *Soltân*'s camp, advises him to pass the *Nardaba*, with what rafts or boats he could procure, in haste; assuring him, that his brother had but few forces, and that *Beyrâm Bek*, already gained, would not hinder him. *Soltân Parweis*, without delay, crosses the river, as he had been counselled, and sends *Beyrâm Khân* to inform *Shâh Jebân*, that *Khân Khânna* had made his peace with his brother: but *Abdol Khân* counselled the prince to beware of *Khân Khânna*'s treachery; assuring him, that his design was to seize him unawares, and deliver him into his brother's hands, since 20,000 horse had already passed the *Nardaba*. He therefore advised, that, instead of minding what

(F) Perhaps *Mahmûd Alâd*.

(G) These are the *Kowlis*, according to *H. bert*.

- a *Beyrám Bek* said, both he and *Darab Khán* should be put in irons, and the prince himself retire as fast as he could to *Reben Kera*^m.

SHAH *Jebán*, approving this counsel, had those two lords bound on an elephant, and fled ^{The Uzbeks} towards *Kerki*, to *Malek Amber*; who appoints him a residence in *Nafsír Trom*; from whence ^{repulsed.} he sent his fatigued elephants to the castle of *Dolt abád*, in order to recruit. Mean time, *Soltán Parweis* being arrived at *Brámpúr*, without any opposition, sent an account of his success to *Jebán Ghír*, who received the news with the utmost joy: but his joy was soon allayed with the news, that *Ibens Tous*, the *Uzbek*, with 30,000 horse, was on his march towards *Kabúl*, in order to conquer that province. As soon as *Khána Zaed Khán*, son of *Mohabet Khán*, governor of the province of *Banghiz* (H), heard of this *Tatar* invasion, he in all haste repaired to *Kabúl*, and fortified it. Then, being informed by his scouts that *Iben Tous* was advanced within fifteen kos of that city, he marched out to meet him with 20,000 horse; and giving the *Uzbek* battle, obliged him to fly, after he had made a great slaughter among his troops. *Zaed Khán*, making use of his victory, pursued the enemy, for forty kos, to the borders of *Uzbek*. Then attacking the city of *Gassani* (+), he took it, and returned to *Kabúl* with a rich booty, many elephants, and several thousand captives: for which victory he was rewarded by the king with the command of 5000 horse and other gifts.

AFTER this, *Jebán Ghír* made another progress to *Kashmír*, for the sake of hunting: ^{Khurm enters} which opportunity of his long absence *Sháh Jebán* thinking proper to lay hold of, with ^{Bengál,} 4000 horse and 300 elephants, marched by the way of *Colkonda* and *Orisba*, through the deserts, into *Bengál*. At this unexpected coming, *Kamet Bek Khán*, the governor, married to *Ibráhim's* sister, was so terrified, that he fled; leaving the prince in possession of his treasure, and every thing else which belonged to him. Hereupon several *Mansebdárs* revolted to *Sháh Jebán*; who thence marched into *Pátan*; which *Moklidis Khán*, the governor, shamefully deserting, fled to *Rostam Kandabári*, governor of *Elhabás*; who, for his cowardice, imprisoned him, and seized all his effects.

MEAN time *Sháh Jebán*, having crossed the *Ganges*, entered *Bengal*, and came to *Kerin*: ^{and subdued} but *Ibráhim Khán*, governor of *Daak* (or *Daka*), meeting him at *Rájah Mábl* with 5 or 6000 ^{part.} horse, attacked him so furiously, that he was on the point of flying; and had been utterly defeated, if *Abdol Khán*, who lay in ambuscade, had not seasonably advanced to his assistance. For the king's forces were so dismayed at this unexpected reinforcement, and being at the same time greatly dissatisfied at the avarice of their commander, who withheld their pay, that they turned their backs, leaving the covetous *Ibráhim Khán*, with 500 men, to shift for themselves. After a brave resistance, he and his soldiers were all slain. Then the prince, seizing his treasure, sent *Darab Khán* to *Daak*, to bring away the rest of *Ibráhim's* riches, with his wives and children. He had orders also to reduce all *Bengál*, while *Sháh Jebán* marched to *Paián*, where *Rájah Jebán Usím* joined him with 5000 horse and 20,000 foot.

As soon as *Soltán Parweis* was informed of these proceedings, leaving *Rájah Rostan Khán* ^{S. tán Par.} to command in his absence at *Brámpúr*; he set out, accompanied by *Mohabet Khán*, *Khán Wéis* *Alem*, and other *Omrás*, who with the rest of the *Ráspút* forces (I) marched with all expedition towards *Elabás*; and, when he was entered into the province of *Lala Bertzing*, this prince met him with a present of two or three lak of rupees, and joined them with all his troops. Mean time the king, having received advice in the city of *Káshmir* of *Ibráhim Khán's* death, forthwith sent orders to *Khán Jebán*, who resided at *Múltán*, to march with his forces to assist *Soltán Parweis*: but he, coming to *Fettipúr*, loitered there six months, without carrying any succours to that prince. On the other side, *Rustam Kandabári* fortified *Elabás*, while *Sháh Jebán* sent troops against the castle of *Rantas*, which *Sid Monbark* surrendered to him; as did the castle of *Sinnar*, commanded by *Hastis Baki*, after enduring several assaults. About the same time *Wázir Khán* marching to *Benáres*, extorted tribute from the inhabitants; and *Abdol Khán* coming to *Jaurpúr*, did the like there, after obliging *Jebán Ghír Kúli Khán*, the governor, to retire to *Elabás*.

SHAH *Jebán*, being informed that his brother *Soltán Parweis* and *Mohabet Khán* were ^{marched} advancing against him, and had already passed the river *Kalpi*, sent *Rájah Rbím*, *Beyrám Bik*, ^{against} and *Adol Khán*, to besiege *Elabás*; the suburbs of which they destroyed. *Rustan Khán*, incensed at this provocation, sallied out with his troops; but many of them being cut off, he was forced to retreat back to the castle, which he afterwards defended bravely against the rebels. In the interim, discord arose between *Abdol Khán* and *Rájah Rbím*; who soon after, repassing the *Ganges*, retired to *Banáres*, on the approach of *Soltán Parweis* and his forces; which first arrived at *Bakkeri*, and then at *Munikpúr*. While they were on the road between *Kalpi* and the province of *Rájah Bertzing*, *Mia Febím* attempted by force to

^m DE LAET, p. 254, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 86, & seqq.

(H) A city to the north of *Kabul*.

(I) Herbert says, he had with him 50,000 horse.

† Perhaps *Ganza*, or *Glázna*.

rescue his lord *Khân Khânna*, who, on suspicion, had been confined by *Mohabet Khân*; but was by the keepers, after some slaughter of them, slain, with several of his associates. Hereupon all the effects of *Khân Khânna* were confiscated, his wives and children sent in custody to *Agra*; and himself, laden with chains, more closely imprisoned. At length, the prince arriving at *Elabâs*, was joyfully received by *Rustan Khân*ⁿ.

and defeats

MOHABET Khân, eager for battle, with the *Râjahs Ziffing, Jand, and Bertzing*, passed the *Ganges* with the greater part of the troops, in order to meet *Shâh Jêhân*: who having raised considerable forces in *Pâtan*, was come to *Fonek*, about ten kos from *Banâres*; where the two armies, parted only by the river, cannonaded each other. Mean time *Beyrâm Bîk*, advancing towards *Elabâs* with near 4000 horse, was met by *Mohammed Shâma* (K), at the head of the vanguard of *Soltân Parweis*, on the bank of the river *Shawezi* (L); and, being slain in fight, had his head cut off. All this while the prince's army suffered much from *Shâh Jêhân*'s cannon, and could not pass the river: but, at length, being conducted over at a convenient ford, they encamped opposite to the rebels; who did not long delay coming to a battle. For *Râjah Rhim*, a most gallant soldier, advancing forward with his troops, gave the charge; and with his war elephants so disordered the king's forces, that they were obliged to give way. And, had this brave commander been supported by *Abdol Khân* and *Derra Khân*, they must have been overthrown: but those two generals, out of malice, would not stir to his assistance; which giving the *Soltân*'s troops an opportunity to rally, they returned to the charge with such fury, that they wounded most of the *Râjah*'s elephants, and restored the battle. On this occasion *Soltân Parweis* exposed himself to danger (M) at the head of his troops, fighting on his elephant. The prince's example gave such courage to his men that they fought like lions; so that at length *Râjah Rhim* being slain, *Derra Khân* was put to flight. *Shâh Jêhân* endeavoured to restore the battle; but in vain: upon which he was by *Abdol Khân* prevailed on, though much against his will, to quit the field, with 3 or 4000 horse. The troops of *Râjah Bertzing*, having taken possession of his camp, the soldiers plundered it of all the gold and silver; of which they found a great quantity: but the elephants, horses, and other spoils, were reserved for the king's use.

his brother;

reboquits Bengâl,

SHAH Jêhân, after this defeat, fled with such haste, that in thirty-six days he reached the castle of *Rantas*; where he had placed *Râjah Gholam*, one of the murderers of his brother *Soltân Khosrow*. Here leaving all his harâm, excepting *Affof Khân*'s daughter, he, on the third day, fled towards *Pâtan*; most of his followers dispersing themselves. Mean time *Soltân Parweis* and *Mohabet Khân* followed him close, at the distance of forty or fifty kos. Being arrived at *Pâtna*, he wrote to *Dârâb Khân*, whom he had made governor of *Bengâl*, to meet him at *Râjah Mâbl*. On the other hand, the *Soltân Mohabet Khân*, and his father *Khân Khanna*, invited that lord to join the king's forces. *Shâh Jêhân*, after a short stay at that place, thinking *Dârâb Khân* had deserted his party, posted on to *Medenpûr*, and thence to *Ouja* (N). When the king's forces arrived at *Medenpûr*, and found *Shâh Jêhân* had fled, *Bakker Khân* and other *Omrâs* were sent to pursue him (with 8000 horse), while *Soltân Parweis* passed on to *Râjah Mâbl*; from whence he wrote into all the provinces, to seize *Dârâb Khân*, and bring him to the camp. These letters hastened the death not only of that *Khân*'s children, who were with *Shâh Jêhân*, but of their father also: for *Mohabet Khân* sending to him his son, and kinsman, son of *Shâh Nabar Khân*, gave secret orders to *Mir Khân*, who was their conductor, to put them all to death; which he did when they least expected it, and brought their heads to the prince. *Mohabet Khân*, the more to afflict *Khân Khânna*, had them shewn to him, and then sent them to the king.

and flies to Dekân.

A. D. 1623.

In the year 1623, *Jêhân Gbir* sent for *Khân Zaw Khân*, son of *Mohabet Khân*, governor of *Kâbul*, and conferred on him the command of 5000 horse, with the government of *Bengâl*. At the same time *Mîlek Amber* (king of *Dekân*), marching with an army of 50,000 men, to drive the *Mogols* out of his borders, was met by *Lasker Khân*, *Mirza Manucher*, and *Ibrâhim Hosselyn*, with 15,000 horse: but he defeated them with great slaughter; and, having taken them prisoners, with all their camp and treasure, confined them in the castle of *Dolt abâd*. Mean time *Shâh Jêhân*, being hotly pursued by *Bakker Khân*, left *Ouja*, and, with 3000 horse and 300 elephants, fled to the borders of *Golkondâ*, where *Mîlek Amber*

ⁿ DE LAET, p. 260. HERBERT, p. 88, & seqq.

(K) In *De Laet*, *Ziama*. Herbert calls him *Shawma*.

(L) In *De Laet*, he is called *Ziauzia*. In Herbert *Shawezi*.

(M) Herbert says, the battle lasted very hot for five hours: that *Khurm* (or *Shah Jêhân*) was hurt in the arm, and *Parweis* wounded in the side by *Derra Khân*; and that, but for the goodness of his armour, he had

been killed. He also ascribes the success to the resolution and activity of *Mohabet Khân*.

(N) Called in *De Laet*, p. 73, *Odee*; and, by Herbert *Oudee*, *Oujea*, and *O.jea*; an antient city, once the seat of the *Pâtau* kings, but now almost ruined. Not far from it are seen the ruins of the castle and palace of *Rânikand*, whom the *Indians*, says Herbert, hold to be the supreme God.

- a furnished him with money and all other necessaries ; after which he granted him refuge within his kingdom.

WHEN he had continued here for three months, he set out with *Abdol Khân*, *Derriah Khân*, *Befegis Bram-Mohammed Takkik*, and *Tüküt Khân*, whom *Milek Amber* had joined with 10,000 horse, pūr; and marched towards *Brâmpūr*. This city had been newly walled and fortified by *Rajah Rostang*, made governor by *Soltân Parweis*; who, on the enemy's approach, sallied out with his forces; but, after a sharp conflict, was obliged to return. Hereupon *Abdol Khân* and *Derriah Khân* assaulted the walls, which were defended bravely almost the whole night by the citizens. However, in the interim, *Takkik*, forcing his way in through a breach, takes the castle: but the other two generals, vexed to see that the son of a merchant should accomplish what they had in vain attempted, refrained giving him assistance: so that the fortress was not only recovered by *Kojan Khân* and *Asiet Khân*, but the brave *Takkik*, after receiving a wound in the eye, was taken prisoner, and all his soldiers slain.

- b The king, or *Nûr Jehân Begum*, at the same time sent *Mîr. a Arch Destoa Khân* to bring *retires again* *Khân Khânna* up to *Labûr*. Being thus taken out of the hands of *Mohabet*, much against the will of the latter, as soon as he arrived at court, he complained heavily against his late keeper, for having not only destroyed his children, but also disgracefully imprisoned himself, who had in so critical a juncture deserted the prince, and confiscated most of his effects. Mean while, *Soltân Parweis*, having left *Pâtan*, with *Mohabet Khân*, *Khân Alem*, *Rajah Bertzing*, and the whole army of *Râspûts*, made what haste he could to *Brâmpūr*; which c *Shâh Jehân* hearing of, he raised the siege; and, thinking it was in vain to attempt any thing farther, sent his brother the keys of the castles *Haffer* (O) and *Rantas*, and retired again to *Mâlek Amber*°.

- AFTER this, a misunderstanding arising between *Soltân Parweis* and *Mohabet Khân*, on account of *Khân Khânna's* accusations, the prince, lwayed by bad counsel, wrote to desire the king to call that Khân to court. On the other side, the king, persuaded by the advice of his wife *Nûr Jehân*, and her brother *Ajfof Khân*, as well as of *Khân Khânna*, and other enemies of *Mohabet Khân*, commanded him to repair to him without delay: and, on his making excuses, sent *Mîr. a Arch Destoa Khân* to fetch him to *Labûr*. Hereupon *Mohabet Khân*, obeying the king's command, although much against his will, departed from *Brâmpūr*, and came to his castle of *Ratampūr* (P) seventy kos distant from *Agra*. At the same time the king made *Khân Jehân* governor of *Abmed abad* in his room: and, soon after, that lord joined prince *Parweis*. While these things were doing, *Shâh Jehân*, to soothe his father, sent him 100 of his best elephants, with his two sons, under the conduct of *Koja Jehân*; who arrived safely at *Agra*; where they stayed for some time. At this juncture *Kâssan Khân*, being turned out of his government of *Agra*, which he had long enjoyed, the king conferred it on *Mozaffer Khân*, who was then at *Labûr*: which disgrace his wife *Mowissa Begum*, sister of *Nûr Jehân Begum*, so highly resented, that, to restore him, she contrived a means which will be related presently.

- At the same time that *Soltân Khoisraw* was delivered to the custody of his younger brother, *Soltân Khurm*, or *Shâh Jehân*, the two sons of his brother *Dhân Shâb* (who died of drinking at *Brâmpūr*), named *Shâh Etimor* and *Shâh Housseyn* (Q), were also put into his hands. These, when young, he delivered to the Jesuits, to be baptized, and bred up in the Christian faith. Not that he favoured the christian religion (R), but that he might render them odious to the *Mohammedans* while boys; and, with the same levity, draw them back from Christianity (S) at pleasure. After these young princes had been a long time in *Shâh Jehân* power, they made their escape. *Shâh Etimor*, when his uncle was defeated at *Elabâs*, fled to *Soltân Parweis*; and when he was obliged to retreat from before *Brâmpūr*, *Shâh Housseyn* took the opportunity to get away to *Râja Rostan*. From thence they repaired to their grandfather; who received them with great honour and affection, giving in marriage to the eldest his daughter *Ehar Banû Begum*. f

° DE LAET, p. 265, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 91, & seqq.

(O) Five kos from *Brâmpūr*, in the way to *Agra*. It is the strongest and in all respects best fortified castle in the province of *Khândish*.

(P) Herbert writes, *Rautampūr*.

(Q) Their names were *Teyomars* and *Hoshang*.

(R) Other authors relate, that when the young princes were grown up, after being under *Corfi* the Jesuit's tuition, who kept a school, for some years, they desired him to provide them with *Portuguese* wives; in which he not gratifying them, they delivered up their crosses, and other tokens of conversion, to the

Jesuits; saying, on being asked, that the king had commanded them. Whence the Jesuits concluded, that the whole affair was only an artifice to get a woman for the king's use. *Roe's journal*, *Church. collect. Trav.* vol. i. p. 731. *Terry's voya. to India*, sect. 30.— This happened before the year 1616, as appears from *Sir Thomas Roe's* letters on the occasion.

(S) Herbert says, that, not daring to provoke the people farther, by shedding their blood, he took this method to render them incapable of possessing the throne.

S E C T. III.

From Jehân Ghîr's Imprisonment by Mohabet Khân to his Death.

Abdol Khân
deserts
Khurm.

MEAN while *Mohabet Khân*, who remained with his *Râspûts* (T) at *Rantipûr*, was by the king's mandate ordered to deliver up his castle and province to *Nûr Jehân Begum* and his governor *Bakker Khân*, and remove into *Bengâl*, to command there as his viceroy. As this order was death to a man impatient of injuries, he wrote back to the king, that if he was falsely accused of great crimes by the betrayers of the kingdom, his reputation required, that above all things he should acquit himself before his majesty. About the same time an account was brought, that *Abdol Khân*, in a belief that, on *Shâh Jehân's* raising the siege of *Brâmpûr*, his affairs were become desperate, had deserted him; and, induced by the hopes of pardon given him by *Khân Jehân*, had returned to the king's party, and was honourably received by *Soltân Parweïs*.

Mohabet
Khân at-
tacked:
A. D. 1625.

IN 1035, *Mohabet Khân* set out from *Rantipûr*, with 5000 *Râspûts*, towards *Labûr*; hoping to meet the king at *Kâbûl*, whither he was making a progress. But *Nûr Jehân Begum* and *Affof Khân*, being informed of his design, persuaded *Jehân Ghîr*, who had now passed the *Chunâb* (U), to command him to leave his men behind, and, sending his elephants before, to repair to court only with his domestics. *Mohabet Khân*, who knew that this was a snare laid for his destruction, sent his son-in-law before with the elephants, and wrote back to *Jehân Ghîr*, that he was sensibly grieved his majesty should distrust his old slave: that he was ready to deliver his wives and children as pledges of his fidelity; but could not suffer himself, on any account, to be brought into the king's presence. As soon as his son-in-law arrived at court, he was first clothed in an ignominious habit, and then bastonaded on the soles of his feet; after which he was mounted bare-headed on an elephant, and carried through the camp by way of derision. The *wekkîl*, or *vakîl*, also of the Khân was lashed with whips.

his signal
victory:

MEAN time *Mohabet Khân* arrived with his little army at the river *Behad* (or *Behat*), where he received a new order from the king, that he should repair to him, accompanied by no more than 100 of his retinue; that he should make all the haste he could, and leave his troops to follow him: but the hatred of the queen and *Affof Khân*, of *Eradet Khân*, *Fedi Khân*, *Koja Abdol Hassan*, and other great lords of the *Khorasân* faction, so far had influenced the mind of *Jehân Ghîr*, that *Mohabet* could obtain no justice at his sovereign's hands. In the interim, to hasten his destruction, which they were bent upon, they took the opportunity, while the king was asleep in his tent, to cross the river with a great army, in which were 50,000 horse, and fall on the forces of *Mohabet Khân*, consisting of no more than 5000 *Râspûts* (X). But, such was the valour of the leader, and fidelity of his soldiers, that, without any difficulty, they put to flight the king's troops; whereof above 2000 were slain, and many drowned in the river: among whom were some men of great note, as *Koja Shawâr Khân*, *Abdol Sâmek*, and *Abdol Gâllek*.

seizes Jehân
Ghir,

MOHABET KHAN, making use of his victory, crossed the river with so much speed, that he seized the king yet sleeping in his tent; and, having killed such of the guards as resisted, put him on an elephant, and carried him to his own tent. Guards were set on the tent of the queen. *Soltân Balokhi*, *Soltân Shebrîar*, and the sons of *Dhân Khân*, were also taken prisoners. *Affof Khân* and *Fedi Khân* escaped by flight. *Eradet Khân*, and *Mohandas*, the Diwân of *Affof Khân*, were taken. All the king's treasure and wealth of the *Omrâs* was plundered by the *Râspûts*, while the camp was filled with nothing but confusion and noise. *Zâdok Khân*, who had fallen-out with his brother *Affof* before the battle, took part with *Mohabet Khân*, and had the government of *Labûr* committed to his trust. In short, the face of affairs was of a sudden wonderfully changed: for the queen *Nûr Jehân Begum*, who but a little before was worshipped like a goddess, became now neglected, and deprived of her attendants. *Affof Khân*, with his son *Abontaleb*, viceroy of *Labûr*, and the son of *Mîr Mira*, who had fled toward *Attek*, were brought back by the son (Y) of *Mohabet Khân*, and *Rûro'dâîn Kûli Khân*, with 2000 *Hâddis* and *Râspûts*, to the Khân; who was already, with the captive king, at that city. There they were loaded with irons, and from hence were all carried to

and all his
court.

(T) *Mohabet Khân* must have been a *Râjah*, or *Hindû* prince; otherwise he could not have commanded *Rajah-pûts*.

(U) That is, the river *Chun*; written *Tziunab* in *De Lach*. The *Chun* is the same with the river *Jemna*, or *Jemni*, as before remarked.

(X) *Herbert* says, *Mohabet Khân* had 20,000 *Râspûts*;

and that he marched in quest of the army of *Nûr Mâll* (called also *Nûr Jehân*), consisting of 50,000 horse. The same author relates several particulars of this affair, which we presume he learned in *India*.

(Y) *Herbert* calls him *Mîrza Bircawer*; and says, he was the Khân's third son.

a *Kābūl*: where *Eradet Khān* and *Mūlīna Mohammed* were so severely as well as ignominiously treated, that the latter expired under his troubles ^p.

It has been observed above, that *Monniza Begūm*, wife of *Kāssēm Khān*, who was highly offended at her husband's being removed from the government of *Agra*, repaired forthwith to *Labūr*, to the queen her sister, and from thence to *Kābūl*. But, when she saw that her sister had lost her power (Y), and *Mobabet Khān* swayed every thing, she applied herself to him; and, as she was an old acquaintance of his, easily got her husband restored. *Mozaffer Khān*, who had enjoyed it no more than three days, being thus turned out again, he was ordered to bring the two sons of *Shāh Jēbān*, with *Koja Jēbān* (their governor) to the king. This he readily performed; whereupon those young princes, with *Soltān Bolakbi*, were, by

b *Mobabet Khān*, committed to the custody of a certain *Rāspūt*.

WHILE these things were transacting on one side, *Shāh Jēbān*, who had hitherto kept *Khurm de-* close in *Dekān*, now appears again, and, with fresh forces, accompanied by the son of *Rājah* ^{fiated in} *Rbīm*, marches through the province of *Rājah Rāna*, towards *Azmīr*. This news gave some ^{Bengāl.} uneasiness to the king's troops, especially, because many *Rājahs* of the *Rāspūts* deserted to him: and it was reported, that the prince himself was hastening to *Agra*. But the son of *Rājah Rbīm*, whom he chiefly confided in, dying suddenly at *Azmīr*, and the *Rāspūts* by degrees leaving him, he quitted the design of going to *Agra*, and turned towards *Tāta*; which, at the earnest persuasion of *Derri Khān*, he besieged. But *Sbarīf Mālek*, who governed there for the king, sallying out with his forces, obliged them to withdraw. However, they soon returned to attack the city a second time: but the *Sbarīf*, making another sally, fell on the enemy with so much fury, that *Derri Khān* was slain, and *Shāh Jēbān* forced to fly to *Bākker*.

AT the same time *Mālek Amber*, king of *Dekān*, sends the captive *Omrās*, *Leskar Khān*, ^{Forces raised} *Mirza Manucher*, and *Ibrāhīm Hosseyn*, to *Soltān Parweīs*, at *Brampūr*; and twenty-six lak ^{secretly} of rupees safely arrived at *Agra*, from *Zeyd Khān*, son of *Mobabet Khān*, governor of *Bengāl*. The king, who now returned from *Kābūl* to *Labūr*, by the persuasions of the queen, gave permission to his guards to fall upon the *Rāspūts* belonging to *Mobabet Khān*, and sell those whom they took prisoners, to the people of *Kābūl*. After this the king's party consulted among themselves in what manner to destroy *Mobabet Khān*, before his friends

d *Khān Alem* and *Rājah Rāstang* should come to his assistance. At this consultation it was agreed, that *Ouriar Khān*, governor of *Bassower* and *Dessowa*, should, with all expedition, raise 5000 horse, and attack *Mobabet Khān* at *Attek*. *Koja Sbera* was to furnish 5000 more: while the queen, squandering the treasure, to make friends and procure soldiers, at length assembled a considerable army: but still her brother *Affof Khān*, and the sons of *Shāh Jēbān*, remained in *Mobabet Khān*'s custody. As for *Fedi Khān*, who fled from the battle into *Rukestān*, or the desarts of *Tombel*, after he had continued there a while with *Rājah Gomanow* (Z), he repaired to *Rājah Bertzing*, and then requested letters of safe conduct from *Soltān Parweīs*; who readily granted them.

AFTER the king had crossed the river *Attek*, at the place where the late bloody battle was ^{by the queen} fought, he desired *Mobabet Khān* to set *Affof Khān* at liberty; promising, on that condition, to build a mosk in the same place: but the *Khān* did not think fit to grant his request; however, he consented, that *Affof Khān* should be treated with less rigour than he had been. When they came to the river *Rbeed* (A), the queen's forces began to appear on every side; and *Soltān Shebrīyār*, who had married the queen's daughter, in 1029 (B), was sent before A. D. 1619, to *Labūr*, to secure the principal lords there. In his way he forced out of the hands of the *Rāspūts* *Soltān Bolakbi*, with the two sons of *Dhān Khān*; and being arrived at that city, fortified the castle, after turning out all the *Rāspūts*. Mean time the king proceeded on his way, hunting, to the river *Rbeed* (or *Behed*); where *Ousber Khān* joined the queen with 5000 men: so that her army was now 20,000 strong.

f ALTHOUGH *Mobabet Khān* was advised by his friends to be on his guard: yet, trusting in *Jehān Ghīr* his troops, he despised the danger. However, during his absence, the king sent for *Mirza* ^{escapes.} *Rostam Khān*, and told him, he judged that to be a proper time for him to make his escape. The queen, having been of the same opinion, *Jehān Ghīr* went a hunting, as usual, the next day: on which signal his *Omrās* hastened towards him from all parts, with their forces; which now amounted to 30,000 horse. Although *Mobabet Khān* was not in a condition to fight the king's forces, yet he durst venture to go to him into the court of justice (C): but, when he saw the king look cold upon him, he went again with his people, and removed his camp half a kos from *Jehān Ghīr*'s. The same evening *Balant Khān* brought a threatening

P DE LAET, p. 270, & seqq. HERBERT, p. 94, & seqq.

(Y) Herbert says, she was condemned to lose her head by *Mobabet Khān* and his council; but that, at the king's request, she was pardoned.

(Z) Perhaps the *Rājah Gammon* of others.

(A) Rather *Behed*, as Herbert: or *Babat*, as others.

(B) That is, we presume, by her first husband *Afkān Khān*.

(C) Herbert says, into the *hāt*, or camp

message

message from the king, commanding him to set at liberty *Affof Khân*, and the other Omrâs : a but *Mohabet Khân*, still confiding in his soldiers, refused to obey. However, upon second thoughts, he afterwards sent to desire of the king, that he might first cross the river *Bebed* ; promising then to send those lords to his camp. The queen was against granting the condition required ; earnestly pressing to have them taken out of his hands by force : but *Jebân Ghîr* thought the other the most prudent course.

Mohabet
Khân retires.

MOHABET KHAN, finding the face of things intirely changed, and being in fear not only of losing his life, but of an ignominious punishment, sends for *Affof Khân*, and told him, that although it was now in his power to take away his life, yet he willingly spared him. He added, that he did not believe he would ever forget so great a benefit, or make any attempt against the life of a person who had preserved his. Then having taken an oath to b that purpose from *Affof Khân*, he took off his chains with his own hands, put on him a royal vest, and, presenting him with several excellent horses, sent him to the king. He promised moreover, that as soon as he had passed the river *Aziknaw*, he would dismiss his son and *Mîr Mira*, with the brother-in-law of *Koja Abdol Hassan* : which he accordingly performed. The king was exceedingly pleased at *Affof Khân*'s return : on the contrary, the queen, his sister, asked him in a rage, *how he came to be so very hasty, and not to wait, till she, with an armed force, came and rescued him out of the hands of his adversary?* *Affof Khân* pleaded the fear of his life, which at length pacified her. He likewise acknowledged to the king, that he thought himself under a perpetual obligation to *Mohabet Khân* for the favour he had received ; and that he had promised never to do him any hurt ^a.

The queen's
hatred.

JEHAN GHIR being returned to *Labûr*, the queen, who still burnt with revenge, left nothing unattempted to destroy *Mohabet Khân*. With this intent she dispatched *Abmed Khân* (cousin-german to *Ibrahim Khân*) with *Zaffer Khân*, *Nûro'ddîn Kûli*, and other Omrâs, with 10,000 horse ; who intercepted the treasure of twenty-six laks of rupees, sent by *Saïd Khân* from *Bengâl* to his father *Mohabet Khân*, and brought it to her. It was convoyed from *Agra* by 500 *Râspûts* ; who, being arrived at *Cheban Chabad*, a walled town, for some time held out against the king's forces ; of whom they slew no small number : but at length the besiegers, making a furious assault, took the place, and killed many of the defenders ; the rest fled, and left the money in the hands of their adversaries. The queen, not content with this advantage, by large gifts, and larger promises, prevailed on *Khân Khânna*, though much d against his will, being now broken with age, to command an army against *Mohabet Khân* ; whose troubles were increased by the desertion of his younger son *Mîrza Beyrewer*. This lord being sent with 3000 horse to *Nornon*, in order to make war upon *Râjah Setterfing*, turned off to *Banger*, with design to seize his father's treasures, which were lodged in the castle of *Rantipûr* : but was prevented by the care of *Mozaib Khân*, who commanded there in his father's behalf.

Soltân Par-
weïs dies.

MEAN time news arrived at *Labûr* from *Brâmpûr* of the death of Soltân *Parweïs* ; which greatly surprised the king : for this son, who never disobeyed his commands, was solely beloved by him, and brought up in expectation of the crown. Being thus deprived of his only hope, he saw himself reduced to great straits. For Shâh *Jebân*, then in open rebellion e against him, had brought many calamities on his kingdom ; and Soltân *Shabriyar* was judged unfit to reign for want of conduct. Nor was the death of this prince less afflicting to *Mohabet Khân*, on account of the friendship which had subsisted between them. The *Khân* therefore, who was now deserted by his followers, looking upon his affairs to be in a very bad condition, bent his course towards *Jalor*, and retired to the castle of *Firmol*, possessed by the *Râjah* of that name. As to his son *Mîrza Beyrewer*, he was taken in his way to *Rantapur* by *Râjah Rottang*, who resided at *Bondi*, and imprisoned by him.

Dekân in-
vaded.

SHAH *Jebân*, who hitherto had hovered about *Tâtta* with 1000 horse and 40 elephants, passing through *Tesal*, *Kbobagheren*, and *Aklisseren*, at length arrived at *Nasser Tormet*, in the kingdom of *Dekân* ; where he was kindly received by the son of *Mâlek Amber* (C), lately deceased, f and furnished with new forces. Mean time, *Khân Khânna* had raised troops to go in pursuit of *Mohabet Khân* ; but, when all things were ready for his march, he was seized by death in the city of *Debli*, and was there buried. At the same juncture, *Takont Khân*, chief of the Omrâs at *Dekân*, for fear of the new king, with whom, when a prince, he had been always at variance, fled to *Khân Jebân*, governor of *Brâmpûr*. The *Khân*, encouraged by the desertion of this lord, as well as provoked by the *Dekân* king, who molested the frontiers of the *Mogols* ; leaves the widow and son of Soltân *Parweïs* under the care of *Laskar Khân*, and with 40,000 horse, and 40 elephants, marching towards *Dekân*, arrives at *Ballagât*. There, by intercepted letters of *Koja Hisari* to *Abdol Khân*, he discovered, that the latter

^a DE LAET, p. 276. HERBERT, p. 98.

(C) Herbert calls him *Mîrza Alao'ddîn*.

a intended to desert to the king of *Dekân*: hereupon he confiscated his effects, and sent him in chains to *Brâmpûr*.

AFTER this *Khân Jehân* pursued his march; and, being animated by the retreat of the *Dekânees*, penetrates into the heart of the kingdom; where he destroyed many towns, which ^{The Moguls} had never before felt the rage of war. But, at length, the enemy, recovering their spirits, ^{defeat.d.} hemmed in his army in such a manner, that great numbers of them perished; partly by famine, and partly by the sword: so that he was compelled to make peace on very dishonourable conditions, and deliver up to the king of *Dekân* several towns of *Hindûstân*, in order to obtain liberty of returning safe to the place of his residence.

b THE same year, *Jehân Ghîr*, by flattering letters, recalled from *Bengâl*, *Khânna Saïd Khân* ^{Uzbek am-} (son of *Mohabet Khân*), and in his room appointed *Mogreb Khân*, to whom he gave the ^{bassadar.} command of 5000 horse: but this lord being drowned, by the overturning of a boat, in less than six months, *Fayda Khân*, another commander of 5000 horse, was appointed to succeed him. At this juncture there arrived at *Labûr*, *Sîd Borka*, ambassador from the king of *Manauwer* (D), having in his retinue *Kadi Abdolrahîm*, brother of *Kadi Kalawn*; who were both held in such great honour on account of their sanctity, that the people of *Manauwer* (*Matwara'lnâbr*) and *Bokhâra*, *Samarkand*, and *Balk*, revered them almost to adoration, and they were far more rich than the king himself. There were sent to meet him *Koja Abdol Hassan*, and all the other Omrâs of the court, excepting *Affof Khân*, who with great magnificence brought them to the king. Rich presents were mutually made on this occasion.

c The queen first sent *Abdol Rabîm* a gold basin, and drinking-cup, studded with jewels, valued at a lak of rupees. On the other hand the Kadi presented the king and queen with 500 beautiful dromedaries, 1000 fine horses, carpets, porcelain, and other things of great worth. *Sîd Borkba* likewise brought, as a present from his king, to *Jehân Ghîr*, 2000 horses, 1000 dromedaries, and other gifts, of greater price than had ever been offered at court during this reign.

THE queen, still resolved to be revenged, if possible, on *Mohabet Khân*, detached *Amîr* ^{Mohabet} *Nûro'ddîn Kûlî*, *Abmed Bik Khân*, and other Omrâs, with 15,000 horse, in pursuit of them. ^{Khân pursued:} But *Affof Khân*, either on account of the benefit received from him, or believing that the destruction of so great a commander would prove of bad consequence to the kingdom, persuaded *Amîr* to make slow marches: by which means *Mohabet Khân*, getting time to escape, fled first to *Jessmîr*, and from thence to *Râjah Râna*. However, his son *Khânna Seïd Khân* was kindly received at court by the king, and carried with him to *Kashmîr*: for all this, when *Jehân Ghîr* was informed, that the Khân had taken shelter with *Râna*, he wrote to the *Râjah*, commanding him to send his adversary out of his territories. *Râjah Râna* at first paid no ^{joins Soltân} regard to the king's order: but when he found that *Jehân Ghîr* renewed his command, ^{Khurm.} accompanied with threats, he writes to *Shâh Jehân*, who then resided at *Ghinîr* (a castle between *Dekân* and *Oudegherad*, on the borders of *Nizâm Shâh's* dominions), watching for an opportunity to take the field again, and in his letter recommends to him *Mohabet Khân*, suggesting, "of how great importance that lord would be to him in his then situation; he

e "therefore advised him to forget those hostilities, which, by his father's command, he had committed against him; and send for a man who had received so many injuries from the queen. As to his fidelity, he assured the prince, it needed not be doubted, and that he himself would be his security." *Shâh Jehân* hesitated for some time, till at length *Mohabet Khân* himself wrote to him, and offered his service. The prince hereupon invites him to come; after which, having taken an oath to be true to him, he, with 500 *Râspûts*, repaired to *Ghinîr*, accompanied by *Wazîr Khân*, who carried with him 1000 new-railed horse; for *Deyria Khân* and other Omrâs had deserted *Shâh Jehân's* party.

MEAN time, the king, falling sick at *Kashmîr*, departed, in order to return to *Labûr* by ^{Jehân Ghîr} easy journeys; but, his illness increasing, he died at *Bimber* (E), in the year 1627. This is ^{dies:} the account of *De Laet* and *Herbert*: but according to the eastern authors, made use of by ^{Hej. 1037.} Mr. *Frazer*, the name of the place, where he departed this life, was *Chirgarbisti*. This happened on the 27th of *October*, when he was aged 58 solar years, one month, and twenty-nine days; whereof he had reigned twenty-two years and six days: the last eight of which he had been afflicted with an asthma.

JEHAN GHIR was a weak prince, and too much over-ruled by the beautiful *Nûr Jehân*, or ^{his character:} *Nûr Mâbl*, which made the last ten years of his reign very uneasy to him, and unfortunate to the empire. She had been wife to *Sbîr Afkan*, Khân of a *Turkmân* family; who came from *Persia* to *Hindûstân* in very indifferent circumstances. As she was exquisitely beautiful,

^f DE LAET, p. 281. & seqq. HERBERT, p. 101, & seqq.

(D) A mistake, doubtless, for *Matwara'lnâbr*, called at present *Great Bukhâria*.

(E) A town at the foot of the mountains of *Kashmîr*, towards *Hindûstân*. *Bernier*.

of great wit, and an elegant poetess, *Jehan Ghir* was doatingly fond of her. The Omrâs, a who knew her mean original, were resolved to oppose all her schemes: but she persuaded the emperor to break through all rules, in order to advance her father, brother, and other relations, to the highest employments^a.

acts of cruelty: **JEHAN GHIR** was reckoned of a gentle disposition (F); yet, whether owing to ill advice, wine, or some share of fault in his nature, he often gave very cruel orders. Happening to catch an eunuch kissing one of his women, whom he had given over to converse with, he sentenced the lady to be put into the earth, with only her head left above ground, exposed to the burning rays of the sun; and the eunuch to be cut in pieces before her face. She lived in this dreadful torment twenty-four hours, and till near noon the next day, lamenting her head so long as she could speak. Although he would often debauch with wine (G) himself, yet b he would punish others severely, who were guilty of that vice. Sometimes he would command persons to be whipped most unmercifully for trifles; as he did one of his eunuchs for breaking a china cup, which he was ordered to take care of, and then sent him to *China* to buy another. At other times, in his capricious humours, he would condemn men to slavery, to have their limbs cut off, or to be put to death, without any just cause.

his charity. ON the other hand, he daily relieved many poor people, and behaved with great marks of duty to his mother; whose palanki he would often help to carry on his shoulders. He often visited the cells of religious men, whom he esteemed sacred, and would speak with great reverence of Christ (H): but his parentage, poverty, and crucifixion, did so confound his thoughts, that he knew not what to think of them. Our author, who was at the court of c this prince in 1618, tells us, that, a few years before, a juggler of *Bengal*, a country famous, he says, for wizards and witches, brought an ape to shew the king, who was fond of novelties; and, being told this animal could do several very strange things, sent for a company of boys, and gave a ring privately to one of them, to see if the ape could find it; which he did, by going to the boy who had it.

Story of a divining ape. AFTER *Jehan Ghir* had made some other trials, in which the ape performed his part with equal success, it came into his head to order the names of twelve prophets, or lawgivers (I), to be written on scrolls of paper, and put all together in a bag, to see if the creature could draw out the name of the true prophet. This done, the ape put in his paw, and pulled out the name of Christ. The experiment being made a second time, with new papers; and d the ape drawing out the name of Christ, as before, *Mohabet Khân* said it was some imposture of the Christians, although none were then present, and desired, that he might make a third trial: his request being granted, he put in no more than eleven of those names, and reserved that of Christ in his hand. The ape hereupon was ordered to put in his paw again; which he did, and drew it forth empty two or three times successively. The king demanding a reason for this, was answered, that hap'y the thing which he looked for was not there. The animal was then bid to search for it; when drawing out the eleven scrolls, one after the other, he, in a seeming indignation, tore them; after which, running up to *Mohabet Khân*, he caught that lord by the hand, in which the name of *Christ* was concealed: and the scroll being thereupon delivered to him, he opened and held it up before the king, without renting it, as he e had done the others. Upon this, *Jehan Ghir* kept the animal, calling it *the divining ape*, and gave the owner a pension on the occasion. This relation our author had from persons, who, though strangers to one another, as well as of different religions, yet all agreed in the several circumstances of it.

Jesuit's impostor: A LITTLE before the year 1616, the Jesuits house at *Agri* having been burned, among others, it was pretended by one of them, named *Francisco Corsi*, who resided there, that his wooden cross, set on a pole near the side of his house, was not consumed. Upon this, he carried the cross to court, and reported the wonder to the king. Prince *Khûrm*, who was present, and no favourer of the Christians, deriding the Jesuit, said it was one of his fabulous miracles; and proposed to put it to the trial, by throwing the cross into the fire, with this f condition, that if it did not burn, he, the king, and all the persons present, would turn Christians: but, in case it did, that the Jesuit should be burned with it. *Corsi*, not caring to put the matter to such a precarious issue, alleged, “that such an experiment would be to

^a FRASER'S Hist. of Nadir Shâh, p. 20. & seq.

(F) *Roe* says, he had a chearful countenance, and was proud by custom, not by nature; for that at night he was very affable, and full of easy conversation. *Church. Collect.* vol. i. p. 730

(G) One time Sir *Thomas Roe* had audience when he was in liquor: he spoke very kindly; but, being very drunk, fell at last to weeping, and into divers passions; yet kept him till midnight. *Roe's Journ. Church's Coll. Trav.* vol. i. p. 719.

(H) *Roe* says, he was bred up without any religion,

was never circumcised, and in short an atheist; that he made a religion of his own out of all others; and went farther than his father *Aklar*, in assuming to be a greater prophet than *Mohammed*.

(I) As *Mohammed* and *Ali* for the *Musulmans*; *Brahma*, *Bramma*, *Ram*, and *Permisar*, for the *Hindus*, or *Indians*; *Zerdâst* for the *Persians*; *Mohs* for the *Jews*; and *Christ* for the *Christians*; with three others, whose names did not come to our author's knowledge.

- a "tempt God : that possibly the Deity never designed the persons present the infinite favour
 "to make them Christians ; or, if he did, the time of manifesting it might not be come : that,
 "as in this case, God might not shew a farther miracle (or grant that which was required),
 "his religion might suffer prejudice (K) thereby for ever after."

OUR author observes, that, although the Jesuits had liberty in those days to make converts *and pretended* in the Mogol's empire, and sent advice into *Europe* of mighty doings that way ; yet that, in *conversions*, reality, they had baptised but a very few, and those only such as became proselytes to relieve their necessities.

- JEHAN GHIR had three sons and two daughters (L) ; 1. *Soltána Nissa Begum*, or *the lady-queen of women*, born in 1586 ; 2. *Soltân Kbofro* (or *Kbofraw*), born in 1587 ; he died in 1622, and was father to *Soltân Daur Bukhsb*, or *Bolaki*. These two children were by the daughter of *Râjah Ravandas*, who poisoned herself in 1601 ; because the emperor did not take as much notice of her son, as he did of *Soltân Khûrm*. 3. *Soltân Parvez* (*Parvêis*, or *Parweys*), that is, *the victorious* ; he was born in 1589 ; his mother was the daughter of *Kbojab Hassan*. 4. *Babâr Banû Begum*, or *the lady blooming princess*, by the daughter of *Râjah Kessoudas Rattor*, in 1590. 5. *Soltân Khûrm*, or *the joyful prince*, by the daughter of *Râjah Oudesung*, in 1692 ; who afterwards succeeded his father, and took the name of *Shâh Jehân*. Jehân Ghîr's children.

- JEHAN GHIR had also *Soltân Jebân Dâr*, or *the possessor of the world* ; and *Soltân Shebriyâr*, that is, *the friend of the city* ; twins by a concubine, born in 1605. As this last was married to the daughter of *Nûr Jebân*, by her first husband *Shîr Afkân Khân*, she endeavoured to secure the empire to him ; but without success, as we shall see presently.

* TERRY'S Voy. to India, sect. 25, & 30. ROE ap. Churchill's Collect. Trav. vol. i. p. 731, & seqq.
 " FRASER, ubi supr. p. 21.

(K) A very good reason, but not to the advantage of his religion ; which, if from God, it must be presumed God would secure from harm.

(L) Terry, sect. 28. says he had five sons and one daughter, whose names and their significations he mistakes : 1. *Soltân Kûbsurrû*, *the prince with the good*

face, to express his beauty : 2. *Soltân Peram*, or *prince of the Pleiades*, for *Parweis* : 3. *Soltân Karûm*, or *prince of bounty* : 4. *Soltân Shabar*, or *the prince of fame* : 5. *Soltân Tâkt*, or *the prince of the throne*, as born on his father's ascending the throne. This must be *Soltân Jebân Dâr*.

C H A P. VII.

The reign of Shâh Jehân.

S E C T. I.

From his ascending the throne, to the civil war among his sons.

- a AS soon as the breath was out of *Jebân Ghîr*'s body, *Nûr Jebân*, the widow-queen, sent *Soltân Bo-* her son-in-law *Shebriar* before towards *Labûr*, in order to ascend the throne, and did *laki crowned*. her utmost endeavours to gain the army to her party : but *Afsof Khân*, joined by *Koja Abdol Hassan*, *Eradet Khân*, and other *Omrâs*, opposed his sister's design, and confined her. At the same time, to prevent tumults arising on account of the interregnum, they, to blind the people, placed the crown on the head of the young *Soltân Bolakbi* (A) ; who, suffered this ceremony to be performed much against his will. In the interim, letters were dispatched in haste to *Shâh Jebân*, in which they assigned reasons for what they had done, and intreated him to come with all expedition, and assume the throne. After which, they took measures for bringing to order *Soltân Shabriyâr* ; who, without the queen's assistance, could do nothing himself.

b THE prince, though 600 *Indian* miles distant, received these letters in six days time ; upon *Shahriar* the reception of which, being encouraged by *Mohabet Khân*, he set out with 7000 horse ; *usurps the* and, by the way of *Surât* and *Kambaya*, arrived at *Ahmed abâd* ; where *Saffi Khân*, the prince's *throne*. enemy, was governor : but, as he then lay sick in bed, *Naarha Khân*, and the other *Omrâs*, immediately deserted to *Shâh Jebân*. Mean while, *Afsof Khân*, with king *Bolakbi*, proceeded to *Labûr* ; and *Shabriyâr*, who had usurped the kingdom, being deprived of the queen's help,

(A) Herbert says, this was done at *Dehli* ; that prince being then thirteen years of age. According to *Fra-* *ser*, *Shâh Jebân* being then at a great distance, and the three young princes, his sons, *Dara Shikowb*, *Soltân*

Sujab, and *Aureng Zib*, in the hands of *Nûr Jebân* ; *Afsof Khân* and *Eradet Khân*, to disconcert her scheme, and protract the time till *Shâh Jebân* arrived, proclaimed *Soltân Daur Bukhsb*, or *Bolakbi*.

in

in a few days, distributed the treasures, both of the king and the Omrâs, amounting to ninety a
lak of rupees, among the soldiers, in order to secure them to his interest. But all this did
not avail : for, on the approach of *Affof Khân*, with an army, *Shîr Kôja* and *Amîr Bîk*, his
principal generals, whom he had sent before with 20,000 horse, basely deserted him. Upon
this he fled to *Labûr*, and fortified that city : but *Affof Khân* coming up with a greater force,
the castle was taken, and *Shahbriyâr*, falling into the hands of the king's troops, was deprived
of sight by means of poison.

Khurm
destroys both.

MEAN time, *Shâh Jêhân* proceeded on his journey ; and, being joined by all the Râjahs, b
governors of provinces, and generals, his forces increased at length to 30,000. In the king-
dom of *Nagor*, the most potent Râjah *Kessing* came to him of his own accord ; as did *Khân*
Azem, near *Azmîr* : and not far from *Agrâ* he was met by the Râjah *Jessing*, *Mansing*, and
Zitterzing, with several great lords. These happy omens seemed to secure the crown to him
without dispute : but still despairing to possess the kingdom in peace long, as *Shahbriyâr*,
Bolakhi, and his uncle's sons (B) were alive, he sent Râjah *Babâdr* (C) to *Labûr*, with a cruel
order to put those princes secretly to death. In eight days he got to that city by post ; and
the unhappy victims being delivered up to him by *Affof Khân*, he strangled them all by night,
and buried them in a garden near the deceased king (D). *Shâh Jêhân* being arrived at *Agrâ*,
he repaired to a palace which he had built in a delightful place on the side of the *Jemna* ;
where he remained till the lucky day was come, on which he was to enter the castle, and
sit in the royal throne ; at which time he was saluted by the grandees by the name of Soltân
Shahâbo'ddîn Mohammed (E), and crowned with great magnificence. c

New troubles
arise.

FIFTY days after the coronation, came *Affof Khân*, with the dowager queen and her
daughters ; likewise all the rest of the late king's women, together with *Sadok Khân*, *Eradet*
Khân, and *Mîr Gomley*, and delivers the royal treasures to *Shâh Jêhân* ; who, on the other
hand, confers on *Affof Khân* the whole authority under himself, and loaded him with honours.
But, while the king imagined he had surmounted all difficulties, and had firmly established
his throne by the death of the innocent princes, new troubles arose in several parts of the realm ;
which made him very uneasy. For the *Uzbeks* broke into the province of *Kâbul*, with
numerous forces. *Sheuf Almûk* endeavoured to keep the kingdom of *Tâtta* for himself :
Râjah *Youk*, taking up arms, had the boldness to infest all *Hindûstân*, and the road leading
to *Brâmpûr*, with his robberies : lastly, two counterfeit *Bolakhis* gave him no small vexation. d
So that the new king was obliged to assemble all his forces, augment them considerably, and
send bodies of troops into various parts of his dominions. In this state things continued till
the end of the year 1628^b.

Peace restored.

ALTHOUGH the empire of *Hindûstân* was in the most flourishing condition that ever it had
been, when *Shâh Jêhân* ascended the throne ; yet, by the distractions which ensued, it might
have become a prey to its neighbours, in case it had been attacked. But *Persia*, on the west,
was at that time governed by a weak, indolent prince. The *Uzbek Tatars*, to the north, were
too much divided among themselves, to give the *Mogols* any disturbance : nor had they any
thing to fear from the *Indian* princes, on the east ; who, besides being separated by vast
mountains and deserts, had neither power enough, nor genius, for war. It was this situation e
of the bordering kingdoms, which secured *Shâh Jêhân* against invasions from without, and
gave him an opportunity to suppress the troubles, which threatened his dominions from within.

The Portu-
gueses at-
tacked.

As soon as the affairs of his empire were returned to a settled state, he resolved to make
war against the *Portugueses*, who, before his reign, had been very formidable in the *Indies* ;
but of late were become contemptible, by the losses they had received from the growing
powers of the *English* and *Dutch*. His chief motive to this war was the *Portugueses* refusing
to assist him (F) in the time of his rebellion against his father : which gave him such a hatred
to Christianity, whereto he was no friend before, that he made a vow to root it out. This
prince, after the loss of a battle, being retired to a fortified place, some leagues from *Dâka*,
Michael Rodriguez, who commanded the *Portuguese* troops at *Ougli* (or *Hugli*), made a visit f
to the Soltân, and endeavoured to comfort him under his affliction. Hereupon *Shâh Jêhân*
requested his assistance, with soldiers and artillery ; promising, that if ever he ascended the
throne, he would reward the services received from his nation. *Rodriguez*, instead of granting
him the aid demanded, had the boldness to tell him, “ that he should be ashamed to serve a
rebel :

^b DE LAET's *India Vera*, p. 288, & seq. HERBERT's *Voy.* p. 106, & seq.

(B) These were the three sons of Soltân *Daniel*, (bro-
ther to *Jêhân Ghîr*) named *Gurshâp*, *Teyomars* (perhaps
rather *Keyomars*) and *Hoyshang* or *Hûshang*). *Frazer*.

(C) *Herbert* calls him *Bandor*.

(D) *Herbert* says, he was interred at *Sekander*, three
kos from *Agrâ*. *Tavernier* relates these matters differ-
rently.

(E) *Shahâbo'ddîn* signifies the bright star of religion, as

Shâh Jêhân imports king of the world. He was born on
Wednesday, the fifth of *January*, 1592, and sat on the
throne in *Agrâ*, the first of *February*, 1628, being then
36 solar years and 28 days old. *Frazer's Hist. of Nadir*
Shâh, p. 24.

(F) *Bernier* says, the reason was their conniving at
the *Portuguese* pirates of *Rakan*, and buying his subjects
from them from slaves. *Toum. ii.* p. 125.

a “rebel : and that to take up arms against his father, was taking up arms against God himself.”⁹⁹ The *Portuguese* commander did what was still more provoking ; for he joined the party of Soltân *Parweis* ; and the victories, which this prince obtained over his brother, were in no small degree owing to the *Portuguese* infantry, who fought under his orders.

It is said, that the Soltâna *Tâje Mâhl* (G), wife of Shâh *Jehân*, helped much to incense ^{Hugli taken from them.} him against the Christians in general, and the *Portugueses* in particular. She not only inherited her aversion to Christianity from her aunt *Nûr Jehân*, but was greatly exasperated against the

Portugueses, for having given a retreat to two of her daughters, who had been converted by the missionaries to the *Romish* faith. The emperor, pushed on by the hatred of his queen, and his former oath, ordered *Kassim Khân* to lay siege to *Ougli*. That general, being arrived before the place, threatened to raze it to the ground, unless *Rodriguez* would pay him the sum which he demanded. The *Portuguese* commander, being in no condition to hold out against all the forces of the empire, which were sent against him, submitted at last to the *Mogol* general's demand, though much against his will ; and, could he have foreseen what was to happen, would doubtless never have complied with the proposal : for *Kassim Khân* had no sooner received the money, than, instead of drawing off, he laid close siege to the town (H), and battered it furiously with his artillery ; which is the principal force used in taking places in *Hindûstân*. The *Portugueses* made but an indifferent defence, and when they saw a breach opened in their walls, the fear of an assault obliged them to surrender at discretion. Above five or six hundred of them were sent to *Agrâ* ; among whom were some Jesuits and *Augustine* friers.

c OUR author takes it for granted, that this disaster was a judgment of heaven on the colony ^{Their profligate behaviour.} of *Ougli* for the sins of the *Portugueses*. Unluckily for them, the *Ganges*, which is scarce ever dry, had at that juncture so little water, that the barks which they had on the river, and might have secured their retreat, could not get out of port. Being arrived at *Agrâ*, several of them turned *Mohammedans* to preserve their lives ; while others suffered death rather than renounce their faith (I). Not one of them had been left alive, if *Tâje Mâhl* had not deceased before their arrival at that capital : for she had made a vow, that they should all be cut to pieces. No-body lamented her loss but Shâh *Jehân* himself ; who owed the throne to her artifices and credit. In return for that benefit, he built her a sepulchre ; which nothing in the *Indies* can equal for magnificence. The missionaries, after many fruitless attempts to make them renounce their religion (K), were released and sent to *Goa*, through the intercession of an *Armenian* and a *Venetian* ; who were in great favour with Shâh *Jehân*.

AKBAR had removed the court from *Debli* to *Agrâ*, and *Jehân Ghîr* from *Agrâ* to *Labûr* : ^{Jehân abad built.} but Shâh *Jehân* brought it back from *Labûr* to *Debli* (L), and restored this antient capital to its first lustre ; building at a vast expence a new city, which he called *Shâh Jehân abad*, or the city of *Shâh Jehân*, and to which the old one serves as a suburbs. His principal care was employed about making two gardens in his palace ; in which incredible sums were expended (M) : and in this delicious place it was, that he forgot the warlike inclinations which possessed him in his youth, to give himself up intirely to pleasure ; which had its continual round in music and dancing, plays and entertainments. No person had a greater share in his graces, e than a poet, who invented new feasts and diversions ; for the emperor and his harâm delighted most in buffoon farces. Sometimes he pleased his eyes with the cruel sight of gladiators, who fought before him ; and certain days of the week were set apart for the chace.

BUT Shâh *Jehân*'s principal pleasure was that of women ; which he carried to a much ^{Shâh Jehân's debauchery :} greater height than any of his predecessors. Not content with a multitude of queens, concubines, and slaves ; which are the three different classes of women in the harâm, he took away the wives of the principal officers of his court. Those of *Jaffer Khân* and *Khalil Khân* gave great

⁹⁹ MENOUCI's Hist. Gen. Emp. Mog. par Catrou, p. 214, & seqq. BERNIER's Mem. Emp. Mog. part ii. p. 125.

(G) *Manouchi*, or his editor, writes *Taige Mahal*. He likewise calls this monarch, corruptly, Shâh *Jaham* ; writes *Cham*, or *Kham*, for *Khân*, and the like.

(H) *Bernier* owns, that the *Mogol* got from them all the money he could ; but that the reason why *Ougli* was besieged, was the *Portugueses* being indiscretely obstinate, in refusing what was demanded of them : but he does not mention what that demand was. Tom. ii. p. 125.

(I) *Bernier* mentions nothing of these martyrdoms. He says, the handsome women were shut up in the harâm ; and that the old women and others were distributed among the *Omrâs* : that the young lads were circumcised, and made pages ; while most of the men renounced their faith, through the terror of threats to be thrown to elephants, or the allurements of promises. Tom. ii. p. 125, & seq.

(K) *Bernier* reckons the friers among those who renounced their faith ; saying, indeed, that some of them persisted in it : and that the missionaries of *Agrâ*, who still remained in their houses, found means to get them conveyed away. Tom. ii. p. 126.

(L) This was on the 29th of March, 1647, being the 20th of his reign. *Frazer's Hist. Nadir Shâh*, p. 24. So little do we find in *European* authors relating to this prince, either before or after this remove, for ten years more ; that is, till the time of the rebellion of his sons,

(M) The castle and palace which he built at *Debli*, or *Shâh Jehân abad*, with the gardens and other conveniences on the banks of the river *Chun* (or *Jemna*), cost above 50 laks of rupees, or 625,000 pounds. *Frazer*, ubi supr. p. 25.

scandal to the whole empire. They went every day to the palace, contrary to the custom of the ladies in that country, one of them in the morning, the other in the afternoon; which gave occasion to the *Fakirs*, who always croud the entrance of the palace, to make the severest reflections. Shâh *Jebân*'s love for women made him lavish in his expences upon them, and magnificent in his apartments. It is reported, that he presented *Khalil Khân*'s lady with a pair of slippers, whose value was scarce to be estimated. From thence afterwards he took occasion to pass a jest upon her husband in a public assembly; but it is said that jest cost him dear, and caused *Khalil* to desert afterwards to *Aureng Zib*.

and excellent
government.

THE famous gallery, which has been talked of so much in *Europe* for its immense riches, had its rise from the same vein of gallantry. This magnificent apartment was said to have been designed for a female dancer, sprung from the dregs of the people, and of no extraordinary accomplishments. But, however addicted to pleasure, Shâh *Jebân* never neglected to administer justice, with an exactness and care surpassing all his predecessors. He was, as it were, the *Solomon* of the *Mogols*; and they relate decisions of his, pronounced with so much wisdom, that the memory of them will never be lost in the *Indies*. He never pardoned corrupt judges, and took great care to clear his dominions of robbers. Before his reign, the roads were so infested with them, that trade was greatly interrupted. The method which he took to deliver the empire from that plague, was to make the officers of justice responsible for all the robberies which were committed in their respective districts. Thus the warehouse of the *Dutch*, at *Surât*, having been broken open in the night, he obliged the governor to pay them the full value of the goods, which they had lost.

A gallant
Omrâ.

THE justice which Shâh *Jebân* rendered to his people, somewhat lessened the contempt in which voluptuous indolent princes are usually held. However, they sometimes lost their respect for him. An *Omrâ* of his army having presumed to sit in his presence, contrary to the custom of the empire, the king deprived him of his employments. Next day the disgraced officer appeared in the hall of audience with the same confidence as he had done the day before. Then sitting down in Shâh *Jebân*'s presence, "Now, my lord," says he, "since I am no longer in your pay, I may use that freedom which belongs to every man who is independent." The emperor, far from being offended at the liberty which the *Omrâ* took, praised his resolution; and, restoring him to his posts, augmented his appointments. As this facility in the emperor to pardon often occasioned the courtiers to speak to him with too much freedom, so his faults at length drew on him the contempt of the people, and caused his own sons to rebel against him.

Presumptuous
Râjah.

THERE is a remarkable instance of want of respect to him, in one of the *Râjah*, or *Indian* princes, who, with their troops, mount the guard before the palace, every week in their turn. This *Râjah*, named *Amarfin*, having neglected to be upon duty on the day he was to serve, at length, by the persuasion of his friends, repaired to his post. Hereupon one of the secretaries of state reproached him, in the emperor's presence, for making slight of the service: which the *Râjah* taking as a great affront, he drew his poniard, and stabbed the minister to the heart, so near to Shâh *Jebân*, that his cloaths were stained with the blood. As so great a piece of insolence could not go unpunished, *Amarfin* was pierced with a thousand wounds: but his *Râjapûts*, with impunity, revenged their master's death, by putting to the sword all the people, whom they met with about the palace and in the city.

Villainy of
astrologers,

THE weakness of the government gave occasion to other *Râjahs* to act at pleasure. *Champet*, one of the most daring and powerful among them, refused to pay the tribute. As an example of this kind would prove, if followed, of the most dangerous consequence, it was advised by the astrologers, without whose opinion nothing is done at court, that Shâh *Jebân* himself should take the field against the rebel; and, the more strongly to oblige him to pursue their counsel, declared, that, during such a month, the residence at *Debli* would prove fatal to the person who there held the first rank. The credulous emperor, to avoid this prediction, departed from the city with an army, and left the *Kutwâl* governor in his absence. *Sadul Khân*, who commanded the *Mogol* troops under his majesty, marched towards the territories of *Champet*; who advanced to meet the enemy. The general, whom the emperor's presence had rendered somewhat fearful, perceiving the *Râjah* advantageously posted, judged it better to dislodge him by fraud, than attempt it by force. Pursuant to this resolution, he, by a messenger, not only promised him pardon for his offence, but also to augment his governments, provided he would retire out of the territories of his sovereign. *Champet*, confiding in the general's word, retired accordingly: but had no sooner quitted his post, than he found the *Mogols* at his heels; and he must inevitably have been cut to pieces, with all his forces, if the impenetrable forests and craggy mountains had not protected him from the perfidy of the emperor. Shâh *Jebân* returned to *Debli*, covered with shame, for having violated his faith, without gaining his point against the *Râjah*; who, as soon as the enemy had turned their backs, took the field anew, and pillaged the lands of the empire without opposition.

no verify pre-
dictions.

^d MENOUCI, ubi sup. p. 218, & seqq.

a However, he was pleased to think, that the expedition had preserved his life: for he found the Kutwâl dead, whom he had left in his stead; the astrologers, to verify their prediction, having procured his physician to poison him; and by this piece of villainy established themselves more than ever in the favour of Shâh Jêbân.

WHEN this prince grew old, his passions changed with his age, and avarice succeeded to Shâh Jêbân's prodigality, which surpassed all his other vices: for as soon as his officers, both civil and ^{avarice:} military, were grown rich by oppressing the people, he stripped them of their ill-gotten wealth, and enriched himself by the spoil. The better to secure the immense treasures, which he had hoarded up, he caused two large subterraneous vaults, supported by marble pillars, to be made under his palace; in one of which he kept his gold, and in the other his silver.

b Likewise, to prevent those precious metals from being carried away, he had them formed into huge wedges, of a bulk unfit to serve in commerce. Shâh Jêbân spent great part of the day in these caverns, to feed his eyes with the sight of that prodigious heap of riches, under pretence of the coolness which the place afforded. His covetousness became so great, that, to save the expence of maintaining his sons at court, suitable to their dignity, he gave them (N) governments to live on, without any appointments, but what they could draw from the people: and thus ran into the same error in politics, which had given so much inquietude to Jêbân Ghîr: who, by bestowing distant provinces on his children, during his life-time, put it in their own power to rebel against him: and although Shâh Jêbân's own conduct had verified this truth, yet avarice hindered him from taking warning by his father's indiscretion.

c SHAH Jêbân never had more than twelve children (O) by all his wives: for the Mogols ^{his children.} make no scruple to prevent prolificness in their women. Of these only four sons and two daughters grew to the estate of men and women. In regard all the intrigues of the court, and civil wars, which troubled the reign of this monarch, concern those princes and princesses, as the true sources from whence they sprung, it will be proper to give our readers some account of each.

THE eldest son was named *Dara Shêkowh*, that is, *in pomp like Darius*. This prince was ^{Dara Shêkowh.} gallant in conversation, witty in repartees, exceeding civil and liberal; but had so good an opinion of himself, that he thought nobody capable to give him counsel, and those, who offered to advise him, were sure to be treated with injurious language. He was besides easily

d fired, and in his passion would threaten and affront the greatest Omrâs. It is true, all passed over like a flash of lightning: but those insults generally leave stings behind, which are never to be drawn out. He pretended in private to favour every kind of religion, in order to gain the professors to his interest; particularly that of the *Indians*, to several of whose *Brâmmans* he gave considerable pensions; which proved fatal to him in the end.

SOLTAN *Sujâb*, the second son, was much of his brother *Dara's* humour; but more ^{Soltân Sujâb.} reserved in his conduct, and dexterous in managing his affairs. He made friends under-hand by means of presents; which he heaped on the principal Omrâs and Râjahs: but too much indulged his pleasures with women, among whom he spent whole days and nights in feasting; which cooled the affection of many towards him. As the *Persians*, or their children, had the

e greatest power at the *Mogol's* court, and held the most important places, he, to gain them to his party, declared himself of the *Shiyâb* sect.

AURENG ZIB had not the gallantry and surprising presence of *Dara*; for he appeared serious ^{Aureng Zib.} and melancholy: but was more judicious, and understood the world much better. To take off any suspicion of his aiming at the throne, he for a long time made profession to be a *Fakîr*, a kind of religious mendicant; yet all this while he was making a party at court, but with such art and secrecy, that it could hardly be perceived. He had the address also to gain the affections and esteem of Shâh Jêbân, who could not conceal it, and judged him capable of reigning. This gave no small jealousy to *Dara*, who could not forbear saying sometimes; *Of all my brothers, I fear none but this Namazi*, that is, *this bigot, this great praying*

f *man*.

MORAD BUKHSH, or *Bokhsh*, that is, *the giver of desires or wishes*, was the youngest and ^{Morad Bukhsh.} least judicious of the four brothers. He cared for nothing but mirth and pastime; to drink, hunt, and shoot: yet he had some good qualities. He was very civil and liberal. He despised cabals; glorying in it, that he kept nothing secret; and boasting openly, that he trusted in nothing but his arm and his sword. In short he was very brave; and, had this bravery been accompanied with some share of conduct, he would have ascended the throne.

^e MENOUCI, ubi supr. p. 227, & seqq. ubi supr. part i. p. 10, & seqq.

^f FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 28, & seqq. BERNIER,

(N) So *Manouchi*; but *Bernier* says, he did this against his judgment; fearing, as they were all grown up, married, and making parties to secure the crown, that if he kept them still at court, they would cut one another's throats before his eyes.

(O) *Menouchi* says but seven; other authors speak of no more, because only seven were living when the wars began.

Jehân Ara
Begüm :

THE name of Shâh *Jehân*'s two daughters were *Jehân Ara Begüm*, and *Royshn Rây Pegüm*.^a *Jehân Ara Begüm*, or the princess ornament of the world, is the same who is called by *Bernier*, and other *European* authors, *Begüm Sabeë*. She was very beautiful, as well as a great wit; and so passionately beloved by her father, that it was rumoured he was intimate with her; and pleaded in excuse a decision of the *Mohammedan* doctors, that a man might eat of the fruit which he had planted. But if this had been so, it is not likely that he would suffer a musician of the palace to be her favourite, wink at their meetings, and load him with benefits. However that be, her father placed great confidence in her, gave her charge to watch over his safety, and was swayed by her in the most weighty affairs. As she had great pensions, and received large presents from all quarters, so she was of a generous disposition. This princess always espoused the interest of her brother *Dara*; which inclination to serve him was kept up by a promise which he had made, to marry her as soon as ever he came to the crown.

her gallantry.

BUT neither this promise, nor her gallant within the palace, could restrain her inclinations from rambling abroad. It is said, that she found means to introduce a handsome young man, of no great quality, into her apartment; but, as it was very difficult to conceal this from so many watchful and jealous eyes, the matter came to the ears of Shâh *Jehân*; who resolved to surprise her, under pretence of a visit. The princess, seeing her father come so unexpectedly, had no more time than to hide the unfortunate gallant in one of the great caldrons made to bathe in. The emperor, who suspected it, after entertaining her for a pretty while, as he used to do, at length began to find fault with her dishabille, and told her she ought to bathe oftener. At the same time, he, with a countenance somewhat stern, ordered a fire to be made under the caldron; nor would leave the place till the eunuch had brought him word that the unhappy lover was dispatched.

Another in-
stance.

SOME time after she took other measures, and chose for her steward *Nâzer Khân*, a young *Persian* lord, one of the handsomest and most accomplished *Omrâs* in the whole court, of which he was the darling; insomuch, that *Shâh Hest Khân*, *Aureng Zib*'s uncle, proposed marrying him to the princess: but Shâh *Jehân* took that proposal very ill; and soon after, being informed of the intrigues carried on between that nobleman and his daughter, resolved to get rid of *Nazîr Khân*. This resolution he put in execution a few days after, by means of *betel* (P), which he gave him, by way of doing him honour. The young lord, little imagining that he had taken poison, left the assembly very jocund: but the drug was so strong, that he died in his paleki, before he reached his own house.

Royshan rây
Begüm.

ROYSHAN RAY, or *Rushn rây Begüm*; that is, the princess of an enlightened mind; called by our writers, *Reveherrera*, and *Roshenara Begüm* (Q); though she was not so beautiful and witty as *Begüm Sabeë*; yet she was handsome enough, as well as lively, and hated pleasure no more than her sister. As she was strongly attached to the interest of *Aureng Zib*, she was of course an enemy to *Dara*, and *Begüm Sabeë*. This was the reason that she had no great riches, nor any considerable share in the affairs of state. However, as she was in the harâm, and wanted no spies, she could not but discover many important matters; of which she gave intelligence to her favourite brother^e.

Princes pro-
vided for.

SHAH *Jehân*, having determined, as before observed, to remove his sons at a distance from court, and one another, sent *Soltân Sujâb* viceroy into *Bengal*; *Aureng Zib* into *Dekân*; and *Morâd Bukhs* to *Guzerât*; giving to *Dara* the kingdoms of *Kâbul* and *Multân*. This last, being the eldest, and designed for the throne, stirred not from court; where he was permitted by his father to issue out orders, and sit on a sort of throne, a little lower than his; so that it seemed as if there were two kings in the realm. For all this great indulgence shewed to *Dara*, and the extraordinary submission paid by that prince, yet Shâh *Jehân* still harboured some diffidence; fearing, above all things, the *Morsel*: and as he thought *Aureng Zib* more fit for reigning, it was said that he always held a secret correspondence with him^b.

Amîr Jemla

AN account will elsewhere be givenⁱ of the attempt made by *Aureng Zib* to surprise the king of *Golkonda*, by means of his general *Amîr Jemla*, who, to avoid the king's displeasure, had revolted from him; and of the peace, which was at last concluded between the two states; supposed to have been brought about by the intrigues of *Dara*, and *Begüm Sabeë*; from the apprehension, that, if *Aureng Zib* should conquer *Golkonda*, he would become too powerful. Pursuant to this peace, *Amîr Jemla* withdrew, with all his family, his effects,

^a BERNIER, ubi supr. part 1. p. 20, & seqq. MENOUCI, p. 230.

ⁱ See hereafter, book x. ch. 4. sect. 2.

^b BERNIER, p. 29, & seqq.

(P) A regale given at visits to chew.

(Q) *Bernier* writes *Raveherrera*, if there be not some mistake in printing; and *Menouchi*, *Roxanara*; the x being used for the *English* sh. She was indeed the fifth of Shâh *Jehân*'s children, but not younger than *Aureng Zib*, as *Menouchi* makes her. This author speaks also

of a third, and youngest daughter, at the time of the rebellion, called *Mernisa Begüm*. This seems to be the same with *Hûro'l Nissa Begüm*, or the princess most angelic of women: but she was the eldest of all Shâh *Jehân*'s children, and died some years before.

troops,

^a troops and artillery, marching with the prince towards *Dekân*. In the way they took *Bider* (or *Beder*) one of the strongest fortresses in all *Viziapûr*; and, on their arrival at *Dawlet abad*, contracted so intimate a friendship, that they could not live a day without seeing one another twice. This union began to give a new face to affairs in all those parts of *India*; and laid the first foundations of the sovereignty of *Aureng Zib*.

^b AMIR JEMLA, who had the art to get himself called often to court, always went with rich presents; and still urged Shâh *Jehân* to make war against the kings of *Golkonda*, *Viziapûr*, and the *Portugueses*. To allure him the more effectually to take his advice, he presented him with that great diamond found in the *Golkonda* mines; which is esteemed matchless. The emperor, whether dazzled with the precious stones, or to have an army in the field, to be a check, as some thought, on *Dara*, listened to this counsel: for he found this prince active to make himself potent, and to have ill-treated several of the prime Omrâs, because they did not approve of his measures; particularly the Wazîr *Sado'llah Khân*, whom he caused to be poisoned, to the great affliction of Shâh *Jehân*, who passionately loved him, and considered as the greatest statesman the *Indies* had ever produced. The Wazîr being very powerful, *Dara* saw that he was in a condition to be arbitrator of the empire in case his father should de cease. Besides, being an *Indian*, some, envious of his greatness, insinuated to the prince, that he entertained numerous troops of *Pâtans*, in divers places, with a design to make himself, or his son, king; at least to expel the *Moguls*, and restore the *Pâtans*.

^c DARA did all he could to hinder the sending an army to *Dekân*, as he saw it was to give strength to *Aureng Zib*: but when he found he could not prevail, he at length consented, on condition that his brother should remain at *Dawlet Abâd*; and *Amîr Jemla*, prosecuting the war by himself, should leave his family at court, as a pledge of his fidelity; which condition, at length, that general agreed to, on the emperor's promising, in a little time, to send to him his wife and children. Accordingly he set forward from *Agra*, with a very gallant army; and entering *Viziapûr*, without stopping, besieged a strong place, called *Kaliân*^k.

S E C T. II.

Account of the civil wars, till Shâh Jehân's deposition.

^d THE affairs of *Hindûstân* were in this situation, when Shâh *Jehân* fell dangerously ill (A). This prince, who, though past seventy years of age, was much addicted to venereal pleasures, took so strong a potion to invigorate nature, that it brought on a suppression of urine, which had like to have killed him. All the empire was soon alarmed at this news; and all the princes were quickly in motion, raising troops in their several governments, and writing letters to make friends. Some of these falling into the hands of *Dara*, he shewed them to the king, in order to incense him against his brothers: but Shâh *Jehân*, more afraid of the accuser than the accused, only took care to guard against them; and, 'tis said, even wrote to *Aureng Zib*; which *Dara* hearing of, resented with menaces.

^e MEAN time Shâh *Jehân* lingering under his distemper, it was reported that he was dead; which threw the court into great disorder, and caused the shops in *Agra* to be shut up for several days. On this advice, his sons no longer concealed their designs, but made open preparations for war, each in his own defence: well knowing that they had nothing for it, but the throne or death; and that whoever should be conqueror, would rid himself of all the rest, as their father had before done of his brothers.

^f SOLTAN *Sujâb*, who had amassed great treasures in *Bengâl*, by ruining some Râjahs, and drawing great sums from others, first took the field, with a puissant army; and, in confidence that all the *Persian* Omrâs were in his interest, boldly marched towards *Agra*; giving out by the way, that *Dara* had poisoned his father, and he was resolved to revenge his death. Shâh *Jehân*, by *Dara's* advice, wrote to inform the prince that he was better, and forbid him to advance: but *Sujâb*, assured by his friends at court that the king's sickness was mortal, ceased not to continue his march; pretending he knew his father was dead, and that, if alive, he was desirous to kiss his feet.

AURENG ZIB, at the same time, takes the field (B) in *Dekân*; and altho' forbidden like- wife to proceed, returns the same answer as *Sujâb* had done. But his forces being small,

^k BERNIER, p. 42, & seqq.

(A) According to the *Indian* authors, as reported by *Frazer*, p. 29. Soltân *Dara Shikowb*, endeavouring to possess himself of the empire, confined his father, Shâh *Jehân*, towards the end of the year 1656; which probably was in the time of his sickness: but then he could not be above 64 or 65 at most.

(B) As soon as *Aureng Zib* had notice that *Dara* had confined his father, he began to make preparations for war, in favour, as he gave out, of *Morâd Bukhsh*; to whom he wrote from *Aureng abad*, in *Dekân*, to join him at *Eugene* (or *Eujin*), the capital of *Mâlwa*. *Frazer*. *Hist. Nadir Shah*, p. 29.

and his treasury low, he made use of two artifices to put himself in a condition to march. a First, he writes to his brother, *Morâd Bukhsh*, in *Guzerât*, a dissembling letter, importing, that as *Dara* was a *Kâfir*, or idolater, *Sujâb* a *Refezi*, or heretic, and himself a *Fakîr*, there was none who could pretend to the succession, but he, *Morâd*: that therefore, if he would promise only to let him live quietly in some corner of his dominions, when he should come to the empire, there to spend his days in devotion, he would forthwith join him with his troops, and help him to gain the throne: that, in the mean time, he had sent him 100,000 rupees (C); and advised him to come, with all speed, to seize on the castle of *Surât*, where the treasure of the country was lodged. *Morâd Bukhsh*, who was neither very rich, nor powerful, was overjoyed at this proposal: and having, by the credit of his brother's letter, soon raised money and men, sent 3000, under the command of *Shâh Abbâs*, a valiant eunuch, b to besiege *Surât*.

gains Amîr
Jemla;

AURENG ZIB's second contrivance was to draw in *Amîr Jemla*, who was still before *Kaliân*, to join in his measures. With this view, he sends his eldest son *Soltân Mahmûd*, who had married the king of *Golkonda*'s daughter, to persuade the Amîr to repair to *Dawlet abad*: but *Jemla*, suspecting his errand, told him that he was assured *Shâh Jebân* was alive; and that, besides, all his family being in the power of *Dara*, he could by no means assist *Aureng Zib*. This prince, not discouraged by the first repulse, sent his second son, *Soltân Mauzum*, who backed his father's letter with so much dexterity, that the Amîr, no longer able to resist, pushed the siege of *Kaliân* vigorously; and, forcing the garrison to surrender, with the choicest of his troops set out for *Dawlet abad*. As soon as he arrived, *Aureng Zib* complimenting c him with the title of *Bâba*, and *Bâba ji*, *Father*, and *Lord Father*, intreated him not to fail him, at this critical juncture, with his forces and money. To remove the objection about the danger of his family, he promised putting him under a sham arrest, and confining him in the castle, that *Dara* might think the Amîr had no hand in the plot^a.

sets forward;

AMIR JEMLA having consented to this stratagem, he was formally arrested, and confined in a chamber. His army, alarmed at the detention of their general, ran to his rescue; but, as the whole was counterfeited, they were soon appeased; and, by distributing money, back'd with great promises, in case of success, the troops both of the Amîr, and of *Shâh Jebân*, were induced to lift under the banner of *Aureng Zib*. This done, the prince marched (D) d towards *Surât*, where *Morâd Bukhsh* had met with greater resistance than he expected: but hearing in his march, that the governor had surrendered the place, he sent to congratulate his brother on the occasion; acquainted him with the affair of *Amîr Jemla*; and desired him to haste to join his army, which was advancing to *Agra*, by way of *Brâmpûr*.

joined by Mo-
râd;

AFTER all, *Morâd Bukhsh* neither found so much treasure as he expected at *Surât*, nor had much reason to boast of taking the place: which, tho' defended with no regular fortifications, opposed his forces for above a month; and would never have been reduced by him, but for the *Dutch*, who cast the besieged into such a consternation, by blowing up part of the wall with a mine, that they immediately surrendered (E). However, this success, being wholly ascribed to the valour of *Morâd Bukhsh*, by the people of those countries, greatly promoted his affairs (F). Yet the eunuch *Shâh Abbâs*, a man of good sense as well as courage, advised e him not to confide too much in the specious promises of *Aureng Zib*, nor be too hasty to join him; but rather to fortify *Surât* which was a very good post, and see what turn things were likely to take, before he proceeded any further. But that prince, blinded with an excessive ambition to reign, and having neither much forces nor treasure, was prevailed on, by his brother's continual letters, and protestations of sincerity, to haste to the place of rendezvous, where he was received with all outward demonstrations of joy and affection.

march towards
Agra.

THE two armies, being thus joined, set forward together; and, during the whole march, *Aureng Zib* treated his brother with the utmost respect; never addressing him, either in public or private, but with the title of *Hazerat*, that is, *King*, and *Majesty*. This behaviour took-off all suspicion from *Morâd Bukhsh*, who never reflected on the late expedition against *Golkonda*; f and that he, who discovered so much eagerness to conquer a powerful kingdom, was not of a temper to live and die a *Fakîr*. The news of this conjunction of the two brothers alarmed not only *Dara*, but *Shâh Jebân* himself, who knew the subtil genius of the one, and the courage of the other. It was to no purpose to write to them to turn back, and that he was in a way

^a BERNIER, p. 49, & seqq.

(C) Or 12,500 *l.* a rupee being about half an *English* crown.

(D) *Aureng Zib* set out from *Aureng abad* the 4th of Feb. 1658, with 25,000 horse, having sent his son *Soltân Mohammed* (*Bernier's Mahmûd*) before him on the 24th of January.

(E) On the 29th of December, 1659, the mine threw down part of the wall; yet the city held out still for

above 40 days. *Tavernier. Trav. Ind.* l. ii. c. 2. p. 109.

(F) When *Morâd*, who was then at *Abmed abad*, squeezing money out of the people, heard that *Surât* was taken, he got a throne, and was proclaimed king there of all *Hindûstân*, coined money, and appointed governors of cities. *Tavern. Trav. Ind.* l. ii. c. 2. p. 109.

a of recovery. They answered, as Soltân *Sujâb* had done before, on the same occasion; and said the letters were counterfeited by their brother *Dara*^b.

WHILE Shâh *Jebân* is in the greatest anxiety, to see his children going to destroy one another, *Sujâb* ^{defeated} without having it in his power to prevent it, preparations are made by *Dara*, to oppose the two armies, which were in full march, on different sides, to *Agra*. As that of Soltân *Sujâb* was most advanced, the first care was to detach troops to oppose him. The command of these was given to *Soleymân Shikowh*, eldest son of *Dara*, a prince about twenty-five years of age, handsome, and of good parts, generous, and beloved of all, especially his grandfather, who considered him as his successor, rather than *Dara*. Yet as Shâh *Jebân* was desirous that matters should be accommodated, rather than come to extremity, he gave the young prince, for his companion, an antient Râjah, named *Jesseyn*, with secret orders not to fight, if it was ^{by Soleymân} possible to avoid it; and to advise *Sujâb* to retire: but this prince, fearing lest *Aureng Zib* ^{Shikowh} should get possession of the capital before him, and his nephew being urged by a desire of signalizing himself, there was no possibility of restraining the two armies, which, as soon as they came in sight, towards *Elabâs*, began to cannonade each other. The first onset was very sharp and obstinate on both sides: but at length *Soleymân Shikowh* pressed *Sujâb* with such vigour, that he put his troops into disorder; and at length obliged him to fly. So that if *Jesseyn*, and the *Pâtan Delil Khân*, who followed the Râjah's measures, had seconded the prince, 'twas thought the whole army would have been overthrown, and *Sujâb* himself in danger of being taken: but *Jesseyn* conforming himself to the emperor's orders, the Soltân had time to retreat, leaving behind some of his artillery. As this defeat gave great reputation to *Soleymân Shikowh*, it lessened that of Soltân *Sujâb*, and exceedingly cooled the inclinations of the *Persians* towards him.

PRINCE *Soleymân*, who had received advice, that his uncles *Aureng Zib*, and *Morâd Bukhsh*, ^{Soleymân} were advancing towards *Agra*; well knowing that his father *Dara* had no great stock of pru- ^{tuons Luck} dence, but many secret enemies, after he had pursued Soltân *Sujâb* for a few days, turned back, with a resolution to make what haste he could to the capital. This certainly was the wisest course which could be taken; and could he have gotten thither time enough, in all probability *Aureng Zib* would never have ventured a battle against such very unequal forces as he must then have had to deal with. But *Dara*'s bad fortune would not permit things to happen conformably to the wishes of the prince, his son.

MEAN time, *Aureng Zib* having, to the great surprize of the court, crossed the river of *Aureng Zib Brâmpûr*, and all the difficult passages between the mountains, some troops were sent in haste ^{advances;} to the river *Eujenes* (G), under the command of *Kâssef Khân*, a renowned general, but not much inclined to *Dara*; and *Jessom seyn* (H), a potent Râjah, not inferior to *Jesseyn*, and married to the daughter of that Râjah *Râna*, who was so puissant in the time of *Akber*. Before their departure, Shâh *Jebân* gave them the same orders as he had done to *Jesseyn*, when he sent him with *Soleymân Shikowh* against Soltân *Sujâb*; nor did they fail in their march to send several times to *Aureng Zib*, and *Morâd Bukhsh*, to persuade them to turn back, altho' to no purpose: for the princes detaining the messengers, advanced the faster; and appeared with their forces, on a rising ground, not far from the river, much sooner than was expected.

As the *Eujenes* was then fordable, it being the time of the great heats, and the army of the confederate princes much fatigued with the march, *Aureng Zib* played upon the enemy ^{comes to} with his cannon, to prevent their passing the river; which if they had done, they might easily have routed the tired troops: but they were content, according to their orders, to remain by the river-side, and hinder the other from crossing it. This, however, they could not do; for *Aureng Zib*, after he had let his army rest for two or three days, commanded them to pass the river, under cover of all his artillery, which began to play. *Kâssef Khân*, and the Râjah, did not fail to answer them with theirs. The combat was obstinately maintained at first by the extraordinary valour of *Jessom seyn*; for *Kâssef Khân*, though a famous warrior, gave no great proof of his courage on this occasion. Nay, some accused him of treachery, in having ordered the powder and ball to be buried by night in the sand; for after two or three discharges, there was no more to be found^c.

For all this, the confederate army was much embarrassed by rocks in the middle of the river, ^{defeats the} and the high banks on the other side; but at length *Morâd Bukhsh* cast himself into the stream, ^{enemy.} with so much resolution and force, that there was no resisting him. He passed over, and with him a good part of the army, which made *Kâssef Khân* to give back; and put *Jessom seyn* in

^b BERNIER, *ibid.* p. 62, & seqq.

^c BERNIER, p. 73, & seqq.

(G) Rather *Eujin*, on which stands the city of that name, the capital of the province of *Mâlwa*. It may be pronounced *Vîn*, *Oujin*, *Eujin*.

(H) *Frazer* says the two brothers at *Eugene* defeated *Kâssef Khân*, and the Mâha Râjah *Jessvint Jung*. Mâha Râjah signifies the great prince, in the *Sanskrit*, or

Brâhman language; a title given by the *Mogols* to the Râjahs of *Marwar*, of the *Ratter* family. The capital of their country is *Jahîjâr*, 176 kofs (or 264 miles) distant from *Dehli*. The Rajapûts of *Marwar* are reckoned the best soldiers in *India*. *Frazer. Hist. Nadir Shah*, p. 30

Magnanimous
women.

great danger of his person: for presently he found the whole body of the enemy upon him; and but for the extraordinary bravery of his Râjapûts, who were almost all killed about him, he must have been a dead man. Out of 8000, or more, not above five or six hundred remained; insomuch, that he durst not return to *Agra*, after so great a loss. On the other hand, his wife refused to admit him, after his defeat and flight. When she heard he was near the castle, notwithstanding the brave resistance he had made, instead of sending an officer to console him, she ordered the gates to be shut, and not to suffer this infamous man to enter; adding, "that he was not her husband; and that she would never see him: that the son-in-law of the great *Râna* could not have had so low a soul; but would have imitated the virtue of the illustrious house into which he was ingrafted: in a word, would either have vanquished or died." A moment after, she commanded a pile of wood to be laid, that she might burn herself; saying, "that they had abused her; and that *Jessom seyn* must needs be dead." Then returning to her first temper of mind, she fell into a passion, and broke out into a thousand reproaches against him. She continued in these transports for eight or nine days, without being able to resolve to see her husband: till, at last, her mother brought her, in some degree, to herself; assuring her, that as soon as the Râjah had a little refreshed himself, he would raise another army, to fight *Aureng Zib*, and repair his honour at any rate.

Dara enraged.

WHEN *Dara* was informed of what had happened at *Eugenes*, he fell into such a rage against *Kâssef Khân*, that had he been present, it is thought he would have cut off his head. He was likewise so transported against *Amîr Jemla*, whom he considered as the principal cause of the misfortune; that had not Shâh *Jebân* pacified him, by representing the improbability of the case, it is thought he would have killed his son *Mohammed Amîr Khân*, or sent his wife and daughter to the market-place of prostituted women. Mean time, the victory swelled the hopes of the two confederate princes to no small degree; and *Aureng Zib*, still more to animate his soldiers, bragged openly, that he had 30,000 *Mogols* at his devotion, in *Dara's* army; and the sequel shewed, that there was some foundation for what he said. The army rested for a few days on the banks of that sweet river: during which time *Aureng Zib* wrote to all his friends, and tried to get intelligence from the court. After this he marched on towards *Agra*, but slowly, that he might have time to take proper measures at this juncture^d.

His great
army.

SHAH *Jebân*, perceiving the resolution of the two princes, would fain have prevented the last decisive battle, for which he saw *Dara* was preparing; but knew not how to compass it. As he was in this son's power, he was obliged to commit to him all the forces of the empire, and command all officers to obey him. His army consisted of little less than 100,000 horse, and 20,000 foot, with 4000 pieces of cannon (I); besides an incredible number of servants, victuallers, and other followers of camps, who are often put by historians among the number of combatants. Although this army was very brave, and strong enough to cut in pieces two or three of such as *Aureng Zib* had with him, consisting at most of 35,000 or 40,000 men, tired with long marches; yet scarce any body presaged well for *Dara*, as they knew the chief Omrâs had no affection for him; and that the troops, which he could most confide in, were with his son *Soleymân Shekowb*.

Slights advice.

FOR this reason, his friends, and Shâh *Jebân* himself, advised him not to hazard a battle, at least till his son arrived with his troops. What was still more prudent, the emperor offered, infirm as he was, to be carried into the field, to interpose his authority for accommodating matters. This, doubtless, was a very good expedient: for the two princes would never have dared to fight against their father; and if they had, they must have smarted for it: since all the Omrâs, as well as soldiers, however averse to *Dara*, had a great affection for the emperor, and would have fought resolutely in his defence. But *Dara* was deaf to all proposals of that nature: as he had the king, the treasure, and, in short, all the power then in his own hands, he was resolved not to give it up, or share it with his brothers (one already defeated, and the other two, in his opinion, not far from ruin) as he must have done in case of an accommodation.

The armies
meet.

RESOLVING likewise to have all the glory of this preconceived victory to himself, he ordered the army immediately to take the field, without waiting for his son. When he went to take leave of his father, the emperor embraced and blessed him; but bid him, *if he lost the battle, take heed of ever coming into his presence*. This made no impression on *Dara*, who, taking horse, seized the passage of the river *Tebembel**, about twenty miles from *Agra*; where he fortified himself, and expected his enemy: but the subtil *Fakîr*, who knew by his spies that the passage there was very difficult; instead of attempting it, prevails on *Champet*, a rebellious Râjah, mentioned before, to let him pass thro' his territories, to a place where the river was very shallow. Then breaking up his camp in the dark, only leaving some tents to

^d BERNIER, p. 85, & seqq.

(I) 'Tis in the original fourscore thousand: perhaps it ought to be but 400.

* Rather perhaps *Tchem'el*; in *English* characters, *Chembel*.

- a amuse *Dara*, he marched, night and day, thro' the woods and hills, conducted by the Râjah himself, with such expedition, that he was on the other side of the *Tehembel* before *Dara* knew any thing of the matter. This obliged *Dara* to quit all his fortifications, to follow his enemies: who advanced, with great diligence, to gain the river *Jemna*, there to post themselves securely, and expected their brother: in effect, they encamped at *Samongher*, now called *Fateh abad*, or *the place of victory*, five miles short of *Agra*. Shortly after, *Dara* arrived, and pitched his tents on the bank of the same river, between the capital and the army of his competitors. During the three or four days which were spent without action, *Shâh Jehân* wrote several times to acquaint *Dara*, that *Soleymân Shikowh* was near at hand; and advised him to wait his coming: but that prince answered, that, before three days were
- b past, he would bring *Aureng Zib*, and *Morâd Bukhsb*, bound hand and foot, to the foot of the throne^c.

- IMMEDIATELY after this, he began to draw up his forces in order of battle. He caused *Order of* all his cannon to be placed in the front, and chained together, to shut the passage to the *battle.* cavalry. Behind the artillery he ranged light camels, carrying each a small piece, the size of a double musket, with a man behind to manage it; and behind the camels stood the greater part of the musketeers. The rest of the army (consisting of several nations, armed with bows and arrows, swords and half-pikes) were divided into three bodies. The right wing was committed to *Khalilullah Khân*, with 30,000 *Mogols*, under the great *Bakshis* (K), or master of the horse, with 30,000 *Mogols* under his command: the left wing was given to
- c *Rustam Khân Dakni*, a very renowned commander, in conjunction with the Râjahs *Skatresal* and *Ramsfeyn Rowtla*. On the other side, *Aureng Zib*, and *Morâd Bukhsb*, ranged their forces in much the same order; only in the midst of the troops of some Omras certain field-pieces were concealed, according to the method of *Amir Jemla*, and with no bad effect. There were likewise in both armies men placed here and there with *Bans*, a kind of grenado, fastened to a stick, which may be cast a great way thro' the cavalry; whose explosion terrifies the horses, and even kills sometimes. All this cavalry wheel about very easily, and draw their arrows surprisingly quick (L); one archer being able to shoot six, before a musketeer can discharge his piece twice. They likewise keep very close in troops, under their respective officers, especially when going to fight hand to hand. However, our author does not think
- d that this way of drawing up an army is to be compared with the *European* manner, when well executed.

- THE signal being given, the artillery began to play, and the arrows to fly thro' the air, *The fight* when a sudden storm of rain interrupted the combat. As soon as the tempest was over, the *begins.* cannon began to roar afresh; and then it was that *Dara* appeared: who, mounted on a proud elephant of *Seylan*, commanded the engagement to be general; and advanced himself, in the center of the cavalry, directly towards the enemy's artillery. The confederate forces gave him a very warm reception, killed a great number of men about his person, and put into disorder not only the main body, which he commanded, but also the other bodies of horse which followed him. But as he still kept his ground, without giving back, and made signs
- e with his hands for his troops to advance, the disorder soon ceased, and they began to move forward again: yet they could not reach the enemy, without receiving another volley; which caused a greater disorder than the first. However, the prince still persisting in his resolution, and encouraging his soldiers to stand the brunt, they rallied again; and pressing vigorously forward, without loss of time, forced the enemy's artillery, broke the chains, and, entering their camp, routed their camels and infantry.

- IN short, *Dara* overthrew every thing which he met with on that side, and opened a *Aureng Zib's* passage for the horse, which followed him: then it was that the enemy's cavalry facing him, *dispress.* a fierce combat began on both sides, first with arrows, and then with swords. But at length
- f *Dara* pushed his way with so much vigour, that the enemy, no longer able to withstand him, turned their backs, and fled. *Aureng Zib*, who was not far from them, seeing this great disorder in his troops, without being able to remedy it, caused the main body of his best cavalry to advance, to try if he could make head against his victorious brother: but it was not long before this body also was forced to retreat, in great confusion, in spite of all which *Aureng Zib* could say or do to hinder it. On this occasion the resolution of the prince was seen: for although he saw that almost his whole army was in a flying posture, and *Dara*, notwithstanding the roughness of the ground, seemed ready to rush in upon him, when he had scarce 1000 (M) men standing; yet, for all this, he lost no courage, but called to his

^c BERNIER, p. 95, & seqq.

(K) This post was given him in place of *Daneshmend Khân*; who not being well affected by *Dara*, because of a launch to *Shâh Jehân*, resigned. He was afterwards our author *Bernier's* Aga.

little execution; more of them being lost in the air, or broken on the ground, than hit. p. 113.

(M) Our author was told by some, that there was not half the number.

(L) However, our author says those arrows do but

captains, saying, *Courage, my old friends, God is ! What hope is there in flying ? God is !* And, a to shew he was determined not to stir from the place where he was, ordered chains to be fastened to the feet of his elephant ; which would certainly have been done, but that they all declared their resolution to live and die with him ^f.

Dara successful.

MEAN time *Dara*, tho' still at a good distance, endeavoured to advance upon *Aureng Zib*, in order to encounter him ; as the only means to assure him of the victory. But while he was retarded in his march, as well by the difficulty of the way, which was full of holes, as the resistance he met with from those disordered squadrons of the enemy's horse, which covered all the high and low grounds through which he was to pass, he perceived that his left wing was in great disorder. At the same time he was informed, that *Rustam Khân*, and *Shatresale Râjab*, were killed ; that indeed *Ramseyn Rowtlé* had forced his way thro' the enemy, but, b having advanced too far, was now hemmed in by them, and in great danger. *Dara*, on these bad tidings, changed his design of making towards his brother, that he might go succour his left wing ; and this it was which saved *Aureng Zib* from inevitable ruin.

Morâd Bukhsh's bravery.

WHEN *Dara* got up with his recoiling troops, he renewed the battle, and, at last, routed those of the enemy ; yet not so totally, but that there still remained something which resisted and stopped him. Mean time, *Ramseyn Rowtlé* pushed on so vigorously, that he wounded *Morâd Bukhsh* ; and came so near, that he began to cut the girdles of his elephant, in order to make him fall down. But the undaunted prince, all wounded as he was (N), and pressed by the Râjapûts, who were round about him, knew so well to take his time ; that although, besides defending himself, he was to cover with his shield a son scarce eight years old, sitting c by his side, yet he sent an arrow shot so luckily at *Ramseyn Rowtlé*, that it made him fall dead to the ground.

Khalil's treachery.

DARA soon heard the sad news of this accident : but as, at the same time, he understood also that *Morâd Bukhsh* was in imminent danger from the Râjapûts, who fought with fury to revenge their master's death ; he resolved to rush thro' the opposing squadrons, and put an end to the battle on that side, by overpowering with numbers the half-spent prince. But here again his bad fortune interposed, and hindered him to make sure of his victory : for *Khalilo'llab Khân*, who commanded the right wing (which was able to have defeated the whole army of *Aureng Zib*), to revenge an affront given him by *Dara* (O), not only stood idle all the while of the battle, under pretence that he had orders not to fight, excepting in the last d extremity ; but at the time when he saw *Dara* turning to fall on *Morâd Bukhsh*, with a few men, rode hastily up towards the former ; and cried out, " God save your majesty, you have " obtained a victory — Come down from your elephant, and take horse ; what remains more " to be done, than to pursue these runaways ? "

Dara overthrown.

DARA, blinded by these flattering words, as if the advice had been true and sincere, descended from his elephant, and took horse. But I know not, saith our author, whether there passed one quarter of an hour before he perceived the Khân's treachery. As soon as the army, who always had their eyes on the prince, beheld him no more on his elephant, they imagined he had been slain by some secret enemy about his person ; which surmise seized them with such a panic, that, to escape the hands of *Aureng Zib*, they all disband and fly. A e sudden and strange revolution ! *Aureng Zib*, by holding out firm for one quarter of an hour, upon his elephant, beholds the crown of *Hindûstân* upon his head ; and *Dara*, for having come down a little too soon, sees himself hurled from the throne. Thus fortune takes pleasure, adds *Bernier*, to make the gain or loss of a battle, and the decision of a great empire, depend upon nothing ^g.

by an over-sight.

AURENG ZIB, encouraged by this wonderful success, did not fail to improve it by all the art and courage which he was master of. *Khalilo'llab Khân* is presently with him, offering his service and troops. The crafty *Fakîr* receives him with joy : but, to keep up appearances, carries him to *Morâd Bukhsh*, whom, at the same time, he extols for his valour, ascribing to him all the honour of the victory ; and, styling him king, pays him the submission of a subject. f Mean while, he labours night and day for himself, writing letters continually, to gain the Omrâs ; by which means, and the interest of *Shâh Hesh Khân*, his uncle, the subtlest pen in *Hindûstân*, and an old enemy to *Dara*, for an affront received, his affairs were much advanced.

Runs to Agra.

In the interim *Dara* hastes to *Agrâ* ; and tho' *Shâh Jehân* was dissatisfied with his conduct, yet he sent an eunuch to tell him, " that he was troubled for his misfortune ; that his affairs " were not yet desperate, since there was a good army with his son *Soleymân* ; that he should go " to *Dehli*, where he should find money, horses, and elephants ; and that he knew how to " chastise *Aureng Zib*." *Dara* was then so dismayed and sunk with his misfortune, that he had not power to speak to the eunuch, or courage to depute any one to his father : but after

^f BERNIER, p. 107, & seqq.

^g Ibid. p. 117, & seqq.

(N) *Bernier* says he was shot in his body with five arrows.

(O) It is said by others, to have been given by *Shâh Jehân* himself. See before, p. 86.

a sending several times to his sister, *Begum Sabeel*, went away at midnight, taking with him his wife, daughters, and grandson, *Sepe-shekowb*, attended by no more than three or four hundred persons.

While *Dara* was on his way to *Debli*, *Aureng Zib* left nothing undone to improve the *Soleymán* advantages he had already gained. As he knew that his brother could yet place some hopes *Shekowb* in the victorious army of *Soleymán Shekowb*, he wrote letters upon letters to *Rajah Jesseyn*, and *Delil Khán*, the chief generals of that young prince, to assure them that *Dara* was quite undone; that his whole army had submitted to him; that he had sent orders every-where to seize him; that *Sháh Jehán* could never recover; in short, that if they understood their own interest, they would become his friends, and, seizing on *Soleymán Shekowb*, bring him to the camp. *Jesseyn* was much perplexed how to act on this occasion. He feared to lay hands on a royal person, which was always attended with mischief; besides, he knew that prince *Soleymán* would rather die, than suffer himself to be taken in that manner. Therefore, after consulting with *Delil Khán*, he went to the prince's tent, who had sent for him, on the news of his father's defeat; and shewing him *Aureng Zib's* letters, told him that he ought not to trust in *Delil Khán*, *Dawd Khán*, or the rest of the army; and therefore had best retire to the mountains of *Serenágher*, there to remain with the *Rajah* of that country, till he saw *how things went*. *fies also*.

The young prince, perceiving by this discourse of *Jesseyn*, that he had no more reason to trust in him than the rest, immediately departed, with a good number of *Mansebdárs*, and others, who were his friends, leaving the army in a great surprize. The *Rajah*, not content with distressing him in this manner, was so mean as to send some troops, under hand, to fall on his baggage: who besides took an elephant laden with *rupís* of gold (P), which caused many of his followers to abandon him; and this desertion induced the people of the country to attack his men, for sake of plunder. However, at length he arrived with his wife and children at *Serenágher*, whose *Rajah* (Q) received him with great honour; and promised to assist him with the utmost of his power. Let us now return to see what is doing at *Agra*^b.

THREE or four days after the battle of *Semongher*, the victorious princes advanced to a little garden near the gate of the capital, a small league from the fortress; whither *Aureng Zib's* *Zib* sent an eunuch to salute the *Sháh Jehán*, with protestations of affection and submission. He likewise expressed sorrow for what had passed; but laid all the blame on the ambition, and evil designs, of *Dara*. *Sháh Jehán*, no less a dissembler than his son, whose secret passion for reigning was known to him, yet declared to the eunuch, "that he was well satisfied with *Aureng Zib's* proceedings, and pleased at his success." But, instead of causing himself to be carried thro' the town, and assembling all his *Omrás*, which might still have been done, he goes about to outwit *Aureng Zib*, who was his master in craft; and attempting to draw him into a snare, is taken himself. With this view he sent an eunuch also to this son, to let him know "that he was sensible of the ill conduct, and incapacity, of *Dara*; that he passionately wished to embrace him, *Aureng Zib*, for whom he had always a particular affection; and therefore desired he would come and see him, to advise what was proper to be done at the present juncture."

AURENG ZIB knew very well that his father was not to be trusted on this occasion; especially as *Begum Sabeel*, his enemy, as well as sister, was continually about him: and it was reported, that several of those lusty *Tartarian* women, who serve in the harám, were armed, to set upon him as soon as he should enter. But altho' he was resolved not to hazard a visit to *Sháh Jehán*, yet he spread a rumour that he intended to go see him the next day. Instead of performing his promise, which he put off from time to time, he made it his business to sound the chief *Omrás*; which he did to so good purpose, that at length, having concerted the proper measures, he sent *Soltán Mahmúd*, his eldest son, to the fortress, under pretence of waiting on *Sháh Jehán*, in his name: but that daring prince was no sooner entered, than he fell upon the guards at the gate; whilst a great number of men, who were ready at hand, rushed in with fury, and made themselves masters of the wall.

SHAH Jehán, astonished to find himself fallen into the trap, which he had prepared for his son, sent to *Soltán Mahmúd*, promising, on the *Korán*, to make him king, in case he would serve him on that occasion. And certainly, if *Mahmúd* had laid hold of the offer, and *Sháh Jehán* taken the field, nobody doubted that all his great *Omrás* would have followed him; and that *Aureng Zib*, if he had dared to fight against his father, would have been abandoned

^b BERNIER, *ibid.* p. 139, & seqq.

(P) According to *Tavernier*, *Soleymán* went with the *Rajah Rozeep* into the territories of this latter, to levy me, carrying with him five millions of *rupís* (or 625,000 *l.*), which the *Rajah* seized; and then the

prince fled to the kingdom of *Serenágher*. *Rajah Rozeep* seems to be *Jesseyn*.

(Q) *Tavernier* calls him *Nakti Ráwa*.

by all the world; nay, possibly, by *Morâd Bukhsh* himself (R). However that be, *Shâh Mahmûd*, whether fearing to be detained, or to play tricks with his father, would never hearken to any thing, nor enter into the apartment of *Shâh Jehân*; answering, “that he had
“no orders to wait on him: but was commanded to bring his father the keys of all the
“gates of the fortrefs; that so he might with safety come and kiss his majesty’s feet.”

in the palace;

SHAH Jehân was near two days before he could resolve to deliver up the keys: but finding that all his people, who were upon guard at the little gate, disbanded by degrees, and that all his power was gone, he surrendered them (S); with an order to tell *Aureng Zib*, “that
“he should come forthwith, if he was wise, for that he had most important matters to say
“to him.” But *Aureng Zib* was too cunning to commit so gross a mistake: instead of that, he made his eunuch, *Eibar Khân*, governor of the fortrefs; who presently shut up *Shâh Jehân*, together with *Begum Sübeeb*, and all his women; causing divers gates to be walled up, so that the emperor might not be able either to write, or speak, to any-body, without permission.

under pretence

MEAN time, *Aureng Zib* wrote to his father a short letter, which he shewed to every-body before he sealed it. Wherein he told him, “that, for all the great protestations of
“affection, which he had made to him, and contempt expressed for *Dara*, yet he knew,
“from good hands, that he had sent him two elephants, laden with rupees of gold, to renew
“the war; that therefore, in reality, it was not he, but *Dara*, who had imprisoned him,
“and was the cause of all his misfortunes; that if it had not been for *Dara*, he would have
“waited on him the first day of his arrival, and paid him all the dutiful respect which he
“could have looked for from a son; that for the rest, he begged pardon for what had happened,
“and desired his majesty would have a little patience; promising that as soon as he had
“disabled *Dara* from executing his evil designs, he would come himself, and open the
“gates to him.”

of assisting
Dara.

CONCERNING the supply of money mentioned in the letter, our author had been told by some, that *Shâh Jehân* sent it to *Dara*, the same night on which he left *Agra*; that it was discovered to *Aureng Zib* by his sister, *Rawshnara* (or *Râshn ray*) *Begum*, who had also imparted him the plot for setting on him with the *Tartarian* women; and that this prince had intercepted some letters of *Shâh Jehân* to *Dara*. On the contrary, others affirmed there was no such thing; and that the letter was contrived only, in some measure, to justify
his proceedings against his father. However that was, as soon as *Shâh Jehân* was shut up, almost all the *Omrâs* were in a manner necessitated to go and make their court to the two confederate princes. ’Tis certain, not one of them had the courage or gratitude to make the least attempt in behalf of their king, who had raised them from the dust, and even slavery itself, to advance them to riches and honour: excepting some few, as *Danishmend Khân*, and others, who joined with neither side, all the rest declared for *Aureng Zib*. Necessity, as we have said, drove them to this: for they having no lands to subsist on themselves, but only pensions, which the *Great Mogol* can take away at pleasure; so that they may be ruined in an instant, without having credit to borrow one farthing.

The Omras
join him.

Resolves to
seize

AURENG ZIB having thus made himself sure of *Shâh Jehân*, and all the *Omrâs*, took what sums of money he thought fit out of the treasury: then leaving his uncle, *Shâh Heft Khân*, to govern the city in his absence, he went away, with *Morâd Bukhsh*, to pursue *Dara*. The day on which the army was to march out of *Agra*, the friends of this last prince, especially his eunuch, *Shâib Abbâs*, who knew that excessive cringing is usually a sign of imposture, counselled him, that since he was acknowledged as king by every body, and even *Aureng Zib* himself, he should let his brother go in pursuit of *Dara*, and stay with his troops about *Agra* and *Dehli*. If he had followed this advice, ’tis certain he must have greatly embarrassed *Aureng Zib* (if not intirely frustrated his designs); but confiding entirely in his fair promises, backed by oaths on the *Korân*, he never would suffer the least suspicion to enter his breast.

Morâd
Bukhsh

WHEN they arrived at *Matûra*, three or four days journey from *Agra*, *Morâd*’s friends endeavoured again to persuade him to be on his guard; assuring him, that some mischief was upon the anvil; that they had notice of it from several quarters; and desired that he would forbear going to visit his brother, only for that one day. But the prince was deaf to all precautions (T)! and, as if urged, rather than dissuaded, by the advice of his friends,

¹ BERNIER, p. 140, & seqq.

(R) Perhaps this is carrying the supposition a good deal too far; since *Shâh Jehân*, for many years, waged war against his father; and even fought to meet him with his forces.

(S) *Tavernier* says, being at first enraged, he attempted to escape, and killed some of the guards, who opposed him; but not one of his servants offered to help him.

(T) According to *Tavernier*, *Morâd Bukhsh*, perceiving his error in trusting his brother too much, sent to him for half of the treasure which he had seized, that he might retire to *Guzerât*: but was still deluded by fair promises; and went, at his invitation, to the entertainment, although he believed it would be the last day of his life.

a went that very night to see *Aureng Zib*, and even stayed to sup with him. As soon as he was come, his brother, who expected him, and had already laid the plot with *Mir Khân*, and three or four more of his most intimate commanders, was profuse of his compliments and submissive behaviour, so far as gently to wipe the sweat and dust off his face with a handkerchief.

MEAN time the table is served: they sup, and then, as usual, fall into conversation. At length there is brought a huge bottle of *Shirâz* wine (U), with some of *Kâbul*, for a debauch. At the sight of which, *Aureng Zib*, who affected to appear very regular and exact in observing the law of *Mohammed*, riseth from table; and having respectfully intreated his brother to be merry with the officers present, withdrew, as if to repose himself a little. *Morâd Bukhsh*, who loved a glass of wine very well, plied it so heartily, that at length he grew drunk, and fell asleep. As this was the thing which they all looked for, some of his servants, who were in waiting, were ordered to withdraw, under pretence of letting their master take his rest without noise. When they were gone, his sabre and poniard were taken from him; after which, it was not long before *Aureng Zib* came himself, and awaked him, by hitting him roughly with his foot^k.

WHEN the prince began to open his eyes a little, his treacherous brother throws off the mask, with this surprising reprimand: "What means all this," saith he; "what a shameful and odious thing it is, that a king, as you are, should have so little share of discretion, as thus to make himself drunk! what will the world say both of you and me? Take this infamous man, this drunkard," continued the hypocrite, "tie him hand and foot, and throw him into that room, there to sleep out his wine." This order was no sooner given, than it was executed: for five or six persons immediately seized him, and without regarding his complaints and outcries, fettered his hands and feet. However, this affair could not be managed so secretly, but that some of his people, who were about the palace, came to have tidings of it; and, making a tumult, would have entered forcibly, had not *Allab Kûli*, one of his chief officers, and master of his artillery, who had been gained before-hand, threatened, and made them draw back.

WITHOUT delay, emissaries were sent through the whole army, to calm this first commotion; which otherwise might have proved dangerous. These men made the soldiery believe, that what had happened was nothing like what had been reported: that the whole matter was, *Morâd Bukhsh* had gotten very drunk; and having in that condition railed at every body, and even *Aureng Zib* himself, it was thought necessary, for fear he should do any mischief, to keep him apart: but that the next day they should see him abroad, after he had slept off the fumes of the wine." Mean time the presents walked about all night among the chief officers of the army: their pay was immediately augmented; and they had great promises made them. In short, as there was scarce any one who had not for a long time before expected some such event, it was no great wonder to find almost every thing quiet the next morning: so that the night following, this poor unhappy prince was shut-up in a little close house, such as used to be placed on the back of elephants to carry women in; and, without any stir or noise, conducted to *Selimajor*, a little old fortress at *Debli*, situated in the middle of the river.

AFTER all had been thus pacified, excepting the eunuch *Shâh Abbâs*, who gave a good deal of trouble, *Aureng Zib* received the whole army of his brother into his service, and went after *Dara*; who marched apace towards *Labûr*, with an intent to fortify himself in that city, and draw thither all his friends. But *Aureng Zib* followed him so briskly, that he was forced to retreat from thence to *Multân*; which he also abandoned for the same reason. His indefatigable enemy pursued him, though in the great heats, with so much eagerness, that he often advanced almost alone two or three leagues before his army, drank bad water, and slept under a tree, with his head resting on his shield, like a common soldier. It is thought, that if *Dara*, at his departure from *Labûr*, had cast himself into the kingdom of *Kâbul*, as he was advised, he would there have found above 10,000 warriors, designed for a guard against the *Aughâns* (or *Afghâns*), the *Persians*, and the *Uzbeks*; and that the governor *Mohabet Khân*, one of the most potent Omrâs, as well as the most antient, in all *Hindûstân*, who never had been a friend to *Aureng Zib*, would probably have embraced his party with all that militia. Besides, being then, as it were, at the gate of *Persia*, and the country of the *Uzbeks*, he might have drawn assistance from both those regions, as *Hamayûn* had formerly done. But *Dara*, instead of following that good advice, went towards *Sindi*, and entered the fortress of *Tâtta Bâker*, that strong and famous place seated in the midst of the *Indus*.

^k BERNIER, p. 153, & seqq.

(U) *Shirâz*, capital or *Pârs*, or proper *Persia*, famous for excellent wine, of great strength.

returns to
Agra:

AURENG ZIB, glad to find that his brother had taken this route, rather than that of *Kibul*,^a was content to send after him 7 or 8000 men under *Mir Bâba*, his foster-brother, and turn back himself for *Agra*: as well for fear lest, in his absence, some of the Râjahs should attempt to free *Shâh Jebân* from his confinement, as that *Soleymân Shekowb*, or *Soltân Sujâb*, should approach too near that capital.

great escape,

and resolution.

IN his way to *Labûr* he had a great escape: for being, according to custom, advanced some miles before his army, of a sudden, he beheld the Râjah *Jessyn* coming against him, accompanied with 4 or 5000 of his Râjapûts; and, knowing him to be zealous for *Shâh Jebân*'s interest, was sufficiently surprised, as he now had it in his power to strike a master stroke, and, by seizing the rebel son, draw the father out of prison. Nor is it known whether this Râjah had not some such design; for he had marched with such extraordinary speed, that *Aureng Zib* thought him still at *Debli*. But what may not resolution and presence of mind effect? The prince, without any alteration in his countenance, marches directly towards the Râjah; and, as far off as he could see him, makes signs with his hands for him to approach; and calls to him aloud, flattering him with the title of *Râjah-ji* and *Bâba-ji*, Lord Râjah and Lord Father. When *Jessyn* was come to him; "I expected you," said he, "with great impatience: the work is done: *Dara* is lost: he is all alone. I have sent *Mir Bâba* after him, from whom he cannot escape." Then, taking off his necklace of pearls, he put it about the neck of the Râjah; and, the sooner to get rid of him handsomely (for he wished him far enough); "Go," said he, "with all the expedition you can to *Labûr*, and wait till I come: for my army is somewhat tired; and I fear that otherwise something sinister may happen there. I make you governor of the place, and put all things into your hands. For the rest, I am extremely obliged to you for what you have done with *Soleymân Shekowb*.—Where have you left *Delil Khân*? I shall find my revenge of him—Make all possible dispatch—*Salâmed Bâshed*. Farewell¹."

Dara in Gu-
zerât.

DARA, being arrived at *Tûtta Bâkar*, strengthened the place with a good garrison of *Pûtans* and *Sayeds*. He had for cannoners several *Franghis*, as *Portugueses*, *English*, *French*, and *Germans*, who had followed him on the great promises he had given them, in case his affairs prospered. He staid there only two or three days: then, leaving a dexterous eunuch governor, with the greater part of his treasure, which he had still plenty of, he marched away with 2 or 3000 men only, descending the *Indus* towards *Sindi*: from whence, crossing the territories of the Râjah of *Kâche* (X), he arrived at *Abmed abâd*, capital of *Guzerât*. The governor *Shâh Navâz Khân*, father-in-law to *Aureng Zib*, whether surprised, or for want of courage, though he had a strong garrison, instead of opposing *Dara*, thought best to surrender, and received him honourably. In short, he managed him afterwards with so much dexterity, that this indiscrete prince trusted himself to his power, and communicated to him his designs. He even shewed *Shâh Navâz* the letters which he received from *Jessom Seyn*, and other friends, who were preparing to come to him: although every body told him, and his correspondents warned him by letters, that his competitor's father-in-law would betray him.

Aureng Zib
marches

to Kajowh,

HOWEVER, *Aureng Zib* was greatly surprised when he heard that *Dara* was in *Abmed abâd*,^e where he knew the discontented party, which was very numerous, would resort to him, as well as his friends. On the other hand, he saw it was not safe for him to follow his brother into the countries of *Jessyn*, *Jessom Seyn*, and other Râjahs; lest, by removing too far from *Agra* and *Shâh Jebân*, *Soltân Sujâb*, who had already passed the *Ganges* at *Elabâs*, with a strong army, should advance on that side; or, at least, *Soleymân Shekowb* should descend from the hills with the Râjah of *Serenâgher*. In this perplexity he at length concluded it best to leave *Dara* for a time, and march against his brother *Sujâb*. This Soltân was come to encamp at a village called *Kajowh* (Y), on the side of a great talab, or reservoir of water; and *Aureng Zib* posted himself by a small torrent, a mile and a half short of him. Being impatient to end this war, he, at break of day, went and attacked *Sujâb* with an effort scarce to be imagined. *Amîr Femla* likewise, who arrived on the day of battle from *Dekân*, fearing *Dara* no longer, because his family was more in safety, did on this occasion also employ all his vigour, courage and dexterity. But, as Soltân *Sujâb* was very well fortified in his post, and had a fine train of artillery, advantageously placed, it was not possible for *Aureng Zib* to force his camp, and drive him from those waters: on the contrary, he was repulsed himself several times, which threw him into great perplexity.

against Soltân
Sujâb:

SOLTÂN *Sujâb*, in defending himself only in his post, without coming out into the plain, acted very prudently: for he knew that *Aureng Zib* could not stay long where he then was; and that the hot season would oblige him to turn back to the torrent, for the conveniency of

¹ BERNIER, p. 160, & seqq.

(X) Tavernier calls him the Râjah of *Kack-nagara*. *Kuchnaggen*, as *Hamilton* names it, is a province and town in *Guzerât*, towards the *Indus*.

(Y) According to *Frazer*, the battle of *Kajong*, near *Agra*, was against *Dara*; who, after his defeat, fled towards *Labûr*.

a water; in which case he resolved to fall upon his rear. *Aureng Zib* also foresaw the same thing; and that was what made him so pressing in the affair. But behold a more troublesome accident happened: for, at this very juncture, he received advice that *Rajah Jessom Seyn*, who in appearance was in his interest, had fallen upon his rear, and plundered his baggage, with the treasure which was left behind at the torrent. This news astonished him much; and the more when he saw that it had thrown his army into disorder. Yet he loses not his judgment for all this: and being aware, that to turn back was to hazard all, he resolves, as in the battle with *Dara*, to bear up the best he could, and at all events stand his ground^m.

MEAN time the disorder increased among his troops; which *Sujáb* observing, presseth him vigorously. He who led *Aureng Zib's* elephant being killed with an arrow, he guides the animal himself, as well as he can, till another could be found to supply the leader's place. Arrows rain upon him; and he returns many himself; but at length his elephant begins to be frightened, and to go back. Behold him now in great extremity, and brought to such a desperate pass, that one foot is out of the seat, as if he went to cast himself to the ground. And no man knows, what in that distress he might not have done, if *Amir Jemla*, who was not far off, and, like a great man as he was, doing actions beyond imagination, had not called to him, with his hand raised up, *Dekán kow? Dekán kow? Where is Dekán? Where is Dekán (Z)?* This seems to have been the greatest extremity to which *Aureng Zib* could well be reduced. It now seemed as if fortune had quite abandoned him, and that there was no possibility for him to escape. But his good luck is still superior to all difficulties: Soltán *Sujáb* must be routed; and *Aureng Zib* be king of *Hindistán*.

For one of Soltán *Sujáb's* chief captains, named *Allah Verbi Khán*, seeing the whole army of *Aureng Zib* in confusion, runs towards the Soltán, and begs that he would stay no longer in so great danger upon his elephant; saying, in the words of *Khallilo'llah Khán* to *Dara*, on the same occasion. "Come down, in the name of God; mount on horseback: God has made you sovereign of the *Indies*: let us pursue those runaways: let not *Aureng Zib* escape us!" Some said this officer had been gained: others, that it was not through treachery, but mere flattery, that he acted. However that be, Soltán *Sujáb*, not more considerate than *Dara*, commits the same fault; and, like him, suffers by it. For he was no sooner come down from his elephant, than his army, not seeing him, was struck with terror, believing some treason had been acted, and that he was either taken or slain. Hereupon they disbanded, without more ado; and the defeat was so great, that the Soltán had difficulty enough to save himself.

JESSOM SEYN, on this unexpected turn of fortune, perceiving it not safe for him to tarry there, marched off with all diligence, with the spoil he had gotten, to *Agra*, thence to pass on to his own country. Mean time news had reached the capital, that *Aureng Zib* had not only lost the battle, but that Soltán *Sujáb* was bringing both him and *Amir Jemla* prisoners to the city. So that *Sháh Hesh Khán*, the governor, and uncle to *Aureng Zib*, seeing *Jessom Seyn*, whose treachery he had heard of, at the gates, and despairing of his life, laid hold of a cup of poison, and had actually drank it, if his women had not hindered him. In short, the certainty of this defeat was so firmly believed for two whole days, that if *Jessom Seyn* had laid hold of the opportunity, and acted vigorously, he might have delivered *Sháh Jehán* out of prison. Instead of that, he thought of nothing but to get off himself, with all the speed he could: yet *Aureng Zib* was so much afraid he would attempt something in his father's behalf, that, after a short pursuit of the vanquished army, he turned back with all his forces for *Agra*; where he staid a good while to settle his affairs.

In the interim he received intelligence, that Soltán *Sujáb*, who had lost but few men in the late route, for want of further pursuit, had raised great forces in the lands of the *Rajahs*, on both sides of the *Ganges*, on the credit of his being rich, as well as very liberal; and had fortified himself in *Elabás*, that important passage of the river, which with its fortrefs is the first entrance into *Bengál*. On this occasion he meditated with himself what he had to do. He considered that he had about him two persons, Soltán *Mahmúd*, his eldest son, and *Amir Jemla*; both very capable indeed to serve him, but therefore liable to grow too assuming, as he found the first already began to be, for having seized on the fortrefs of *Agra*: and he had no reason to expect otherwise of the *Amir*; who, besides the merit of his great services, courage, and riches, passed for the first mover of affairs, and the ablest man in all the *Indies*, as well in civil as military matters. These things would certainly have perplexed an ordinary genius, but *Aureng Zib* found a way to get rid of them in so handsome a manner, that neither of them found any cause to complainⁿ.

^m BERNIER Mem. Emp. Mog. part i. p. 170, & seqq.

ⁿ BERNIER, ibid. 178, & seqq.

(Z) This seems to have been a word among the forces, who had been with *Aureng Zib* in *Dekan*, on occasion of some exploit or exploits done in that country.

Amîr Jemla

THE course he took was to send them both against Soltân *Sujâb*, with a puissant army; letting the *Amîr* know, that, as an earnest of his acknowledgements, he conferred the government of *Bengâl* on him, and his son, for their lives: and that, as soon as he should defeat his brother *Sujâb*, he would make him Mîro'l Omrâ, or prince of the Omrâs; which is the most honourable place in all *Hindûstân*. To Soltân *Mahmûd*, his son, he only said these few words: "Remember that thou art the eldest of my children; that it is for thyself thou goest forth to fight: and that thou hast done much, but yet nothing, if thou overcomest not *Sujâb*, who is our greatest and most powerful enemy." In this manner he dismissed them both, with rich vests, horses, and elephants, gallantly harnessed, after he had obliged them to leave, as pledges of their fidelity, *Mohammed Amîr Khân*, only son of *Amîr Jemla*, under pretence of education; and Soltân *Mahmûd*'s wife, daughter to the king of *Golkondâ*, on a suggestion that her following the camp would be very inconvenient.

advances
against him

SOLTÂN *Sujâb*, who always feared that the Râjahs of the *Lower Bengâl*, whom he had ill treated, would be raised against him, and dreaded nothing more than to have to do with *Amîr Jemla*, no sooner heard of his march, than, apprehending that the passage to *Bengâl* would be obstructed, he raised his camp at *Elabâs*, and went down the *Ganges* to *Benâres* and *Patna*. From thence he proceeded to *Mojer*, a small town, seated on that river, and commonly called the key of *Bengâl*; being a kind of streight between the mountains and the woods. There he fortified himself, causing a trench (A) from the river to the mountains, there to attend *Amîr Jemla*, and dispute the passage with him. But he was strangely surprised when he was informed, that the troops which slowly descended along the *Ganges*, were only to amuse him: for that the *Amîr* himself and Soltân *Mahmûd* were advancing apace through the mountains, whose Râjahs they had gained, with all the flower of the army, towards *Râjab Mâbl*, in order to intercept him.

to Râjah
Mahl.

ON this advice *Sujâb* quitted his fortifications at *Mojer*, and made such haste, that, altho' he was obliged to follow the windings which the river makes to the left, he arrived at *Râjab Mâbl*, and had time to fortify himself there also, before the *Amîr* arrived: because the latter, having heard this news, quitted his former route, and bent his course towards the left hand and the *Ganges*, there to wait for his troops, which were marching, with the body of the artillery and the baggage, along the river. As soon as they were come, he proceeded to attack Soltân *Sujâb*; who defended himself very well for five or six days: but observing that the *Amîr*'s cannon, which played incessantly, ruined all his works, made only of sandy earth and faggots; finding likewise, that without them he could make no great resistance in that place, and that the rainy season was begun; he retired by favour of the night, leaving behind two large pieces of cannon. As *Amîr Jemla* put off the pursuit till next morning, for fear of some ambush in the dark, very luckily for *Sujâb*, at day-break, there began to fall rain, which continued for more than three days: so that *Jemla* found himself not only hindered from pursuing the enemy, but obliged to continue at *Râjab Mâbl* all winter; the excessive rains in that country rendering the roads so troublesome in *July*, *August*, *September*, and *October*, that the armies cannot possibly march °.

Soltân Mah-
mûd revolts.

BY this means Soltân *Sujâb* gained time not only to retire to whatever place he thought fit, and fortify himself, but likewise to procure out of the *Lower Bengâl* a good many pieces of artillery, as well as some companies of *Portugueses*, who had retired thither (B) on account of the plenty of provisions: for he courted the missionaries who were in that province, promising to build churches for, and enrich them, all. Mean time Soltân *Mahmûd*, for the reasons above-mentioned, grew very imperious; and not only pretended to an absolute command of the army, requiring *Amîr Jemla* to follow his orders, but, from time to time, also let fall insolent expressions with reference to his father, as if he was obliged to him for the crown. He likewise threw out words of contempt and even threats against the *Amîr*, which caused a great coldness between them: till at length *Mahmûd*, understanding that his father was much dissatisfied with his conduct, and fearing *Amîr Jemla* had orders to seize his person, he went away, accompanied with a very small number of followers, to Soltân *Sujâb*; to whom he made great promises, and swore fidelity.

Soltân Gwa-
liâr.

FOR all this, his uncle *Sujâb*, who feared the snares of *Aureng Zîb* and *Amîr Jemla*, could not trust him; but always had an eye upon his actions, and never gave him any considerable command: which so disgusted the prince, that, some months after, he left Soltân *Sujâb*, and returned to the *Amîr*; who received him well enough, assuring him, that he would write in his behalf to *Aureng Zîb*, and do his utmost to heal the breach. Our author had it from many hands, that the escape of Soltân *Mahmûd* was an artifice of *Aureng Zîb*, who did not matter hazarding his son, to try to destroy his brother *Sujâb*; and besides, was pleased to think, that

° BERNIER, *ibid.* p. 187, & seqq.(A) *Fernier* saw this trench in his passage that way some years after.(B) There were then 8 or 9000 families of them, either native *Portugueses* or *Mestizes*.

whatever

a whatever was the event, he should have a specious pretence to imprison him. However that be, he afterwards shewed himself much dissatisfied with *Mahmūd*; and wrote him a severe letter, in which he enjoined him to return to *Dehli*, but at the same time took care that he should not come so far: for he had no sooner crossed the *Ganges*, than he met with troops, which stopped him; and, putting him into a small chair (as *Morād Bukhsh* had been served) carried him to *Gualiyār*; where at length he died in his confinement.

AURENG ZIB having by this means freed himself from no small perplexity, at the same time let his second son *Soltān Mauzm* know, that “the affair of reigning was so delicate a ^{*Soltān Mauzm warned.*} thing, that kings ought to be jealous even of their own shadows:” adding, “that if he did not behave discretely, the like disaster might happen to him, as had befallen his elder brother: in short, that he ought to think *Aureng Zib* was not a man who would suffer the same injury to be done to him which *Shāh Jēbān* did to his father *Jēbān Gbīr*; and which he had lately seen done also to *Shāh Jēbān*.” This warning *Aureng Zib* thought proper to give, though there seemed to have been no occasion for it; since, as our author observes, no slave could be more tractable than *Soltān Mauzm*: neither did *Aureng Zib* himself ever appear more careless of greatness, or more given to devotion, than he. However, he adds, that many thought he only dissembled his ambition, as his father had done before him ^{F.}

HERE we think proper to close the reign of *Shāh Jēbān*; during whose time the empire ^{*State of the empire.*} flourished exceedingly, comprehending no fewer than twenty-three provinces; five of which, *Bālkh*, *Kandabār*, *Bidlukhshān*, *Tellengana*, and *Baghina*, were added by him. The revenues arising from them all amounted to 27,500,000 pounds; and the number of his forces, as paid out of those revenues, was, in 1647, full 911,400, horse and foot ¹.

THE kings of *India*, by an antient and barbarous custom, are heirs of the effects belonging to those who die in their service. On this occasion two things happened in *Shāh Jēbān*'s ^{*Remarkable passage.*} reign worth relating. The first is of *Neyknām Khān*, one of the most antient Omrās of the court, who had, in the space of forty or fifty years service in considerable offices, amassed great store of wealth. When this lord found himself near death, reflecting on that unreasonable custom, which often reduces both the widow and her children to beggary, he secretly distributed all his treasures among indigent knights and poor widows. After this he filled his trunks with old shoes, rags, bones, and other rubbish; then locked and sealed them, telling every body that they were goods belonging to the king. Upon his death, the trunks were brought before *Shāh Jēbān*, when he was in the assembly; and, by his command, opened before all the Omrās: but when he saw what was in them, he was so provoked, that he rose in great fury and went away.

THE second passage is this. The son of a rich *Baniyān*, or *Hindū* merchant, who died in the king's service, being very extravagant, and his mother refusing to supply him with money, he, by the persuasion of others, complained to *Shāh Jēbān*; and was so silly as to discover the value of his father's effects, amounting to 200,000 rupīs (or 25000 pounds). The king, who coveted this treasure, sent for the widow, and commanded her in the open assembly to send him 100,000 rupīs, and let her son have 50,000; giving orders at the same time to put her away. The old woman, though no less surprised at this command, than vexed to be so hastily thrust out without liberty of speaking, yet lost not her judgment; but with a loud voice, declared, that she had something of moment to impart to the king. Hereupon, being brought in again, she said; “God save your majesty! I am sensible that my son has some right to demand of me the goods of his father, as being of the same flesh and blood with us, and therefore our heir; but I would gladly know, in what manner your majesty stands related to my deceased husband, so as to intitle you to his effects.” *Shāh Jēbān*, who could not forbear laughing at this home piece of raillery, ordered her to be dismissed, without demanding any thing from her ².

SHAH *Jēbān* had by two of his wives seven sons and five daughters: all of whom, excepting ^{*Shāh Jēbān's children.*} one of the females, were by the empress *Mehd Alia*, daughter of *Asof Khān*; whose first name was *Ardumond Bānu Begum*, or the noble princess.

HUR *al nissa Begum*, or the most angelic of women; born in 1612. She died before her father was deposed.

JEHAN *Ara Begum*, or the princess ornament of the world; born in 1614.

SOLTAN *Dara Shikowh* (C), or the Soltān in pomp like *Darius*; born in 1615.

SOLTAN *Sujab* (D), or the valiant Soltān; born 1617.

ROYSHN *Ray Begum*, the princess of an enlightened mind; born 1617.

¹ BERNIER, *ibid.* p. 193—199. ² FRASER'S *Hist.* *Nadir Shāh*, p. 26; ³ BERNIER, *ubi* *supr.* part ii. p. 93.

(C) He had two sons, *Soleymān Shikowh*, august, or in pomp like, and *Soleymān Sepch Shikowh*, of military pomp, like *Soleymān*.

(D) This prince had two sons; *Zeyno'ddin Moham-med*, the ornament of religion; and *Bullind Akhter*, of high stars, or great fortune.

SOLTAN *Aureng Zib* (E), or *the ornament of the throne*; born 1618. a

SOLTAN *Amyâd Bukhsb*, or *the giver of hopes*; born 1620; died before the revolution.

SURIA *Bânu Begum*, *the shining princess*; born 1622; died before the revolution.

SOLTAN *Morâd Bukhsb* (F), *the giver desires, or wishes*; born 1624.

SOLTAN *Lowtf-allah*, *the favour of God*; born 1627; died before his father's deposition.

SOLTAN *Dowlet Afza*, *increase of fortune*; born 1628; died before the revolution.

By a daughter of *Mazuffer Hossayn Mirza*, grandson to *Shâh Ismael*, king of *Persia*, *Shâh Jebân* had a daughter, named *Parbiz Bânu Begum*, or *the abstinent princess*; born in 1611. She died young².

² FRASER, ubi supr. p. 26, & seqq.

(E) *Aureng Zib*'s sons will be mentioned at the end of his reign.

(F) *Morâd Bukhsb* had one son, *Jezd*, or *Yezd Bukhsb*; that is, *God's gift*.

C H A P. VIII.

The reign of Mohio'ddîn Aureng Zib, sixth emperor.

S E C T. I.

From his advancement to the end of the civil wars.

6. *Khân*
Aureng Zib
acts as king.
A. D. 1658.

Dara deserted
at Ajmir;

defeated, and
fles.

WHILE matters were transacted in *Bengâl*, as before related, *Aureng Zib* kept moving a to and fro about *Agra*. At length, having sent *Morâd Bukhsb* also to *Gwaliyâr*, he went to *Dehli*, and there assumed the regal power (A), giving orders in all affairs relating to the state. But his thoughts were chiefly employed on contriving how to lay hold of *Dara*, and get him out of *Guzerât*; which at length his good fortune effected. *Jessom seyn* having, as hath been said, retired to his own country, and made the best of what he had taken in the battle of *Kajowb*, raised a strong army, wrote to *Dara* to haste to *Agra* as soon as he could, and promised to join him with his forces. *Dara*, who had also by this time set on foot a considerable number of troops, though for the most part new-raised ones, leaves *Abmed abâd*, and marches with great speed to *Azmîr*, seven or eight days journey from *Agra*; in hopes many of his old friends would not fail to come in to him, when they saw him approaching the b capital, in conjunction with that *Râjah*. But *Jessom seyn* having in the interim been dissuaded from his purpose by *Jessayn*, who, in his letters, after laying before him the inconveniencies and dangers which were likely to attend his enterprize, told him; that if he would leave *Dara* to himself, *Aureng Zib* would bestow on him the government of *Guzerât*; which, being near his own lands, made him perfectly secure against any surprize. In short, this *Râjah* acted his part so well, that *Jessom seyn* returned home, whilst *Aureng Zib* approached with his whole army to *Azmîr*, and encamped in sight of *Dara*'s troops.

THIS unhappy prince, thus abandoned and frustrated of his hopes, considers, that it was impossible to return back safe to *Abmed abâd*, which was a march of five-and-thirty days, through the lands of *Râjahs*, friends of the two before-mentioned, and in the height of summer, c when water would fail him, he resolved to give battle at all risks; though the match was very unequal, and *Shâb Navaz Khân*, who was along with him, betrayed all his secrets to his competitor. The fight began between nine and ten in the morning, in which *Dara*'s artillery were loud enough, but, it was said, carried nothing but powder. It is needless to recite the particulars of this battle, which was rather a rout than an engagement: for the attack was scarcely begun, when *Jessayn* appeared near *Dara*, and sent him word to fly instantly, unless he had a mind to be taken: so that the prince, quite surprized, was forced to run away with such precipitation, that he had not time to put up his baggage, or get off with more than his wife and family. Nor could he possibly have escaped, if that *Râjah* had endeavoured to prevent him: but he always preserved a respect to the royal family; or rather he was too d politic to venture laying hands on a prince of the blood²,

² BERNIER's Mem. emp. Mogol, part i. p. 200, & seqq.

(A) According to *Frazer*, p. 30, presently after the battle of *Kajowb*, *Aureng Zib* entered the castle of *Agra*; and, on the 20th of July 1658, sat on the throne, and was proclaimed emperor, in the town of *Eazabâd* (or *Azabâd*), two measured kos and half from *Dehli*; having first confined his brother *Morâd Bukhsb*, no:-

withstanding he had sworn by the *Korân* to be true to him. After this he sent his father from *Dehli*, to be confined at *Agra*, 44 kos distant. However, his reign does not commence till a year after, as will be observed in its place.

- a WE must not omit, that *Shâh Navaz Khân* was punished for his perfidy, being killed *Shâh Navaz* in the fight: some say by *Dara* himself; others, more probably, by some of *Aureng Zib's* ^{Khân's} army, for fear he should discover the letters which they had written to that prince. However that be, the unhappy *Dara* was forced, in the hottest time of summer, accompanied only by 2000 men, and without tents, to cross those countries of the *Râjahs*, extending almost from *Azmîr* to *Abmed abâd*. In his march he was harassed by the *Kowlis*, who are the country people, and the greatest robbers. These followed him night and day, rifling and killing his soldiers: so that if any man staid but 200 paces behind the rest, he was stripped naked, and murdered on the least resistance. For all this *Dara* made shift to get near *Abmed abâd*: but when he expected to enter, the governor, whom he had left in the castle, having
b been wrought on by letters from *Aureng Zib*, denied him entrance.

- THREE days before this, our author *Bernier* met the unhappy prince; who, having no physician with him, obliged him to follow in his train, and one night did him the favour to make him come into the *Karavân Serrak*, where he was, for fear the *Kowlis* should murder him. When the ladies heard the answer of the governor of *Abmed abâd*, they broke out into lamentations enough to pierce the hardest heart. All was in the utmost confusion. Soon after *Dara* came forth, half dead; now speaking to one, then to another, even of the meanest soldiers; whom he found all astonished, and ready to abandon him. He was obliged to march away that instant, departing with tears in his eyes, accompanied by 500 horse at most, and two elephants, said to be laden with money. As he had not authority enough to
c procure the author any beast of carriage, he was obliged to leave his physician behind.

- AFTER innumerable hardships, in passing the deserts, and the loss of most of those who followed him, besides several of his women, he reached the *Râjah* of *Kacheb*; who at first received very kindly, and promised to assist him with all his forces, provided he would give his daughter in marriage to his son: but *Jesselyn* having soon brought off this *Râjah* also, *Dara*, apprehending his person in danger, sets out from thence for *Tâtta Bakar*. Mean time the war continued in *Bengâl*: which being under the conduct of an experienced general, and at a great distance, did not disquiet *Aureng Zib* so much as the neighbourhood of *Soleymân Shekowb*; who continually alarmed him with rumours, as if he was coming down with the *Râjah* from the mountains, which are no more than eight days journey from *Agra*. To
d draw this thorn out of his foot, *Aureng Zib* employs the *Râjah Jesselyn* to ply him of *Serenâgher* with letters; promising great things if he would deliver up the young prince, and threatening war in case he refused. The *Râjah* answers, that he would rather lose his estate than be guilty of so unworthy an action. Hereupon *Aureng Zib* marches to the foot of the mountains (B), and attempts to widen the passage, by cutting the rocks: while the *Râjah* laughs at his vain efforts to ascend inaccessible hills, where stones would be sufficient to repel the forces of four *Hindûstâns*; so that he was constrained to return as he came^b.

- WHEN *Dara* arrived within two or three days journey of *Tâtta Bakar*, he received news that *Mîr Bâba* had, after a long leaguer, reduced the place to the last extremity; a pound of rice and meat being sold for more than a crown. Yet the brave governor still held out, and
e extremely incommoded the enemy by frequent sallies; deriding the attempts of the general, as well as the threats and promises of *Aureng Zib*. On the news of *Dara's* approach he redoubled his endeavours, and by sending spies into the enemy's camp, to spread reports of the prince's being at hand with considerable forces, so terrified them; that, had he advanced even with that handful of men, the army would have disbanded, and part gone over to him: but, believing it impossible to raise the siege with so few soldiers as accompanied him, he was for passing the *Indus*, and getting into *Persia*. This would have been a very difficult task, not only on account of the deserts and little water in those parts, but also because on the frontiers there are many *Râjahs* and *Pâtans* of no great generosity, who acknowledge neither the *Persian* nor the *Mogol*. However, when these strong reasons could not divert him from
f that design, a weak one, urged by his wife (C), did; namely, that if he took this last course, he must expect to see her and his daughter slaves to the king of *Persia*.

In this perplexity *Dara* remembered that there was thereabout a certain *Pâtan*, of some power, named *Jon Khân*, whose life he had saved twice, when *Shâh Jêhân* had ordered him

^b BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 206, & seqq.

(B) *Frazer* says, that on the Sunday, the 2d of January 1659, *Aureng Zib* set out for *Bengâl*; where, at a place called *Kuura*, he defeated his brother *Sujâb*, and obliged him to fly. But *Bernier* mentions no expedition of *Aureng Zib* to *Bengâl*, or any-where else, excepting this, during the remainder of the war; which in that province was carried on by *Amîr Jemla*. The same author adds, that, on the 15th of May the same year, being then forty solar years, six months, and twenty-three days old, he was proclaimed a second

time; and ordered, that the beginning of his reign should be dated from the 1st of *Ramadân*, *Hejrah* 1069, which answers to the 12th of May 1659.

(C) According to *Tavernier*, before he got to *Jon Khân's* habitation, he received the news of the death of his most beloved wife, who died on the road, of thirst; which almost distracted him. On this occasion he put on a dress of coarse linen, much the same with that which he appeared in afterwards at *Dehli*.

to be cast under the feet of an elephant, for having often rebelled. To this man therefore he a
 resolves to go, and obtain succours to raise the siege of *Tatta Bakar*; after which, taking
 thence his treasure, he proposed to bend his court for *Kandahâr*, and so cast himself into the
 kingdom of *Kâbûl*, in hopes of being assisted by *Mobabet Khân*, who had obtained the govern-
 ment by his favour. But his grandson, *Sepe Shekowb*, yet but very young, threw himself at
 his feet, and intreated him, for God's sake, not to enter the country of that *Pâtan*. His
 wife and daughter did the same; remonstrating, that *Jon Khân*, being a rebel and revolted
 governor, would infallibly betray him: that he ought not to be so anxious on raising the siege,
 but rather endeavour to gain *Kâbûl*; which was not impracticable, since it was not likely
 that *Mîr Bâba* would quit *Tatta Bakar* to follow him. But *Dara*, hurried by his evil destiny,
 always maintained that *Jon Khân* would never be so base as to betray him, after all the good b
 he had done him; and accordingly set forward to prove, at the price of his life, that no trust
 is to be placed in a wicked man.

who betrays
him:

THIS robber, who imagined that the prince had numerous troops following him, at first
 gave both him and his soldiers the most hospitable reception that could be: but, when he
 found that the two or three hundred men, whom *Dara* brought with him, were his whole
 forces, he quickly shewed what he was. Whether instigated by letters from *Aureng Zib*, or
 tempted by some mules, said to be laden with gold; one morning, when every-body thought
 himself perfectly secure, this traitor, who in the night had gotten together many armed men,
 fell upon *Dara* and *Sepe Shekowb* (D), killing some of their followers, who stood up to defend
 themselves; and, having overpowered them, he first took care to seize on the burdens with c
 which the mules were loaded, and all the jewels of the ladies. Then he caused *Dara* to be
 bound fast upon an elephant, with an executioner behind him, who had orders to cut off his
 head, in case he should offer to resist, or any attempt to rescue him; and in this strange
 manner he was carried to *Tatta Bakar*, and delivered into the hands of *Mîr Bâba*; who
 caused him to be conducted, accompanied by the traitor, to *Labûr*, and thence to *Dehli*.

carried
through Dehli:

WHEN this unhappy prince was at the gates of *Dehli*, it was debated whether he should be
 made to pass through the city or not. Many were against it; alleging, that it would be a
 great dishonour to the royal family, and that some might attempt to save him: others main-
 tained, that it was absolutely necessary, that he should pass through the town, to shew the
 power of *Aureng Zib*; and take away all hopes from those who still favoured his interest, by d
 convincing every body that he was actually in his brother's hands. This opinion, therefore,
 being followed, he was put on an old dirty elephant, with a pitiful seat, and his grandson
Sepe Shekowb at his side; both dressed in dirty vests, and turbâns of coarse linen. In this
 wretched condition, our author saw him pass through the principal streets of *Dehli*; all the
 shops being crowded with spectators, who wept bitterly: while the lower sort of people, by
 whom he was much beloved, exclaimed against the tyranny of *Aureng Zib*, who had already
 imprisoned his father, son, and brother. They also, with some *Pakirs*, reviled and threw
 stones at the infamous *Jon Khân*, who rode by his side: but not one man had the boldness to
 draw a sword in his behalf, although he was but very slightly guarded.

debates about
him:

AFTER the prince had been led in this ignominious manner through the city, he was put e
 into a garden called *Hayder abâd* (E): while *Aureng Zib*, being informed how the people had
 lamented *Dara*, and cursed the *Pâtan*, called another council, to deliberate whether it was
 better to send him to *Gwalyâr*, as had been concluded before, or put him to death without
 more ceremony. Some were of opinion, it was sufficient that he should be carried under a
 strong guard to that fortress; and on this *Daneshmend Khân* (F), although *Dara's* old enemy,
 insisted much: but *Rushn Ray Begum*, in hatred to this brother of hers, urged *Aureng Zib*
 to dispatch him out of the way; and not run the hazard of keeping him in prison. Of the
 same mind were all his old enemies, *Khalîl'ullah Khân*, *Shâb Hest Khân*, and especially a
 certain medical parasite, who, having fled from *Persia*, was first called *Hakîm Dawd* (or
 Doctor *David*); but afterwards, being become one of the great Omras, was named *Takarrub f*
Khân.

sentenced to
death:

THIS upstart lord boldly rose up in a full assembly, and cried out, that it was expedient
 for the safety of the state to put him to death immediately; and the rather, because he was
 a *kâfir*, or idolater, without religion: adding, that he would take the sin of it on his own

^c BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 217, & seqq.

(D) According to *Tavernier*, *Dara*, awaked by a
 noise of their seizing his son, could not refrain venting
 his passion on *Jon Khân*, in these terms; *Finish, infam-
 ous and ungrateful villain, as thou art, finish the work
 thou hast begun; we are become victims to bad fortune,
 and Aureng Zib's unjust ambition: but remember, that I
 only deserve death for having saved thy life: for never
 prince of the royal blood had his hands tied behind him*

before. Jon Khân, in some measure moved by these
 words, caused the young prince to be unbound, and
 only set guards over him and his father.

(E) According to *Frazer*, he was sent to *Khesrabâd*
 (fifty-two measured kos from *Dehli*), where he was
 murdered by *Aureng Zib's* order, the 28th of August
 1659, in the night.

(F) Afterwards *Bernier's* Aga.

a head. Of which imprecation he soon after felt the smart : for, falling into disgrace, he was treated like an infamous fellow, and died miserably. However, *Aureng Zib*, Iwayed by the reasons which were given, commanded that *Dara* should forthwith be put to death, and *Sepe Shekowb* sent to *Gwaliyâr*. The charge of this execution was given to a slave, called *Nâzar* ; who, having been bred up by *Shâh Jêhân*, had formerly received some ill treatment from *Dara*. This slave, accompanied by three or four more to assist him, went presently to the garden ; where *Dara* was himself then dressing some lentils, with *Sepe Shekowb*. The prince is murdered as no sooner saw *Nâzar*, than he cried out, *My dear son, behold those who come to kill us !* laying hold at the same time of a knife ; which was all the arms that were left him. One of these butchers immediately seized on *Sepe Shekowb* : the others fell on the arms and legs of *Dara*,
b throwing him on the ground, and holding him down, till *Nâzar* (G) cut his throat. His head was forthwith carried to the fortress to *Aureng Zib*, who commanding it to be put in a dish, and water to be brought, had the face washed clean from the blood, that he might see if it was *Dara's*, which being done, he fell a weeping, and said, *Ab ! unfortunate man ! Take it away, and bury it in the sepulchre of Humayûn.*

At night the daughter of *Dara* was brought into the harâm ; but afterwards sent to *Shâh Jon Khân Jêhân* and *Begum Sabeb*, at their request. As for that prince's wife, she had poisoned herself^h before this at *Labûr*, to avoid the misery which she saw falling on her family. *Sepe Shekowb* was sent to *Gwaliyâr*. A few days after, *Jon Khân*, by *Aureng Zib's* order, appeared in the assembly ; where having received some presents, he was dismissed : but, when he was
c near his own lands, he met with a more proper reward for his villainy ; being killed in a wood^d.

MEAN time, *Tâlta Bakar* was surrendered, in obedience to an order which had been *Bakar surren-* obtained from *Dara* ; and all the conditions which the governor demanded were agreed to :^{dered.} but with an intention not to be kept. For as soon as the valiant and faithful eunuch arrived at *Labûr*, he was cut in pieces, with the few men who accompanied him, by *Khalilo'llah Khân*, the governor. The reason for non-observance of the capitulation was the intelligence which arrived, importing, that he had secretly conveyed abundance of gold into the hands of the *Franghis*, or *Europeans*, and all the rest who came with him out of the fortress, under pretence of accompanying him as far as *Debli*, to *Aureng Zib* (who often expressed a desire
d to see the man, who had so gallantly defended himself) ; but in reality with design to go directly to *Soleymân Shekowb*.

THIS prince was now the only one who remained of the family of *Dara Shekowb* : nor *Soleymân* would it have been easy to draw him from *Serenâgher*, if the Râjah had been steady to his *Shekowb* first declarations : but the death of *Dara*, and persuasions of Râjah *Jessèyn*, joined to the threats of *Aureng Zib*, who had actually excited the neighbouring Râjahs to make war upon him, at length prevailed on him to consent to their demands. *Soleymân*, being informed of this agreement, fled through the midst of those horrid mountains and frightful deserts, towards *Great Tibet* : but the Râjah's son, soon pursuing and overtaking him (H), caused him to be assaulted with stones. The poor prince was hurt, and, being seized, was carried to *Debli* ;
e where he was imprisoned in *Serenâgher*, that little fortress where at first *Morâd Bukhsb* had been confined. *Aureng Zib*, careful, as in the case of *Dara*, to convince the people that it was no sham, commanded *Soleymân* to be brought before him, in presence of all the grandees of the court. At the gate, the chains were taken off his feet ; but those which he had about his
f hands, and seemed gilt, were left on.^{taken and imprisoned.}

WHEN this proper young man, so handsome and so gallant, was seen to enter, many of the *Omrâs* could not hold their tears ; and all the great ladies of the court, who had leave to see him come in, fell a weeping. *Aureng Zib*, who appeared himself to be touched with his misfortunes, began to speak very kindly ; telling him, “ that he had nothing to fear : that no
“ hurt should be done him : that, on the contrary, he should be well treated ; and therefore
f “ ought to cheer up his spirits : that he had put his father to death for no other reason, than
“ that he was a kâfr, and a man without religion.” Hereupon the young prince returned his uncle the salern, and blessed him ; letting fall his hands to the earth, and then lifting them, as well as he could, up to his head, after the usage of the country : but told him, with resolution enough, “ that if he was to drink the powst (I), his desire was to die off-hand ; being

^d BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 226, & seqq.

(G) *Bernier* observes, that it was not known what became of the *Nâzar* ; suggesting that he had been made away with, as *Jon Khân* had been.

(H) *Lavernier* says, that *Nakti Raja*, to save his oath, would not seize *Soleymân* : but a party of *Jessèyn's* men, on notice given, surprised him as he went a hunting ; and took him, after all his attendance had been slain, and he had slain nine of the party himself.

(I) This powst is nothing but poppy expressed, and

infused one night in water. This is the potion which is given to those princes, whose lives are spared. It is the first thing which is brought them in the morning ; and they would rather let them starve for hunger, than give them any thing to eat till they have drank a large cup-full. It emaciates them exceedingly, and kills them insensibly : for by degrees they lose their strength and understanding ; growing quite torpid and senseless.

“very willing to submit to his fate.” In answer to this, *Aureng Zib* promised him publicly, a
 “that he should drink none of it; bidding him rest satisfied as to that matter, and not enter-
 “tain any melancholy thoughts about it.” Having spoken these words, his nephew once
 more repeated the salem; and after answering to several questions, which had been put to him
 in the name of *Aureng Zib*, touching the elephant loaded with rupees of gold, which was
 taken from him when he went to *Serenâgher*, he was sent to *Gwalijâr* (K) to the rest.

Morâd
Bukhsb
 NOTWITHSTANDING these fine words and fair promises of *Aureng Zib*, it is said, that not
 only *Soleymân Shikowb*, but his son *Sepe Shikowb*, and the grand-child of *Morâd Bukhsb*,
 were dispatched by the powst. As to *Morâd Bukhsb* himself, he was made away by a more
 violent death. For his brother, perceiving that the generality of people had an inclination to
 him, and that verses were dispersed about in praise of his valour and courage; apprehended, b
 that, if he took him off privately by the powst, his death would be doubted of, which might
 give occasion one time or other to some commotion: he therefore thought it safer to get rid
 of him in a more open manner; and this he contrived to do under a shew of justice. For
Morâd Bukhsb, when he was at *Abmed abad* making preparations for war, having, among
 other violences, to procure money (L), put to death a very rich *Sayed*, one of *Mohammed's*
 kindred, in order to get his estate; the children of the *Sayed* were set on to make their com-
 plaints in a public assembly, and demanded the head of that prince, in satisfaction for the blood
 of their father. Hereupon their petition was granted without any other form or process: nor
 did one of the *Omrâs* interpose in the affair, not so much on account of the great veneration
 in which the *Sayeds* are held, as because every-body understood that *Aureng Zib* himself was at c
 the bottom of it. In short, an order being issued out for the purpose, they went to *Gwalijâr*,
 and took off the unfortunate *Morâd's* head.

Soltân Sujâh
 THERE now remained no other thorn in the foot of *Aureng Zib*, excepting his brother
Soltân Sujâh, who all this while held out in *Bengâl*: but *Amîr Jemla* was reinforced, from time
 to time, with so many troops of all sorts, that, being at length hemmed in on all sides, he
 was obliged to fly to *Dakka*, which is the last city of that province towards the sea; and now
 comes the conclusion of this whole tragedy. The prince, being destitute of ships, and not
 knowing whither to fly, sent his eldest son *Soltân Banka* to the heathen king of *Rakan* (M),
 or *May*, to know if he would give him leave to make that country his place of refuge only
 for some time, and do him the favour, when the monsoons, or season winds, should come, to d
 furnish him with a vessel to carry him to *Mekka*; intending from thence to pass into some part
 of *Turky*, or *Persia*. The king of *Rakan* sent answer, that he should be very welcome, and
 have all possible assistance from him.

flies to Rakan.
 WITH this answer, and some galleasses, manned with *Franghis*, that is, fugitive *Portugueses*,
 and other straggling *Europeans*, who had put themselves in the service of this king, and did
 nothing but ravage the lower (or maritime) *Bengâl*, *Soltân Banka* returned to *Dakka*; where the
 prince, his father, embarking with his wife, his three sons, and his daughters, set sail for the
 kingdom of *Rakan*. When they landed, they were well enough received; and furnished with
 whatever that country afforded, at the expence of the king. At the end of some months, the
 monsoons began to blow; but no news of the ship which was promised him, although he demanded e
 it at his own charges; for as yet he wanted neither rupis of gold and silver, and precious stones.
 His misfortune was, that he had too great plenty of them; for his riches were, in all appear-
 ance, the cause of his ruin, or at least contributed not a little to it. These barbarous kings,
 says our author, have no true generosity, nor much regard for the faith they give. To get
 out of their hands likewise, one must either be stronger, or else have nothing to tempt their
 avarice.

The king's
treachery.
 MEAN time, the king of *Rakan*, instead of furnishing *Soltân Sujâh* with the vessel, began
 to shew much coldness, and complain, that he did not come to see him. The prince, either
 thinking it beneath him to pay the king a visit, or rather fearing to be seized on, if he went
 to the palace, and delivered up to *Amîr Jemla*, who had already offered great sums of money f
 for that purpose, never would go thither himself, but only sent his son *Soltân Banka*; who, as
 he drew near the palace, threw rupis both of gold and silver among the people. Being intro-
 duced to the king, he presented him with store of embroideries, and curious pieces of gold-
 smith's work, set with precious stones of great value. He apologized for his father, as being
 indisposed; and besought him, in the Soltân's name, to remember his promise of the vessel.
 But for all this *Soltân Sujâh* could not obtain his request. On the contrary, five or six days

e BERNIER, ubi sup. p. 236, & seqq.

(K) According to *Frazer*, *Aureng Zib* sent his son
Soltân Mohammed and *Mohammed* and *Soleymân Shikowb*
 to *Gwalijâr*, on the fourteenth of *January*, 1661.

(L) He borrowed, or took by force from those who

scrupled to lend him, great sums of money, from all
 the rich merchants.

(M) Called also *Arakan*, or *Arrakan*, and *Arrakam*.

after,

- a after, the king of *Rakan* sent to demand his daughter in marriage (N) ; which being a thing he could never resolve to comply with, the king became highly offended.

As the prince now saw it was high time to take care of himself, and the season was near spent without any hopes of his getting to *Mekka*, he undertook an action, which may serve as an instance of what despair is capable of attempting. Although the king of *Rakan* is a heathen, yet there are in his dominions great numbers of *Mohammedans*; who either retired thither to settle, or had been made slaves of, and carried thither, by the *Europeans* before-mentioned. These *Mohammedans* *Soltân Sujâb* gained under-hand, and with them, joined to two or three hundred men, remaining of those who had followed him from *Bengâl*, resolved on a certain day to attack the palace; and, killing all the royal family, cause himself to be proclaimed king of *Rakan*. This seems to have been a romantic project; and yet our author had been informed by *Mohammedans*, as well as *Portugueses* and *Dutchmen*, who were then present, that the thing was practicable enough. But the day before the stroke was to be given, the design was discovered; which broke all the prince's measures, and quite ruined his affairs^f.

FOR, finding it no longer safe for him to stay in *Rakan*, he resolved to attempt escaping into *Pegu*; which was a thing quite impracticable, on account of the vast mountains and forests, which were to be crossed, ^{fies from Rakan:} However, the unfortunate prince set-out with his family and some of his people: but he was immediately pursued, and with so much diligence, that he was overtaken the same day on which he fled. *Soltân Sujâb* defended himself with great courage, and killed an incredible number of the *Rakan* soldiers: but was so overpowered by the multitude, that he was obliged to quit the combat. *Soltân Banka*, who was not so far advanced as his father, defended himself also like a lion: but at length he was taken, and all over bloody with the wounds he had received from the stones which were poured upon him, and carried back with his two little brothers, his sisters, and mother.

WHAT became of *Soltân Sujâb* himself could never, with any certainty, be known: the common report was, that he got to the top of the mountain, with one woman, an eunuch, and two other persons: that he was hit by a stone on the head, which struck him down; but that, rising again, the eunuch wrapped his turbân about the wound, and that afterwards they escaped through the midst of the woods. However, our author observes, that he had heard the relation told three or four different ways, even by persons who were on the spot. Some affirmed, that he was among the dead; but not with certainty known: and *Bernier* saw a letter from the chief of the *Dutch* factory (at *Rakan*), confirming the same. This was what gave rise to so many alarms at *Dehli*. One time he was landed to join the kings of *Golkondâ* and *Viziapûr*: another time he was seen with two ships, carrying red colours (O), off *Surât*. Next he was at *Sbîrâz*, in *Persia*, and soon after at *Kandahâr*, ready to enter the kingdom of *Kâbul*. But the same author gave more credit to the report of his being slain: not only as it was confirmed by the letter of the *Dutch*, but because both an eunuch of his, with whom he travelled (P), and the great master of the artillery, assured him, that he was no longer in being; although they made a difficulty to say any more concerning him.

AFTER this last action, *Soltân Sujâb*'s whole family was put in prison at *Rakan*; where they were treated roughly enough. However, some time after they were set at more liberty, and received a milder entertainment; which was increased by the alliance made by the king, who married the *Soltân*'s eldest daughter. Mean time, some of *Soltân Banka*'s domestics, in conjunction with several of the *Mohammedans*, formed a second plot like the first: but, on the day appointed for putting it in execution, one of the conspirators, who was half drunk, beginning to act before the time, blasted the whole design. Yet our author takes notice, that it was very difficult to know the truth of this affair also, since he had heard forty different accounts of it. What is certain, is, that the king was at length so exasperated against the unfortunate family of *Sujâb*, that he commanded it should be quite extirpated. *Soltân Banka* and his brothers had their heads cut off with blunt axes, and the women were mured up between stone walls; where they were starved to death. In short, not one escaped the slaughter; excepting that daughter whom the king had made his wife. ^{his family destroyed.}

THUS ended this civil war, which the lust of reigning had kindled among those four brothers, sons of *Shâh Jehân*, after it had lasted five or six years; that is, from about 1655 to 1660, or 1661, which left *Aureng Zib* in peaceable possession of this powerful empire^g. On this occasion, our author observes, that, although most of his readers will judge the ways taken by this prince to obtain the empire, to be very violent and horrid; yet, if they consider the custom of the state, which leaving the succession undecided, for want of being settled by

^f BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 244, & seqq.

^g Ibidē ubi sup. p. 251, 258.

(N) Tavernier says, the prince demanded and obtained the king's daughter in marriage.

(O) The livery of the kings of *Pegu* and *Siam*.

(P) From *Bengâl* to *Malipatan*.

law on the eldest son, exposeth it to the conquest of the strongest; and at the same time lays a every prince of the blood under a sort of necessity, either to reign by destroying all the rest to secure himself, or else to perish for the security of others. These things considered, he is apt to believe, that *Aureng Zib*'s conduct will not appear in so bad a light: however, he is persuaded, that those who attend to his history, will not take him for a *Barbarian*, but for a great and rare genius; for a statesman, and a great king ^b.

^b FERNIER, partii. p. 174, & seqq.

S E C T. II.

Occurrences from the end of the civil wars, to the death of Shâh Jehân.

Ambassadors arrive

^b **T**HE wars being ended, the *Uzbek Tatars* sent ambassadors to *Aureng Zib*, whom they had seen fight in their country, when yet a young prince; Shâh *Jehân* having sent him to command the succours, which the Khân of *Samarkant* had desired of him against the Khân of *Bâlk*. They considered likewise, that he could not but remember the affront which they put upon him, when on the point of taking the city of *Bâlk*, the enemy's capital: for the two Khâns agreed together, and obliged him to retreat; alleging, that he might make himself master of their whole dominions, as *Akber* had formerly done by the kingdom of *Kashmîr*. Whatever their motives were, the two Khâns sent their ambassadors to offer their service, and congratulate him upon the happy commencement of his reign. *Aureng Zib* was too judicious not to see, that, the war being at an end, this offer was out of season; and that it was ^c nothing but fear, or the hope of obtaining some considerable present, which had brought these ambassadors. For all this, he received them honourably at their first audience, at which our author was present; commanding a serapah, or habit from head to foot, to be given to each: but they were obliged, at entering, to make the slavish obeisance of the country; and to deliver their letters into the hands of an Omrâ, though they were so near the throne, that *Aureng Zib* might have taken them himself.

from Great Bukhâria.

THEIR presents consisted of lapis lazuli, camels, horses, some loads of fresh fruits; as apples, pears, grapes, and melons; several more of dried fruits, as prunes of *Bokhâra*, apricots, raisins without stones, and two other sorts, both black and white, very large and very good. *Aureng Zib* expressed much satisfaction at the presents; and, in dismissing them, ^d intimated, that he should be glad to see them often. They were extremely covetous and nasty, laid up the money allowed for their maintenance, and lived a miserable life, very unworthy of ambassadors: yet they were dismissed with great honour and rich presents, after above four months stay ^a.

Aureng Zib falls sick:

^e **B**EFORE their departure, *Aureng Zib* fell desperately ill of a violent and continued fever, which sometimes deprived him of his understanding. His tongue was seized with such a palsy, that he almost lost his speech, and the physicians despaired of his recovery: so that for some time it was believed he was dead, and that his sister *Raushn ray Begum* concealed his death out of design. It was already hinted, that the Râjah *Jessom Seyn*, governor of *Guzerât*, was on the way to deliver Shâh *Jehân*: that *Mobabet Khân*, who had at length obeyed the orders of *Aureng Zib*, was advanced from *Kabûl* to *Labûr* with three or four thousand horse, for the same end; and that the eunuch *Atbar Khân*, who kept the deposed monarch, would have the honour of his deliverance. At the same time interest was making for the succession. On one side, *Soltân Mauzm*, by bribes and promises, laboured to gain the Omrâs; so far as that one night he went disguised to Râjah *Jessyn*, intreating him, in the most respectful manner, to engage in his behalf. On the other hand, *Raushn ray Begum*, with *Teday Khân*, and many Omrâs, declared for the young prince *Soltân Akber*, though but seven or eight years old. Both parties pretended their design was only to release Shâh *Jehân* (which the people every moment expected), although none of them had any such thing in their thoughts: nor indeed had any of them reason to wish for his restoration, excepting *Jessom Seyn*, *Mobabet Khân*, ^f and some others, who had hitherto done no great matters to his disadvantage.

his great resolution:

BUT although *Aureng Zib* was very sick, yet he gave orders in all affairs; and although he advised *Soltân Mauzm* to open the gates to Shâh *Jehân*, in case he should die, yet he took care that *Atbar Khân* should be incessantly written to, in order to keep a strict watch over his father. The fifth day, in the height of his sickness, he was carried into the assembly of the Omrâs to shew himself. The like was done on the seventh, ninth, and tenth day of his illness. What is almost incredible, on the thirteenth, after a swooning fit, which occasioned a rumour through the whole city that he was dead, he sent for two or three of the chief Omrâs, and the Râjah *Jessyn*, to let them see that he was alive; and, being raised up in his bed, called for ink and paper to write to *Atbar Khân*: he likewise sent for the great seal from his

^a BERNIER, ubi sup. p. 1, & seqq.

sister,

a filter, fearing she had already made use of it to serve her designs ^b. The cause of this sickness was probably owing to his rigid diet: for at the time that *Aureng Zib* ascended the throne, he would not eat any wheat or bread, nor meat, nor flesh: but fed on barley bread, herbs, and sweet-meats (A), by way of penance for his crimes. This made him very thin and meagre ^c.

As soon as he had recovered his health, he sought to get out of the hands of *Shâh Jehân*, ^{son-in-law for} *Begum Sabeel*, the daughter of *Dara*; in order to marry her to *Soltân Akber*, his third son, ^{Soltân Akber} on purpose to give him the greater right to the empire. This he designed him for, as he had many powerful relations at court, and was born of the daughter of *Shâh Navaz Khân*, and consequently of the blood of the antient sovereigns of *Masbat*; whereas *Mahmûd* and *Maûzm* ^b were sons only of *Rajipowtuis*, or daughters of *Rôjabs*. But it is scarcely to be believed, with what fierceness this proposition was rejected by the three parties; the young princess threatening to kill herself, rather than marry the son of him who had murdered her father. He had no better success with *Shâh Jehân*, in his application for certain jewels, to finish an addition which he had made to the famous throne (B) then in being; for the deposed emperor threatened to beat them to dust, rather than let him have them. However, at length, he obtained both his requests, by the kind treatment and great respect which he paid his father.

For although *Aureng Zib* caused *Shâh Jehân* to be secured with the greatest strictness, yet ^{respect for his} he left him in his old apartment with *Begum Sabeel*, and his other women. He allowed him ^{father} also his singers, dancers, cooks, and the like, with certain moillahs to read the korân to him; ^c for he was become very devout. He had likewise, as formerly, the diversion of seeing beasts fight, and other fights. But what softened him most was the obliging letters, full of respect and submission, which *Aureng Zib* often wrote to him; consulting him as an oracle, and expressing a thousand regards for him. He was likewise incessantly sending him some engaging present: all which so gained on his father, that he answered his letters, and sent him some of the jewels, which he had before refused. He even consented that the daughter of *Dara* should be delivered to him; in short, he granted him at length that pardon and paternal blessing, which he had so often refused.

THE *Dutch*, to gain credit themselves in the country, and intimidate the governors of the Dutch ^{sea-ports}, resolved to send an ambassador to *Aureng Zib*. They pitched on Mr. *Adrican*, ^{chief} chief of their factory at *Surât*, a person of integrity and good sense. Although *Aureng Zib* seemed to despise the *Franghis*, or *Christians*, yet he received him with honour; bestowing embroidered serapahs, or full suits, on him, and some of his train. He gave him another at his last audience, and a very rich one for the general of *Batavia*; with a poniard adorned with jewels. The presents of the *Dutch* consisted of scarlet-cloth, looking-glasses, with *Chinese* and *Japan* curiosities: among which was a paleki, and a takt-ravan, or field-throne, of admirable workmanship. About the same time, what seems almost incredible, *Didar* ^{Amorous} *Khân*, one of the chief eunuchs of the harâm, though cut close, fell in love with the beautiful ^{eunuch} sister of an *Hindû* scrivener, who lived near a house where the eunuch often retired to divert himself. The neighbours at length beginning to rally the scrivener on the occasion, he ^e threatened both his sister and her lover to kill them, if they continued their correspondence. Soon after, finding them in the night lying together, he dispatched the eunuch outright, and left his sister for dead. The whole harâm, women and eunuchs, did their utmost to get the scrivener put to death: but *Aureng Zib* was content that he should turn *Mohammedan* ^d.

MEAN while this prince was informed, that his sister *Rausbn ray Begum* had given access, at ^{The king's} different times, to two young gallants into the harâm; yet shewed no resentment to either her ^{clemency} or the young men. They were both found wandering in the garden, deserted by those intrusted to conduct them out: and being brought before *Aureng Zib*, the first said he got in over the wall; the other confessed he entered by the gate. They were ordered to go out the same way they came in: but the eunuchs, exceeding their commission, threw the first headlong ^f from the wall, and killed him.

PRESENTLY after the *Dutch* embassy, there arrived several others, almost at the same time; ^{Other em-} viz. from the Sharif of *Mekka*, the king of *Yamman*, or *Happy Arabia*, and the prince of ^{bassee} *Barab*; whose presents were in horses: lastly, two others from the king of *Habash* (or *Ethiopia*). To the three first no great regard was paid; their appearance and equipage was

^b BERNIER, ubi sup. p. 14, & seqq. part ii. p. 21, & seq. 99, & seq.

^c TAVERNIER'S Trav. part ii. l. 2. c. 7.

^d BERNIER,

(A) The same author observes further, that, in 1665, all the time of the comet's appearance, he drank nothing but water, and ate millet bread; which so impaired his health, that it had like to have cost him his life. Besides, he always lay on the ground, with only a tiger's skin under him; from which time he never was perfectly well. *Tavernier's Trav. Ind. l. ii. c. ix. p. 124.*

(B) According to *Tavernier*, this request was made a few days before he ascended the throne, that he might appear with more lustre: and that *Shâh Jehân's* refusal to send him any jewels was the reason that *Aureng Zib*, when he ascended the throne, had no more than one jewel on his bonnet; for it cannot be called a crown.

One from
Habash.

so miserable, seeming to come only to get presents, and sell their merchandize, under pretence a of being ambassadors. The *Ethiopians* fared better, though they deserved it as little. They were ordinary merchants, with a wretched retinue, and mean presents; consisting of twenty-five-slaves, nine or ten of them very young, for making eunuchs of (a design very becoming a Christian prince!); twelve horses, a mule beautifully streaked and speckled, two huge elephant's teeth, and a very large ox horn full of civet. As *Seva ji* sacked *Surat* just after their landing, they lost the little which they brought for their subsistence, and were obliged to beg provision of the governor, who also sent them up to *Debli*; where their half-naked train passed for beggars. Yet, by our author's speaking in behalf of their king to his lord, they were admitted to audience by *Aureng Zib*; who honoured them with serapahs, gave them money for themselves, and a rich present for their sovereign. They engaged to employ b their interest with the king for rebuilding a mosk; and requested a Korân, and some other religious books, in their master's name; which seemed as odd from a Christian ambassador, as one of them was, as from a Christian king^d.

A Persian
ambassador.

WHILE these *Ethiopians* were at *Debli*, *Aureng Zib* assembled his privy council, to consult about the education of Soltân *Akbar*, which he had much at heart. After this there arrived a *Persian* ambassador, who was received with great respect. He made his salute after the *Persian* mode, and delivered his letters into *Aureng Zib*'s own hands. The presents were very rich, and acceptable to the *Great Mogol*; who gave the ambassador considerable donatives, and assigned him a place among his chief Omrâs. Notwithstanding all these tokens of honour, the *Persian* Omrâs, at the *Great Mogol*'s court, gave out, that their king had reproached him c in his letters with the death of *Dara*, and the imprisonment of *Shâb Jehân*, as actions unworthy of a brother, a son, and a mussulman: they reported also, that *Shâb Abbas II.* had twitted him with the word *Alem Ghîr*; or conqueror of the world; which *Aureng Zib* had caused to be engraven on his coin. Our author, indeed, cannot think that the king of *Persia* would have ventured, in such a manner, to provoke so victorious a prince as *Aureng Zib*; and yet afterwards believes, either that there must have been some offensive expression in those letters, or else that the ambassador must have some-how displeased *Aureng Zib*. Because two or three days after he had dismissed him, that prince caused a report to be spread, that the ambassador had ordered the hamstrings of the presented horses to be cut; and being yet on the frontiers, made him return all the *Indian* slaves, whom he carried along with him, d amounting to a prodigious number.

Astrologers
disgraced.

ABOUT this time, the death of the king's chief astrologer, who happened to be drowned, brought those of the faculty into disgrace; for people could not imagine how the man, who foresaw the fate of others, should be ignorant of his own. And yet this sort of impostors, practising on the credulity of the people, have found means to make themselves as necessary a sett of men in the *Indies*, as the clergy or the lawyers^e.

Amîr Jemla
rewarded.

AFTER *Amîr Jemla* had driven Soltân *Sujâb* out of *Bengâl*, he sent to intreat leave of *Aureng Zib* to remove his family into this province, that he might end his days in the company of his wife and children: but *Aureng Zib* feared if he had his son with him, that he might aspire to the crown, or at least make himself independent in *Bengâl*, where he had then e a strong army at his devotion. At the same time considering that it might be dangerous to disoblige him, he sends to him his wife, and all the children of his son; creates the *Amîr* himself a Mîro'l Omra, which is the greatest degree of honour that a favourite can be raised to; and makes *Mohammed Amîr Khân* the great Bakshis: a dignity like our great master of the horse, the second or third post in the state, but such as obliges the possessor to be always at court. The *Amîr* perceiving *Aureng Zib*'s dexterity, thought it best to rest content with the honours he had received; and, at the same time, be always on his guard, that since he could attempt nothing against *Aureng Zib*, *Aureng Zib* should not be able to attempt any thing against him.

Invades
Achem.

THUS matters stood between them for near a year: when *Aureng Zib*, well knowing that f a great captain cannot be long at rest; and that if he be not employed in a foreign war, he will at length raise a domestic one, promised to *Amîr Jemla* to make war on the rich and potent Râjah of *Asbam* (C), whose territories are situated to the north of *Dikka*, upon the gulf of *Bengâl*^f.

WE are told by a certain author, that before the expedition of *Amîr Jemla*, the kingdom of *Asem* (or *Asbam*) was not known. It had been at peace above 500 years before; and 'tis thought guns and powder were first invented here: which discovery passed from *Asem* into *Pegu*, and thence to *China*. 'Tis certain, that the *Amîr* brought from this country several pieces of iron cannon, and store of excellent powder, round and small, both made in *Asem*.

^d TAVERNIER, p. 32—49.

^e Ibid. p. 58—89.

^f BERNIER, p. 107, & seqq.

(C) *Tavernier* calls it *Ajem*, others *Azem*; and says the capital was formerly a city the same name. *Trav. Ind.* c. 17.

- a When the king dies, all his beloved wives poison themselves, to attend him in the other world.

ASEM is one of the best countries in all *Asia*; for, besides all sorts of provisions, it contains mines of gold, silver, steel, lead, and iron. Silk is plenty there, but coarse: there is also a silk, made by little round creatures, formed at the foot of trees, which is very glossy, but frets presently. Gum-lak of both kinds is here in great store, especially that of a red colour, which grows under trees, and with which they paint their calicoes. When the red juice is drawn out for that purpose, the remaining substance serves to varnish cabinets, and make wax. Although all necessities of life are so plenty in *Asem*, yet dogs flesh is in most esteem, and the greatest delicacy at feasts. It is sold in the towns every month, on market-days. Although

- b there are abundance of vines, the inhabitants never think of wine, but dry the grapes to make their *aqua vite*. They have no salt, but what they get out of the ashes of the leaves of trees, especially that called *Adam's* fig-tree; whereof also they make a lie for washing their silk, which thereby becomes as white as snow.

- The king requires no subsidies of his subjects; his revenues arising out of the mines, which are his property, and wrought by slaves. The people live at their ease, have each four wives, and commonly an elephant to carry them. They are well complexioned; only the more southerly they live, the more swarthy, and not so subject to wens in their throats: but the women are flat-nosed. In the south parts they go naked, excepting a cloth to cover their privities, and a blue cap hung about with swines teeth. They wear gold in their ears, and bracelets of coral, amber, and shells, which, at the burial of friends, they fling into their graves.

BUT to return to the war: *Amir Jemla*, who, in all appearance, had before designed the same expedition, readily undertook it. He embarked at *Dikka*, with a powerful army, upon a river which comes from those parts (D): and having proceeded about 100 leagues north-east, arrived at *Azo*, a castle (E) which the *Rajah* had many years before wrested from the kingdom of *Bengal*. This place he retook in fifteen days; and then in twenty-six more marched still northward, over land, towards *Shamdara*, which gives entrance into *Assam*. There a battle was fought, in which the *Rajah*, being worsted, retreated to *Gherghon* (F), his capital city, four miles from *Shamdara*.

- d THE *Amir* pursued him so closely, that he gave him no time to fortify himself, arriving there in five days time. This constrained the *Rajah* to fly towards the mountains of the kingdom of *Lassa*, and abandon *Gherghon*, which was pillaged as well as *Shamdara*. They found vast riches in that city, which was very large and fair, well traded, and the women exceeding beautiful. Mean time, the rainy season arriving sooner than usual, which laid the country under water, and the *Rajah's* people having carried away all the provisions of the fields; the *Amir's* army was greatly distressed, without being able either to advance or retreat, for the mountains on one side, and the deep roads on the other: besides, the *Rajah* had caused the way to be dug as far as *Shamdara*. This obliged the general to abandon his design, and, when the rains were over, to return; which he did, after suffering extremely from the roads, want of victuals, and the pursuit of the *Rajahs*. He designed, however, to renew his attempt the next year: but at *Azo*, where the flux began to rage in his army, he fell sick, and died; which put an end to the just apprehensions of the *Great Mogol*. For on this occasion, those who knew the state of affairs, said, 'Tis this day that *Aureng Zib* is king of *Bengal*; and he could not forbear to express something like it himself: for he said publicly to *Mohammed Amir Khan*, *You have lost your father, and I the greatest and most dangerous friend I had*. However, he caressed this son, and promised to be a father to him: in which he kept his word; for he confirmed him in his post of *Great Bakshis*, augmented his pension to 1000 rupis a month, and left him heir of all the *Amir's* estate, which, by the custom of the country, fell to himself.

- f THE government of *Bengal*, and command of the army in that country, with the title of *Miro'l Omra*, which *Amir Jemla* possessed, the king gave to his own uncle, *Shah Hest Khan* (G), who had so much contributed to his advancement by his eloquence and address. This lord was first made governor of *Agra*, when he left that city to meet *Soltan Sujab* at *Kajowh*, and afterwards governor of *Dekan*, and general of the army there. As soon as *Shah Hest Khan* was settled in *Bengal*, he resolved to deliver the country from the *Portuguese*

§ BERNIER, Trav. Ind. c. 17.

(D) *Tavernier* says it comes from *Chiamay*: but neither the situation, nor name of that lake, is with any certainty known, or mentioned by later travellers.

(E) According to *Tavernier*, the tombs of the kings and royal family of *Asem* are at this town: for they do not burn their dead, as in other parts. Great wealth was found here, in the vaults of the chapels of the great *Poged*, where the tombs are. *Trav. Ind. c. 17.*

(F) *Tavernier* says, the name of the city where the king keeps his court is *Kennetsof*, 25 or 30 days journey from that which was formerly the capital, and bore the same name.

(G) He was son of the famous *Ajef Khan*, father-in-law of *Shah Jahan*.

pirates,

pirates, who had for a long time been a plague to that country; and then to attack the king a of *Rakan* (or *Arrakan*) according to the order of *Aureng Zib*; who had a mind to be revenged on that prince (not so much for harbouring those execrable vermin, as) for his cruelty toward Soltân *Sujâb*, and all his family ^a.

the Portuguese
pirates;

IN order to set this matter in a proper light, our reader is to know, that, for many years before, the kingdom of *Rakan* had been the refuge of all the runaway *Portugueses* from *Goa*, *Kochin*, *Malakka*, and other places which they had in the *Indies*, as well as of their slaves, and other *Europeans*. They consisted of such as had abandoned their monasteries, had been twice or thrice married, murderers, and the like, who led in that country a most horrible life, b butchering one another, and assassinating their own priests, who sometimes were not better than themselves. The king of *Rakan* kept them as a guard of his frontiers against the *Mogol*, in the port called *Chategon* (H) (which he had taken from *Bengâl*), giving them lands, and liberty to live as they pleased. Their usual trade was robbery and piracy; they not only scoured the sea-coasts, but entered the rivers, especially the chanel of the *Ganges*; and often penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country, surprised and carried away whole towns and villages of people, with great cruelty, and burning all which they could not carry away. Hence it is, faith our author, that there are seen in the mouth of that river so many fine islands quite deserted, which were formerly very populous.

their villanies;

AFTER they had done all this mischief, they had the impudence to go and sell the old people, whom they could make no use of, in the very country from whence they had taken them; so that those who had escaped by flight, brought to-day their fathers and mothers, who c had been made slaves of yesterday. The rest of their captives they made rowers of, and such Christians as they were themselves; or else sold them to the *Portugueses* belonging to other part of the *Indies*; and even to those of *Ogowli* (or *Hugli*), who settled there by favour of *Jehân Gbir*, on promise to keep the bay of *Bengâl* free from pirates. This trade was carried on towards the isle of *Galles*, near cape *Palmas*, where these corsairs waited for the *Portugueses*, who filled their ships with slaves at an easy rate: this infamous rabble bragging that they made more Christians in one year, than all the missionaries through the *Indies* did in ten. They were these pirates who made *Shâb Jehân* at last to vent his passion not only against the jesuit missionaries at *Agra*, most of whose church (I) he caused to be pulled down; but also against the *Franghis* of *Owgli*, for conniving at the pirates, and filling their houses with slaves, d who were his natural subjects (K).

seize Sundiva.

THESE miscreants, some time before the desolation of *Owgli*, offered the viceroy of *Goa* to put the whole kingdom of *Rakan* into his hands for the king of *Portugal*: but he refused to send the succours demanded by one *Bastian Gonsalvo*, who was their captain, and had married one of the king's daughters. This the viceroy did, as they say, not thro' detestation of the treason, but out of arrogance and jealousy, that *Bastian* should have the honour of doing such an exploit. About the same time these pirates seized on the island of *Sundiva*, commanding, in some measure, the mouth of the *Ganges*; in which isle a certain *Augustin* frier, a very famous man, acted the king for many years. Having taken a course, God knows how, says our author, to rid himself of the commander of that place, these same robbers, who carried e *Soltân Sujâb* from *Dâka* to *Rakan*, as before related, found means, by the way, to open his coffers, and to rob him of good store of jewels; which they sold privately at *Rakan*, for a small matter, for want of knowing the value of them. In short, their depredations were so great in *Bengâl*, that they for many years obliged the *Great Mogol* to garrison the passes everywhere, and keep a great militia on foot at land, as well as a fleet of galleasses at sea, to oppose their courses: but they only laughed at the *Mogol* soldiery, and were become so daring at sea, that four or five of their galleasses would set upon fourteen or fifteen of the others, which they actually worsted and took, or run aground ⁱ.

A frier king.

Pirates revolt

to

THIS was the condition of the pirates, when *Shâb Hest Khân* entered upon the government of *Bengâl*; and this lord knowing that it was impracticable to pass any forces, either horse or f foot, from *Bengâl* to *Rakan*, on account of the many chanel and rivers upon the frontiers; considering also, that those pirates would hinder him to transport his army by sea, he resolved to engage the *Dutch* in his design; and for that purpose sent an officer to *Batavia*, to persuade the general to join with him in subduing the kingdom of *Rakan*. The general of *Batavia*, judging this a proper means to destroy the *Portuguese* power in the *Indies*, and enlarge their own, dispatched two men of war for *Bengâl*, to favour the transportation of the *Mogol* troops:

^a BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 11, & seqq. 131.

ⁱ BERNIER, p. 118, & seqq.

(H) *Chatigon*, as *Bernier* writes it, and *Natigam*, as the *Portugueses*. Its true name, according to *Hamilton*, is *Chittagong*. It stands at the mouth of the eastern branch of the *Ganges*; is a poor place, in the hands of the *Mogols*; altho' the descendants of the *Portugueses* are

the domineering lords of it. *New Account of East Ind.* vol. ii. p. 22. and 25

(I) It was fair and large, built as well as that of *Lahûr*, by *Jehân Gbir*, with a great steeple over it, and a bell, whose sound might be heard all over the city.

(K) See more of these affairs hereafter.

but

a but before those men of war arrived, *Shâb Hest Khân*, having equipped a great number of galleasses, and many large vessels, for the same service, sent to acquaint the pirates with his design upon *Rakan*; promising, in case they abandoned the service of the king, and took part with *Aureng Zib*, that he would distribute among them as much land in *Bengâl* as they desired, and give them double the pay which they then had. On the other hand, he threatened, in case they refused his offers, utterly to spoil and ruin them.

The pirates, whether for fear of the *Mogol* general, or the king of *Rakan*, one of whose officers they had about that time assassinated, were one day struck with such a panic, that they shipped themselves, all at once, in forty or fifty of their galleasses, with the utmost precipitation, and wafted over to *Bengâl*. *Shâb Hest Khân* received them with open arms, and gave them considerable pay: then, without letting them cool, carried them with him to attack the island of *Sundîva*, which was fallen into the hands of the king of *Rakan*, and afterwards *Chattigon*, both which he took. About the same time the two *Dutch* ships arrived: but *Shâb Hest Khân*, imagining that he should now be able to compass his design without their assistance, put off, with thanks and compliments, the captains of those vessels, who were not well pleased at being so duped. As to the pirates, when he had served his purposes with them, he never minded to perform the large promises he made. Knowing that they were in his power, and unable to help themselves, he let them go whole months without pay, considering them as traitors and infamous men, who were to be used at discretion; and in this manner did *Shâb Hest Khân* put an end to that rabble.

c *AURENG ZIB* was very jealous and strict over his children. He sent his eldest son *Soltân Mahmûd*, as hath been said, to *Gwaliyar*; but according to report, did not make him drink the powst, or stupefying potion. Nor was he well satisfied, for a time, with his second son, *Soltân Mauzm*, who afterwards came to the throne; although he always was a pattern of reservedness and moderation. Whether it was to try his courage, or that he thought him too forward in making a party in his late sickness; he one day, in a full assembly, ordered him to go kill a lion, which, descending from the mountains, had made great havock in the plains: and when the master of the hunt called for those large and strong nets used in this dangerous game, the king told him, that when he was prince, he did not look for such formalities. It was *Mauzm's* good fortune to succeed in this enterprise, without losing more than two or three men, and having a few horses wounded; although he was in some small danger himself, the wounded lion having leapt up to the head of his elephant. After that, *Aureng Zib* expressed much affection to him, and gave him the government of *Dekan*; but with so little power and income, that he had not much to apprehend from him^k.

It has been already observed, that *Mohabet Khân* had been received into favour by *Aureng Zib*. This prince, unwilling, as he said, to lose so brave a commander, and one who had stuck so close to his benefactor *Shân Jeshân*, not only pardoned him, but removed him from the government of *Kâbul* to that of *Guzerât*, in place of *Jessom seyn*, whom he sent to make war in *Dekan*. However, this favour of *Aureng Zib* was probably owing to some considerable presents which the *Khân* made to *Rushn ray Begum*, in conjunction with others presented to the *Great Mogol* himself, consisting of many excellent *Persian* horses and camels, besides 15,000 or 16,000 rupis of gold. As *Aureng Zib* did not ruin all those who were against him, or not of his party, in the late wars, so he did not fail to reward such as had faithfully served him: for besides his uncle *Shâb Hest Khân*, on whom he conferred the government of *Bengâl*, he gave to *Mîr Khân* that of *Kâbul*; to *Khalil'ollah Khân*, that of *Labûr*; to *Mîr Bâba*, that of *Elabâs*; to *Lasker Khân*, that of *Pâtna*. He appointed the son of *Ala Verdi Khân* (L) governor of *Sendi*; *Fazel Khân* he made *Khâneh Samman*, that is, great steward of the house royal; *Daneshmend Khân*, governor of *Dehli* (M); and *Dianet Khân*, governor of *Kashmîr*^l.

'Tis true, that *Nejabâd Khân*, who had behaved well in the battles of *Semongher* and *Kajoweh*, was dismissed; but that was, because he had the presumption to upbraid the king with the services done him. As to what concerns the *Râjahs Jeseyn* and *Jessom seyn*, this latter was suspected of holding intelligence with *Seva ji*, who had plundered *Surât* (N): for which reason *Aureng Zib* called him away from *Dekan*; but, instead of going to *Dehli*, he went to his own territory. In his place the king sent *Jeseyn*, accompanied by his son *Soltân Mauzm*, who yet was vested with no power. This *Râjah* presently besieged the principal fortrefs of *Seva ji*; and, no less by his dexterity in treating, than by force, prevailed on that

^k BERNIER, p. 131, & seqq.

^l Ibid. p. 146, & seqq.

(L) Who was of *Soltân Sujâb's* party.

(M) This was the lord by whom *Bernier* was retained as physician. As he was always employed in studies and foreign affairs, he was dispensed with from attending twice every day in the assembly of *Omrâs*, without having his salary retrenched.

(N) This was in 1664; in which year, we are told

by *Frazer*, that *Aureng Zib* went against the *Râjapûts*; and that his son *Soltân Mohammed Akber* revolted from him, and joined them; that the king pursued him into *Dekan*; but that the prince found means to get by sea to *Persia*. Yet *Gemelli* says, this revolt happened in 1680; as will be observed afterwards.

lord to surrender, before it came to extremities. This done, he drew *Seva* over to the *Mogol* a
interest, against *Viziapûr*; on which, *Aureng Zib* declared him a *Râjah*, and gave the pension
of a considerable *Omrâ* to his son. Some time after, at the instigation of that monarch, he
went to *Debli*, on the faith of *Jesseyn*.

Escapes from
court.

BUT *Aureng Zib* being prevailed on, by the persuasion of his uncle *Shâb Hest Khân*'s wife,
to arrest him, he found his pavilions, one evening, beset by three or four *Omrâs*: however,
he made shift to get away in the night. This escape made a great noise at court: and as
every-body accused the eldest son of *Jesseyn* to have assisted in it, the *Râjah* left *Dekan*, to
secure his estate, by advice of his friends; keeping night and day on his guard, for fear
the *Great Mogol* should lay hold of the pretence to seize his lands: but when he was at *Brâm-*
pûr he died. For all this, *Aureng Zib*, far from expressing any resentment to his son, con- b
doled with him for his father's death, and continued his pension: which confirms, says our
author, what many said, that *Seva ji*'s escape was with the consent of the king himself, that
he might avoid the resentment of the ladies of the court.

Sieges of Kan-
dahâr.

AURENG ZIB, being now engaged in no foreign broils, began to think of recovering *Kan-*
dahâr, which has of late ages been the subject of grievous wars. *Akber* took it from the
Persians; and *Shâb Abbas I.* recovered it from his son, *Jehân Ghîr*: afterwards it returned
to *Shâb Jehân*, by means of the governor *Ali Merdân Khân*, who, to avoid the malice of his
enemies, surrendered it to him, and went to live at his court. The city was besieged, and
retaken afterwards, by the son of *Shâb Abbâs* (O), from the same prince, who twice attempted c
to regain it, but without success. The first time it escaped, through the misunderstanding
among the *Persian Omrâs*, at the court of the *Great Mogol*; for they behaved very slackly,
and would not follow *Râjab Rowp*, who had already planted his standard on the wall towards
the mountain. The second time it was saved by the jealousy of *Aureng Zib* himself, who com-
manded at the siege: for after a large breach had been made in the wall by the cannon, which
was served by *English, Portugueses, Germans, and French*, he would not enter it; that it
might not be said to have been taken in the time of his brother *Dara*, who first proposed the
siege, and was then at *Kâbul*, with his father *Shâb Jehân*.

Aureng Zib's
attempt.

THIS prince, a little before the war among his sons, would have besieged it the third time,
had he not been diverted by *Amîr Femla*, who persuaded him to turn his arms towards *Dekân*.
In this he was seconded by *Ali Merdân Khân* himself; who, on that occasion, told him, d
that he could never expect to take it, unless he had another traitor there, such as he was. How-
ever, *Aureng Zib* prepared to make a new trial, as above-mentioned; urged thereto either by
the offensive letters of the king of *Persia*, relating to his proceedings against his father and
brothers, or by the ill-treatment given by that monarch to his ambassador, *Tarbiet Khân*.
But hearing of the king of *Persia*'s death, he turned back; saying, as was reported, *that he*
would not meddle with a child; a new king. This reason, however, our author does not think
probable; because *Shâh Soleymân*, who succeeded his father, was, in his opinion, about
twenty-five years of age^m.

BERNIER does not inform us what that treatment was which *Shâb Abbâs II.* gave to the
Mogol's ambassador: but we have an account of it from another traveller, of the same time, e
who relates it in the following manner.

Mogol ambaf-
sador,

SOME months before the death of *Shâb Jehân*, *Aureng Zib* sent an ambassador into *Persia*,
who was magnificently received and caressed for a month; but on the day when he delivered
the presents, the king divided them among the officers of his house, only keeping one dia-
mond, which weighed sixty carats. A few days after, *Shâb Abbâs* sent for the ambassador,
who having dropped some expressions against *Ali*, his majesty asked him what his name was?
He answered, that *Shâb Jehân* had given him that of *Baubek Khân*; that is, *Lord of a free*
heart; and honoured him with one of the chief employments at court. Then thou art a vil-
lain, replied the king, with an angry countenance, *to desert thy sovereign in his necessity,*
after thou hadst received so many favours from him, to serve a tyrant, who keeps his father f
in prison, and has murdered all his brothers. How dares he, continued the Persian, to take
upon him the title of Alem Ghîr, or, Conqueror of all the world, who never conquered any
thing; but possesses all he has by treachery and parricide? Hast thou been one of those who
counselled him to shed so much blood, to be the executioner of his brothers, and to keep his father
in prison? Thou art not worthy to wear a beard: and with that, immediately ordered it to
be shaved off; which is the greatest indignity that can be offered in that country. Soon after,
he commanded the ambassador to return home: sending with him, for a present to *Aureng*
Zib, 150 beautiful horses, with a great quantity of gold and silver carpets, and other stuff,
to an immense value. But when *Baubek Khân* had given his master an account of the king of
Persia's behaviour, *Aureng Zib* sent the horses into several parts of the city, and ordered it to be g

insulted in
Perna.

^m BERNIER, p. 148—157.

(1) *Shâh Sefi*.

proclaimed,

a proclaimed, that the followers of Ali could not ride those horses, without being unclean, as coming from a king who did not obey the true law. After which, he ordered them to be killed, and the rest of the presents to be burnt; uttering, at the same time, many reproachful words against the king of Persiaⁿ.

b AFTER *Aureng Zib* had sat on the throne near seven years, his father, *Shâh Jêhân*, died, on *Shâh Jêhân Sunday* the 21st of *January*, 1666, in the castle of *Agra*, aged seventy-four solar years and sixteen days. His body was interred in the same city, in the magnificent monument which he caused to be erected for his empress *Mehd Aliya*, called also *Tâje Mâhl*, and which had cost him sixty laks, of 750,000*l*. *Aureng Zib* was exceedingly affected at this news; on which he that instant set out from *Debli* for *Agra*, where every thing was with pomp prepared for his reception by *Begum Sâbeb* (or *Jêhân Ara Begum*); who at his entrance into the harâm presented him with a great golden bason, wherein were all her jewels, as well as those of *Shâh Jêhân*. In short, she received him in so magnificent a manner, and entertained him with so much dexterity, that she not only obtained his pardon, but also gained his favour, and even his confidence^o. He took her along with him, in his return to *Jêhân abâd*, or *Debli*: but not long after she died; and every-body suspected that she had been taken off by poison^p.

ⁿ TAVERNIER, Trav. part 2. l. 2. c. 7.

^o FRASER, Hist. Nadir Shah, p. 25. BERNIER, p. 174.

^p TAVERNIER, Trav. Ind. l. 2. c. 3. p. 114.

S E C T. III.

Conquests, and other transactions, to the death of Aureng Zib.

c ALTHOUGH *Aureng Zib* reigned so long in *Hindûstân*, yet we meet with very little, in either travellers, or other authors, relating to his reign, after the death of *Shâh Jêhân*, in 1666; where *Bernier* leaves off his history, which has furnished materials to succeeding writers. We are even assured, that there is no history extant, but of the first thirteen years of that monarch's reign, from 1658 to 1671; he having forbidden, under severe penalties, any account of his actions from that time to be written, during his life (A). All therefore we can do, in this case, is to collect the few scattered passages to be found chiefly in travellers, to supply, in some measure, this deficiency.

d ABOUT the year 1678 *Râjah Jesson seyn*, who had been instrumental in raising *Aureng Zib* *Râjapûts* at- to the throne, dying, that monarch demanded of his widow the treasure and territory belong- tacked ing to her late husband: but she returned for answer, that she had no money, but store of swords. This attack upon the *Rânnâ*, or princes, brought all the *Hindûs* into a confederacy with her: besides, *Mohammed Amîr Khân*, governor of *Guzerât*, who was son of *Amîr Jemla*, and her relation, was making parties for advancing to the throne one of the sons of *Aureng Zib*, who was thus engaged on all sides in wars. This gave occasion to *Seva ji* to move towards *Surât*, while a neighbouring *Râjah* marched against *Brâmpûr*, whose governor the Great Mogol had sent for to join him with his troops. In 1679 *Aureng Zib* made great preparations to attack the *Râjapûts*, who had revolted, as before-mentioned; but was for some time prevented by the rains, which were so heavy, that the tops of trees, near *Surât*, were under water (B). However, as soon as they were over, that monarch left *Jêhân abâd* (or *Debli*) with 10,000 e men, to go against them. Mean time his eldest son, *Soltân Mahmûd*, advanced to *Brâmpûr*, with a formidable army; for all which, *Seva ji* plundered the country in 1680. *Aureng Zib* A. D. 1680: continues a double poll-tax on the *Hindûs*, and breaks down all their images where-ever he finds them; so that, being forbidden to worship them in public, they retired to woods and caves to perform their devotions.

In the midst of these combustions, the famous *Seva ji* died, on the 1st of *June*, the same year.

f In the interim *Aureng Zib*, jealous of his eldest son, sent him to the *Jowalar*, or post (T). by Aureng He likewise recalled his second and third sons; *Soltân Azem* from his government of *Bengâl*, *Zib*. and *Soltân Mauzm* (U) from *Aureng abâd*: but, fearing to trust themselves in his power, they refused to resign them, and to repair to court. This disobedience to his commands their father was then obliged to take no farther notice of, as he had been out twice this year with a

^q FRYER's Trav. p. 412, & seqq.

(A) For this information we are beholden to Mr. *Fra- ser*, author of the history of *Nadir Shâh*.

(B) Our author, *Fryer*, tells us, p. 414. that this same year there fell a shower of blood, for 12 hours, within the land; and that on the coast (of *Golkonda*) *Machla- patan* (or *Masulîpâtan*) was overwhelmed by an inun-

dation, whereby 16,000 of the inhabitants perished.— It was almost depopulated by a plague, in 1687.

(T) Perhaps it should be to *Gwalîyâr*, to drink the powst, or stupefying draught.

(U) *Fryer* calls one *Assum*, the other *Massum*.

numerous army against the *Râspûts*; who, retiring into the mountains, so fatigued the *Mogols*, and distressed them with want of provisions, that the king was forced to return without being able to engage them^a.

His sons re-
volt.

THE disaffection of his three eldest sons made *Aureng Zib* more fond of his youngest, *Soltân Akber*, whom he intended for his successor; but forbore to nominate him, till he had executed his designs against the *Râspûts*; whom he intended to extirpate. To weaken the conspirators, he ordered *Mohammed Amîr Khân*, the governor of *Guzerât*, to join him. This lord, who was originally a *Hindû*, inclined to favour the *Rânnâ*, or widow of *Jessen Sing**; and finding that the *Mogol* generals drew from her great sums of money, under pretence of sending it to court to make her peace with the emperor, yet at the same time took *Cheyttûr*, the capital city, by surprise; he acquainted *Aureng Zib* with their fraudulent practices. He b likewise informed him, that *Kâbul Khân*, who was of his privy-council, held correspondence with *Soltân Mauzm* in *Dukkân* (or *Dekân*): but at the same time advised him to remit his severities against the *Hindûs*; alleging, that otherwise a general defection of them was to be apprehended.

The pagods de-
stroyed.

THIS advice *Aureng Zib* did not relish: but, having soon after seized letters from *Kâbul Khân* to *Soltân Mauzm*, urging him to begin a rebellion while his father was in *Azmîr*, at war with the *Rânnâ*, he found it was best for the present to take it; and ordered the treacherous *Khân* to be thrown headlong from a steep rock, as a reward for his perfidy. Mean time, although the emperor was withheld from his design of reformation among his *Hindû* subjects, yet he gave orders to demolish all the temples and images in *Azmîr* and the country c of *Jessen Sing*, which his army had subdued. In this devastation *Cheyttûr* suffered most; its magnificent marble structures being levelled with the ground. This city, which is impregnable by its situation, could never have been taken by force: but the *Rânnâ*, relying on the promises of the *Mogols* generals, neglected to provide the place with either men or ammunition; so that they who were in it on the enemies approach, finding themselves unable to oppose them, retreated into the mountains, and left this fortress open to their arms. After this, whatever the cause was, the *Mogol* forces were withdrawn in the midst of their career against the infidels; and commissioners left behind with very friendly offers towards an accommodation; which gave room to conjecture, that *Aureng Zib* was smitten with the *Râjah's* widow, who was a very beautiful lady^f.

Soltân Akber
rebels;
A. D. 1684.

THE next thing of note which we meet with in this reign, is the rebellion of his favourite d son *Soltân Akber*; who, we are told, was more ambitious than all the rest. This prince was sent (X) with an army of 30,000 men to make war on the *Râjah Lisone*, who borders on the kingdom of *Azmîr* (Y): but instead of subduing, he was prevailed on to join him: after which they both marched with their forces, consisting of 70,000 horse and a competent number of foot, most of them *Râspûts*, and entered *Azmîr*, where his father then was; who could hardly believe the thing real. Here, whilst the prince rested his army, much fatigued with the long march, the crafty old man, not having force sufficient to oppose him, had recourse to stratagem. He therefore wrote letters, directed to his son, in which he commended his conduct in drawing the idolaters to that place to be cut-off, as had been agreed; and promised to advance the next day, and put that design in execution. This letter he sent e by a trusty eunuch into the enemy's camp, with orders to behave so, that he might be seized as a spy, and a letter intercepted. The thing was managed accordingly, and had the desired effect: for, although *Akber* swore on the *Korân* that it was a contrivance of his father's to divide them, the *Hindû* chiefs would never believe him. These jealousies kept them so long employed, that *Aureng Zib* had time to call *Shâib Alem*, with a powerful army: who defeated both the *Râjah* and *Akber*.

fies to Persia.

AKBER after this put himself, with 4000 horse, under the protection of *Râjah Samba* (Z): but *Aureng Zib* attacked him so vigorously, that at length he took him prisoner, and caused his head to be cut-off, for having uttered some indecent expressions in his presence. This

^a FRYER'S Trav. p. 412, & seqq.

^f Ibid. p. 416, & seqq.

* Or *Jessom seyn*.

(X) There is much disagreement among authors about the date of this event. According to *Frazer*, he revolted to the *Râspûts* in 1664; but, had that been so, *Bernier*, *Tavernier*, and *Thevenot*, would have mentioned it. *Gemelli* places this revolt in 1680: but in that year *Fryer* says he was in great favour. Captain *Hamilton*, vol. i. p. 245, puts it about 1685. In this case *Frazer* must have mistaken 64 for 84. In effect, it must have been rather after than before 1684; since *Gemelli* says *Aureng Zib* had in 1695 been four years at *Gulgala*, after the defeat of *Akber*; whom he saw at *Ispahan* in 1694.

(Y) *Hamilton* says, that *Aureng Zib* was then in De-

kan against *Seva ji*; but could not reduce him; because *Akber* had a friendship for that *Râjah*, and still betrayed his father's designs. Also that the king having drawn *Seva ji* to his camp, with design to cut him off, *Akber* gave him notice, and he fled by night. The king, suspecting his son, sent him a rich vest, but poisoned; whereupon *Akber* fled to *Dandi Râjapûr*, and thence to *Masât* in *Arabia*. New account of *East-India*, vol. i. p. 245, & seq.

(Z) *Samba Râjah*, according to *Fryer*, was brother to *Seva ji*. See his Travels, p. 169, 171. But, p. 79, we find a son of that name, who succeeded his father in 1680. p. 415.

^a Râjah's ruin was owing to his drunkenness: for, though the centinels twice gave him notice, while he was drinking in his tent with his women dancers, that the *Mogol* army was advancing, instead of going to arms, he ordered their heads to be cut-off; saying, "the enemy" would not dare to come where he was." His son, who was not so far gone in liquor, escaped with one thousand horse, leaving his father behind; who soon smarted for his folly and intemperance.

As for *Akber*, he got away to *Goa*, and from thence was conveyed to *Ormiz* (A). Notice of his arrival being sent to *Shâh Soleymân*, this prince had him conducted to *Ispâhân*, and allowed him a pension suitable to his quality. *Aureng Zib* tried several arts to draw him out of *Persia*; but *Akber* was too wise to trust him. He likewise made war on *Seva ji* (B), for assisting that prince; and, after taking several towns, besieged him in his capital, called *Jinji* (C). This place is seated amidst seven mountains, with each a fort at top, which may be relieved in spite of the *Mogols*, who lay before them with 60,000 horse and foot, to little purpose. When *Gemelli* left *India*, the siege had lasted seven years^s.

IN 1688, Sir *John Child*, governor of *Bombay*, pretending grievances, gave in articles to the governor of *Surât*; and, not meeting with the redress which he expected, resolved to indemnify himself by taking the *India* merchant ships. In *January* 1689 he left *Surât*, and in his way to *Bombay* seized a fleet of vessels, carrying corn to an army of the *Great Mogol's*, which lay at *Dunder Râjapûr*, fourteen leagues to the southward. Hereupon *Sedi Yakûp*, the general, sent twice to the governor, in a very civil manner, to desire that he would discharge his fleet: but Sir *John* returning an insolent answer both times, *Sedi Yakûp*, on *February* 14th, landed 20,000 men, and soon took the whole island, excepting the fort; which he began to press upon. So that, in *December*, the governor sent two deputies to *Jehân abâd*, to beg pardon of *Aureng Zib*, and desired a new *Firmân*: which, in *June* 1690, the 31st of his reign, was granted, on condition that the governor should leave *India* in nine months (but he died in *January*), and satisfaction be made to his subjects, for debts due, and damages received. This was an argument of that monarch's pacific and forgiving disposition; as his granting a *Firmân* to Mr. *Boucher*, an *English* merchant, to secure him against the implacable malice and wicked persecution of the governor, was of his justice and humanity. Not long after, he received a new insult from Captain *Every* (or *Avery*), an *English* pirate, who took and plundered a great ship of his called the *Gunsway*; on which occasion our author Captain *Hamilton*, and Mr. *Vauz* (judge of *Bombay*), were made prisoners at *Surât*, in 1696^t.

WE should have been glad to conclude the reign of *Aureng Zib* with an account of his conquest over the two kingdoms of *Viziapûr* and *Golkonda*; which he had long resolved upon, and often attempted without success. But of these great events authors barely make mention, without so much as noting the year wherein they happened (D). It should seem from one writer, that in the year 1695, *Golkonda* was in the hands of its own prince; for that, the next year, advice arrived at *Batavia*, that the inhabitants were under much uneasiness, for fear of the *Great Mogol*; who, having conquered *Viziapûr* (E), was marching to attack that kingdom^e. But the truth is, that the capital of *Golkonda* was taken in 1687^{*}.

AURENG ZIB died at *Abmednâgar*, in the province of *Dowlet abâd*, the 31st of *February* 1707, after he had lived ninety lunar years, fourteen days, and reigned about fifty. He left a short will, in which he recommends the division which he had formerly made of his dominions to his sons, as the way to prevent much bloodshed. He told them, that whoever settled in *Agra* might have the province thereof, with *Dekhan*, *Mâlva*, and *Guzerât*; and that he who resided at *Debli* might have *Kâbul*, and the other provinces: but assigned neither part of any of them; only he ordered all his servants to be faithful to *Mohammed Azem Shâh*, his third son, who was then with him, *Mauzum* being at *Kâbul*; and recommended to such of his fortunate children as should chance to rule the empire, not to molest *Mohammed Kam*

^s GEMELLI Trav. ap. Churchill's Collect. vol. iv. p. 232.
vol. i. p. 200, 218, & seqq.

^t HAMILTON's New Account East-Indies, p. 155.
^{*} See the Hist. of *Golkonda*, book xiv. ch. 4. sect. 2.

(A) According to Captain *Hamilton*, he went to *Maskât*; where Messieurs *Bendal* and *Stephens*, two *English* gentlemen, provided him a vessel to carry him to *Persia*; and soon after his arrival, he was married to the king's sister. Ibid. p. 246.

(B) If this was so, *Akber's* revolt could be neither in 1684 nor 1680; for *Seva ji* died in *June* this last year, and *Akber* was in favour at *Jehân abâd*. There must be some mistake either in the Râjahs, or their names.

(C) We know of no place in *Seva ji's* country of this name. *Jenab*, on the borders, comes nearest it. *Rari* was his residence in 1678, when *Fryer* was in *India*.

(D) This is the case both of *Gemelli* and *Frazer*; who only say, that he added those kingdoms to his empire. Only *Gemelli* says *Viziapûr* was subdued in 1685, *Golkonda* is now reduced into a province, under the name of *Heyder abâd*; which is the *Persian* name for *Bagh-nagar*, the capital city.

(E) *Viziapûr* must then have been conquered in or about 1695. But *Gemelli*, who saw *Aureng Zib* encamped in that kingdom with a vast army, the same year, speaks of the conquest as made nine years before. Which must have been the case.

Bukhsb, his youngest son, in case he rested content with the two new *Sababs*, or governments, a meaning those of *Vijapur*, and *Hayder abad*, or *Golkonda*, which were lately conquered. He likewise ordered, that he should be buried in the place of *Shâb Zeyno'ddîn*, a *Darwîsh*, reputed holy, near the city where he died, without any pomp: and that only a tomb should be made for his corps, after the manner of the *Darwîshes*, which is plain, and without any ornament (F). As this prince was very zealous for *Mohammedism*, those of the religion make a great merit of visiting his tomb, especially on the 28th of the month *Zilkaadb*, which was the day he died on ^x.

His person, A CERTAIN traveller, who, in 1695, made a journey from *Goa* to the camp of *Aureng Zib*, then at *Galgala* in *Viziapûr*, and had an audience of him, gives the following account of his person. He was of a low stature, with a large nose, slender, and stooping with age. He walked leaning on a staff forked at the top, yet endorsed petitions without spectacles; and, by his chearful smiling countenance, seemed pleased with doing business in the public audience. His beard was white, and his complexion olive-coloured ^y.

and character. AURENG ZIB laboured to gain the reputation of being a strict observer of the Korân, and a lover of justice. He had so disposed of his time, that he could scarce ever be said to be idle. Some days in the week he bathed, before sun-rise: then, having prayed, he broke his fast. After that he spent two hours with his secretaries, and then gave public audience before noon. From thence he went to prayers again. This done he dined; and soon after gave audience a second time. Then followed the third and fourth time of prayer. He was next employed in the affairs of his family till two hours after it was dark: then he supped, and slept only two hours: after which he took the Korân, and read till break of day. This account was given our author by several eunuchs of the court; who, knowing their prince was skilled in necromancy (says *Gemelli*, no less superstitious than the eunuchs), believed he was assisted by the devil in that painful course of life; or could not have undergone so much fatigue in his old-age. Yet his diet was nothing but herbs and pulse.

His mildness: AFTER *Aureng Zib* had prescribed to himself this sort of life, he ceased to be bloody; and grew so mild, that the governors and *Omrâs*, depending on his clemency, neglected to pay him the obedience which they owed him. Hence the poor became oppressed by the great: for the king, when advised to be less merciful to those who transgressed his commands, answered, *that heaven would punish them*. The generality imputed this to his sanctity; but our author judged, that he connived at the faults of his ministers to attach them to him, and make them averse to a change.

daily employment. HOWEVER, he did not, when young, give himself up to sensual pleasures, as his predecessors had done; keeping a numerous harâm of women for ostentation rather than use. Nor was his table maintained out of the revenue of the crown. He said, *the food was not good which cost the sweat of the subjects: but that every man ought to work for his living*. For this reason he made caps, which he sent in presents to his governors; who, in return for the honour, remitted by the messengers several thousand rupis. When our author was in *Hindûstân*, his decrepid age having rendered him unable to work, he had reserved the revenue of four cities for his table. His expences were but small; for a vest of his did not cost above eight rupis (or twenty shillings); his sash, and chira, or cap, still less^z. He left in his private treasury 57,382 rupis (of 7172*l.* 15*s.*) as appears by his will.

His titles. AURENG ZIB, when he became emperor, assumed the titles of *Mobio'ddîn*, that is, *the reviver of religion*; and *Alem Ghîr*, *the conqueror of the world*^a. *Gemelli* says, he took the name of *Alem Ghîr*, in a belief that he possessed three parts in four of it. For this reason he carried a golden globe as his ensign, and had it in his seal. He likewise always tore off one corner of the paper he wrote on, to signify that the fourth part of the world was not his ^b.

His revenue. THE revenues of the empire were greatly increased in this prince's time: for, excluding *Bâlkh*, *Kandabâr*, and *Bidukhsân*, which *Shâb Jebân* possessed, and were afterwards lost, the remaining twenty-one provinces, reckoning the two new conquests, yielded a revenue of 12,071,876,840 dams which (at 320 dams to a pound sterling) make 37,724,615*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* (G).

Soltân Mohammed. AURENG ZIB had five sons; first, *Soltân Mohammed*, or *Mahmûd*, as most authors call him. He was several times confined by his father's order: and once or twice imprisoned in *Gwaliyâr*; where it is reported by some that he died by drinking the powst^c: but we are told

^x FRASER, ubi supr. p. 33, & seqq.

^y GEMELLI, ubi sup. p. 222.

^z Ibid. p. 230, l. ii. c. 4.

^a FRASER, ubi supr. p. 29.

^b GEMELLI, ubi supr.

^c FRASER, p. 33, 38.

(F) He left by his will 1000 rupis (or 125 pounds), to be distributed among the poor, at his funeral.

(G) *Gemelli* makes the revenue eighty kror of rupis, every kror containing ten millions: by which account

it will amount to one hundred millions. See his Voyage round the world, l. ii. ch. 6. ap. *Church. Collect.* vol. iv. p. 234.

a by a certain author, that, aiming at the crown, he proceeded so openly towards taking away his father's life, that, to prevent him, he caused him to be poisoned one day, when he went a hunting: and, mistrusting that he was not really dead, when he was brought to the palace, he, to be sure, commanded a red-hot iron to be run into his leg from the sole of his foot to his knee.

b MOHAMMED *Mauzm*, or, as *Gemelli* calls him, *Shâb Alem* (H), the second son, by the Mohammed death of *Mahmûd* had the right of eldest, and entertained the same thoughts of destroying his *Mauzm*, father. With this design he once caused a great trench to be dug near *Aureng Zib*'s tent, that he might fall into it, as he passed along: but, the plot being discovered by an eunuch, *Shâb Alem* was shut-up in a dark prison; where, though sixty years of age, he remained six years; till a few days before our author arrived at the *Mogol*'s camp in *Viziapûr*, which was in *March* 1695. Yet on account of his title by birth to the crown, many thousands of the soldiers were of his party, and even when he was in prison, continued firm; nor would receive any other pay, although he relieved them but meanly. He was at that time tall and corpulent, with a thick long beard, which began to be grey, being then sixty-five years of age. He succeeded *Aureng Zib*.

MOHAMMED *Azem*, or *Azem Shâb*, third son of *Aureng Zib*, played his game also in plot-Mohammed ting against his father, with the king of *Viziapûr*, his kinsman, before he was taken, and *Azem*, lost his dominions. *Azem Shâb* was fifty-five years old in 1695. *Aureng Zib* appointed him his successor; but his brother *Shâb Alem* deprived him of his crown and life.

c MOHAMMED *Akber*, or *Soltân Akber*, the fourth son, was the prince whom *Aureng Zib* was Mohammed most fond of, and designed for the throne: but his father's indulgence could not restrain him, *Akber*, more than the rest, from seeking the empire before his death, by rebellion; as hath been already related, with his flight to *Persia*, from whence he never returned to *Hindûstân*. In 1695 he was forty-five years of age.

AURENG ZIB's youngest son was *Mohammed Kambukhs* (I). *Gemelli*, who calls him Mohammed *Sekânder*, says he was about thirty in 1695, and infected with ambition, like the rest of his *Kambukhs*, brothers: for this reason, though after the conquest of *Viziapûr* the emperor had no enemy left more considerable than *Seva ji*, yet, fearing the designs of his sons, he had kept the field for fifteen years together^d.

^d GEMELLI, ubi supr. p. 220, & seqq. 231, & seqq.

(H) This shews, that *Soltân Mauzm* took the name throne, as *Shâh Jehân* had done before.

(I) That is, the giver of desires, or wishes. *Frazer*.

C H A P. IX.

Containing the reigns of the Emperors *Kothbo'ddîn*, *Bahâdr Shâh*, *Jehândâr Shâh*, *Mohammed Furrukshîr*, and *Rafîya al Derjâl*.

S E C T. I.

Reign of *Kothbo'ddîn Bahâdr Shâh*.

a U P O N *Aureng Zib*'s death, *Mohammed Azem Shâb* (A) set out from *Dekhan*, with his Wins the father's troops, towards the capital, to take possession of the empire, according to his crown father's destination: but *Mohammed Mauzm*, as the eldest brother, resolved to dispute the title with him; and therefore, about the same time, departed from *Kâbul* with another army, in order to decide the controversy by a battle. The two princes met with their forces on the banks of the river *Chun* (or *Jemni*), near *Agra*. They were the most numerous which for several ages had come together in *India*; *Mohammed Mauzm* having had with him 150,000 horse and 178,000 foot, exclusive of the auxiliaries furnished by the *Râjahs*, and his brother nigh as many. In short, after an obstinate battle, *Azem Shâb*'s forces were defeated, and himself slain. Hereupon *Mohammed Mauzm* was proclaimed emperor, and assumed the title b of *Kothbo'ddîn Bahâdr Shâb*, and *Shâb Alem* (B).

(A) *Azem Shâb* signifies the great or glorious king. This prince was then, according to *Gemelli*, reckoned sixty-seven years old.

(B) Or, as it may be now pronounced in the *Indies*, *Shâb Allâm*, which signifies king of the world. According to *Gemelli*, he went by this name or title many years

before; it being customary for the princes to change their names on certain occasions. *Bahâdr Shâb* signifies the valiant king, and *Kothbo'ddîn*, the axis of religion. He was, according to *Gemelli*'s account, seventy-seven years old.

THIS

from his brothers.

THIS prince at his accession made *Mohammed Khân* his Wazîr; *Zulfekâr Khân*, his Mîr Bukhshî, or paymaster-general; *Dawd Khân*, Soubahdâr, or lord-lieutenant, of the provinces of *Dekhan*; and *Affad Khân* absolute agent. Then, leaving this latter to take care of the capital, he marched against his brother *Kam Bukhsh*, who had left *Vijapûr* (or *Viziapûr*), and settled at *Hayder abâd* (C). There, after some small resistance, he was taken prisoner, and died the same night of the wounds which he had received in the fight.

Their sons.

BAHADR Shâh, having thus removed all obstructions out of his way, returned to his metropolis; and from thence went to *Labûr*, to suppress some religious riots: shortly after which he died, when he had reigned about six years. This emperor had four sons: *Mauzo'ddîn*, called also *Jehândâr Shâh* (D); *Mohammed Azîm*, or *Azîm al Shân* (E); *Raffiya al Kadr*, or *Raffiya al Shân* (F); *Khojesta Akhter*, or *Jehân Shâh* (G).

SOLTAN *Mohammed Azem* had two sons; *Mohammed Bidûr Bukht* (H), and *Mohammed Wallâ Jâh* (I).

SOLTAN *Mohammed Kam Bukhsh* had one son; *Jesdân Bukhsh*, called also *Rahmân Bukhsh* (K); whose daughter was married to *Nasr Allab Mirzâ* (L), son of *Nadir Shâh*, or *Tabmasp Kûli Khân*^a.

^a FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Shah, p. 39, & seqq.

(C) Formerly called *Bâgnâgar*, the capital city of *Golkondâ*.

(D) *Mauzo'ddîn* signifies the honour or glory of religion; *Jehândâr Shâh*, the king who possesses the world. *Frazer*.

(E) *Mohammed Azîm*, *Mohammed the Great*; *Azîm al Shân*, of great figure, or rank. *Frazer*.

(F) *Raffiya al Kadr*, of exalted power; *Raffiya al Shân*, of exalted rank.

(G) *Khojesta Akhter*, of happy stars; *Jehân Shâh*, king of the world.

(H) *Bidûr Bukht*, whose fortune is awake. *Frazer*.

(I) *Wallâ Jâh*, of august rank.

(K) *Jesdân Bukhsh*, God's gift; *Rahman Bukhsh*, the gift of the merciful. *Frazer*.

(L) *Nasr Alla*, assisted by God. *Frazer*.

S E C T. II.

Reign of Jehândâr Shâh.

His success:

ON the death of *Babâdr Shâh*, *Azîm al Shân* gathered a powerful army: to oppose which, and prevent his possessing the empire, his three brothers, *Jehândâr Shâh*, *Raffiya al Shân*, and *Jehân Shâh*, joined their forces to oppose him. The two armies at length coming to an engagement, *Azîm al Shân* was defeated and slain. The confederate brothers after this could not agree about the partition of the empire: and, during the contest, the treasure of the deceased prince fell into the hands of *Zulfekar Khân*, who was in *Jehândâr Shâh*'s interest. As this accession of wealth greatly augmented his power, he marched against his two remaining brothers; and, having overcome their forces, took and put them both to death. The destruction of his brothers secured the empire to *Jehândâr Shâh*, and *Zulfekar Khân* became his Wazîr.

Awake prince;

HE was a weak prince, and so foolishly fond of one of his wives, named *Lal Koar*, who was of an obscure parentage, and a singer by profession, that he endeavoured to fill the places of greatest trust and honour in the empire with her mean relations. This misconduct so disgusted *Seyd Abdallab Khân* and *Seyd Hassan Khân*, two brothers, who were of great authority, and had a choice body of troops at their command, that they resolved to place *Mohammed Furruksîr* (M), son of *Azîm al Shân*, on the throne. This prince, who was then in *Bengâl*, notwithstanding he had but little treasure, got numbers of people to join his party, with whom he marched to dethrone the emperor. At first he met and defeated (N) *Eazo'ddîn*, son of *Jehândâr Shâh*. After which he proceeded against *Jehândâr Shâh* himself: who, through the treachery and cowardice of his troops, was defeated near *Agra*, and obliged to fly, although he had near 100,000 horse and foot.

is dethroned.

JEHANDAR SHAH had one son, *Eazo'ddîn*.

AZIM AL SHAN had one son, *Mohammed Furruksîr*.

RAFIYA AL SHAN had three sons; *Raffiya al Derjât* (O), *Raffiya al Dowlat* (P), and *Soltân Ibrâhim*.

JEHAN had one son, *Mohammed Shâh*, who was the late emperor of *Hindûstân*^b.

^b FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 41, & seqq.

(M) *Furruksîr* (or *Furruksîr*) signifies of happy disposition. *Frazer*.

(N) *Eazo'ddîn* (or *Azzo'ddîn*) signifies the glory of religion. *Frazer*.

(O) *Raffiya al Derjât*, of exalted degree.

(P) *Raffiya al Dowlat*, of exalted fortune. *Frazer*.

S E C T. III.

Reign of Mohammed Furrukhsîr.

^a **M**OHAMMED FURRUKHSÎR, son of *Azim al Shan*, being settled on the throne, *Seyd Abdollah Khân* was made Wazîr, with the title of *Kothb al Mulluk*, and *Jâr bâ shers wafâ* (Q). *Hassan Ali Khân* was appointed Mîr Bukhshî, or paymaster-general, with the title of *Amîr al Omrâ* (R). As these two brothers usurped the absolute management of all affairs, the emperor found himself in effect only so in name, while these ministers had the whole power in their own hands. *Furrukhsîr*, ill brooking the condition of a nominal sovereign, at length, by the advice of *Khândorân* and *Mîr Jumla*, began to contrive means how to get rid of such assuming subjects. The two brothers, on the other hand, were intent on nothing so much as enriching themselves. They turned out *Nizâm al Mulluk* (S), son of *Gâzi'ddîn Khân* (T), from his government of *Dekkân*, and *Hassan Ali Khân* went thither himself. At last, the two brothers, finding that the emperor grew jealous of their power, resolved to dethrone him, and place a more passive prince in his room.

To accomplish their design the more effectually, they endeavoured to draw into their measures *Ajît Sang*, the Mâha Râjah; who, although his daughter was married to *Furrukhsîr*, joined in the conspiracy. Having seized the emperor's person, they first confined, and shortly after blinded him, by drawing a red-hot wire over his eyes. At length, on the 16th of February, 1719, after offering him a thousand indignities, they put him to death, when he had reigned seven years. It was in this emperor's time that the *English East-India* company obtained a *Firmân* (U), exempting them from paying any duties within his dominions^c.

^c FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 43, & seqq.

(Q) *Kothb al Mulluk*, the axis of the empire; *Jâr bâ wafâ*, the grateful friend. Fraser.

(R) The prince of princes, or commander of commanders. Fraser.

(S) A title, signifying he who arranges and puts in order the empire. His first name was *Chîn Kulij Khân*, which, in the Tatar language, signifies the sword-drawing lord. Some corruptly pronounce *Chuklas Kaun*. He

has a son named *Gâzi'ddîn*, who has lately gotten the title of *Nâsr Jing*, victorious in war.

(T) The champion of religion.

(U) It signifies, literally, an order; but is used for a patent or grant from the emperor. Mr. Fraser has inserted a translation of this *Firmân*, with an explanation of the terms.

S E C T. IV.

Reign of Rafîya al Derjât.

^c **T**HE *Seyds*, after they had made away with *Furrukhsîr*, took *Rafîya al Derjât*, son of *Rafîya al Shân I.* out of the castle of *Selîngur*, where the royal family are confined, and placed him on the throne. But he had not reigned above three months before they murdered him also: and, sending for his brother, advanced him to the empire.

S E C T. V.

Reign of Rafîya al Dowlet.

^d **T**HIS prince, after the murder of his brother, was by the assassins proclaimed with the usual solemnity; but in a few days after he died a natural death, and was succeeded by Rafîya al Dowlet.

^d FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 54.

C H A P. X.

The reign of Nasro'ddîn Mohammed Shâh, 12th emperor.

S E C T. I.

Affairs at court till the invasion of Nâdir Shâh.

12. Khân Mo-
hammed
Shâh.

One brother
slain,

the other
taken;

but is spared,

and well
treated.

MOHAMMED SHAH, who was the son of *Jebân Shâh*, on his advancement to the throne, assumed the title of *Nasro'ddîn*; that is, *the supporter or assister of religion*. But the *Seyds*, who had raised him to that dignity, allowed him no more of the imperial power than they had done to his cousin *Furruksbîr*; which made him eagerly wish for an opportunity of making himself independent, and revenge the death of that prince. Nor was he long without accomplishing his desires. For, in *October 1720*, *Mohammed Shâh*, accompanied by *Hassan Ali Khân* and several other *Omrâs*, set out from *Agra*, with a numerous army, under pretence to reduce *Nesâm al Muluk*, who had grown very powerful in *Dekkan*. At the end of the first day's march, being nine measured kos from the capital, the emperor (as it had been concerted) called a *Diwân*, or council; and, after a short stay, withdrew. As soon as he was gone, *Mohammed Amîn Khân* (A), *Heydr Kûli Khân* (B), master of the ordnance, *Khândoran*; and several other *Omrâs*, who were most attached to the royal family, drawing their swords, fell on *Hassan Ali Khân*, and killed him, with two or three of his friends.

UPON this event, *Mohammed Shâh* laid aside the expedition to *Dekkan*, and returned towards *Dehli*, in order to cut-off *Seyd Abdollah Khân*, the other brother, who was in that capital, with a great force. This minister, as soon as he heard of *Hassan Ali Khân's* murder, took out of prison *Soltân Ibrâbîm*, son of *Raffiya al Shân*, and proclaimed him emperor. Then, having gathered what treasure he could, and broken to pieces the famous throne, which cost *Shâh Jebân* eleven millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, in order to pay his soldiers, he soon completed an army of 50,000 horse, and advanced to meet the emperor, who had encamped at *Serkad*, which is twelve kos from *Mhetra*. On the second of *November 1720*, both armies came to an engagement; and after a bloody battle fought, *Abdollah's* forces were not only defeated, but the young *Soltân* and himself taken prisoners. The latter was desperately wounded, and the former had no other punishment inflicted on him than being sent back to his old quarters, the castle of *Selîmgûr*^a.

UPON this victory the emperor made great rejoicings: and, appointing *Mohammed Amîn Khân* *Wazîr*, returned to *Dehli*. There, *Abdollah Khân* being brought before him, he said, "Traitor, see what thou hast done." To which the other answered; "I took you out of prison, and gave you an empire. As I was at the head of an army when my brother was murdered by your order, self-preservation directed me to make use of it. Providence decreed you the victory: use it as you think proper, by treating this clay as your resentment or interest may prompt you." Then the emperor asking him, "What harm had *Furruksbîr* done to him?" his reply was, "that he grew jealous of his and his brother's power; and that, as it was inconsistent with their interest to resign it into his hands, they thought it dangerous to lose any time in removing him." He added, "that if providence had permitted them to continue acting with the same prudence, they should not have come to such a tragical end." The emperor then ordered him to be confined, and four servants allowed to attend him.

His clemency to this usurper extended still farther; for *Furruksbîr's* mother having desired that the murderer of her son might be delivered to her; he sent her word, that it was unlawful to put two persons to death for the murder of one, and that *Hassan ali Khân* had been killed in retaliation. He then ordered, that *Abdo'llah Khân* should lodge in the palace of *Asof al Dowlet*, have a pension of 3000 rupîs monthly, thirty household servants, and seventy menial ones, with provisions of all kinds from the royal kitchen; five women to attend him, and proper guards over him. But the *Khân* did not live long to enjoy this generous allowance; for he died a few months after of his wounds. Forty-five women, most of them his wives and concubines, and some his near relations, burned (C) themselves in one room, the night after his decease.

AFTER

^a FRASER, ubi supr. p. 54, & seqq.

(A) *The faithful Khân.*

(B) *Heydr Kûli* signifies *the slave of the lion*; meaning *Ali Mortîsâ*, son-in-law of *Mohammed*; who had, among others, the appellation of *Heydr*.

(C) In antient times, none but the wives of the *Bramins* had the privilege of burning themselves: but, since the government passed from them to the *Râjpûts*, it is customary, when any of their princes dies, for one

or

^a AFTER the fall of the two brothers, *Heydr Kûli Khân* was in great favour, and afterwards made Sowbahdâr, or lord-lieutenant, of *Abmed abâd*. *Nousrit Ear Khân* was made Sowbahdâr of *Ajmîr* (or *Azmîr*); *Sîr Bullind Khân* was sent for from *Kûbul* to be made one of the Wazîrs; and *Khândorân* was made Mîr Bukhshî, or paymaster-general and treasurer, with the title of Amîr al Omra.

IN the year 1721-2, the emperor wrote to *Nezâm al Muluk*, then in *Dekkan*; desiring him to repair to court, and take on him the office of Wazîr. But this lord, after mentioning the designs of the late *Seyds* against him, declined that post, under pretence that he was not equal to it: upon which it was conferred on *Mohammed Amîn Khân*, and after his death on *Kamro'ddîn Khân*, his son; who still enjoyed it in 1741. *Nezâm* continued in *Dekkan*, as Subahdâr of *Vijapûr*, *Heydr abâd*, *Aureng abâd*, and other provinces, yet made no remittances to court; but appropriated the revenues to maintain an army, which he said was to keep in awe the *Mâharâttas*, or *Ganims*, the *Sahow Râjah's* subjects (D), in *Dekkan*; whom, notwithstanding, he permitted to ravage several of the king's provinces. They imposed a tribute of one fourth of the revenues (which they call *chot*) in many places, and some parts they have taken intirely to themselves. He well knew, that, with the assistance of the *Mâharâttas*, he could defy any attempts which might be made against him by the court ^b.

THUS things went on for some time: but as the affairs of the empire grew daily worse, through the indolence of the Wazîr, *Mohammed Shâh* resolved to send again for *Nezâm al Muluk*, who had been one of *Aureng Zîb's* old Amîrs, and was a person of great experience. Accordingly, orders being issued out for his appearance at *Debli*, he left his son *Gâzio'ddîn Khân* to command in *Dekkan*, and come to court. There he met with a gracious reception from the emperor; who made him absolute agent, which is greater than Wazîr, and honoured him with the title of *Asof Jah* (E). But as *Mohammed Shâh* was intirely governed by *Khândorân*, the paymaster-general, and *Nezâm* was for settling affairs on the same footing they were in *Aureng Zîb's* time, whatever he required on that score was opposed and laughed at by the Omrâs. As by this he perceived the weakness of the emperor, and the dissoluteness of the courtiers, who spent their time in the company of loose women and buffoons, he told his majesty the affairs of his province required his presence, and left the court.

ON his arrival in *Dekkan*, resolving to rouse the emperor and those about him out of their indolence, he encouraged *Râjah Sahow* to send his general, *Bajiraw*, to ravage the empire. The *Mâharâttas* soon over-ran the province of *Mâlwa*, killed the governor *Guerdir Bahâdr*; and, seizing all his riches, returned to *Dekkan*. As the court took no notice of these inroads, next year they entered *Guzerât*, and plundered the inhabitants, although they agreed to pay a quarter part of the revenue. From thence they went and harraided the country round *Gwal-yâr*; which being near the capital, the court was alarmed, and *Khândorân*, *Kamro'ddîn Khân*, and other Omrâs, sent with a powerful army to chastise them: but these great officers, judging peace the safest measure, agreed to pay the *chot*, or quarter part, and returned home. Notwithstanding this, when the money was paid, the *Mâharâttas* not only plundered the redeemed places, but resolved to proceed as far as *Agra*; there to receive the *chot* for *Debli*. This obliged the above-mentioned officers to march back to *Agra*; but, a little before they arrived, the enemy had crossed the river *Jemna*, with an intent to enter *Awdîh* ^c.

SAADIT KHAN, governor of that province, having notice of their design, marched against them with a strong body of troops; and, after an obstinate engagement, defeated them, took two of their principal officers, and killed 5000 of their men. With the remains of their army, they advanced to *Ferid abâd*, ten kos from *Debli*: upon which, *Khândorân* and the Wazîr, being joined by *Saadit Khân*, went in pursuit of them. But the *Mâharâttas* had left that place three hours before the Omrâs arrived, and proceeded to *Kâlka*, near that capital; where they stripped the inhabitants of all their effects; and, knowing that *Debli* had but few forces therein, they intended to plunder it. On this advice, the emperor sent *Amîr Khân* and *Hassan Khân* to oppose them: but, after an engagement of some hours, *Hassan Khân* was killed, and the army being almost routed, the *Mâharâttas* were on the point of entering the city; when the Wazîr, who had out-marched the other two Omrâs, came to his

^b FRASER, ubi supr. p. 57, & seqq.

^c Ibid. ubi supr. p. 62, & seqq.

or more of his wives to be burned with him; but there is no compulsion in the case. Lately the *Seyd* and *Pâtan* families, in several parts of *India*, have, through excessive pride, gotten into this custom: and as it is strictly forbidden by their religion, which is the *Mohammedan*, they do it privately, by setting an apartment on fire about their ears. *Frazer*.

(D) The *Sahow Râjah*, who keeps his court at *Set-tara* in *Dekkan*, is a descendant of *Seva Râjah*, otherwise *Seva ji*. He has lately taken the island of *Salset*, the castle and town of *Baqaim*, with other places, from

the *Portugueses*. He has above 200,000 horse in his dominions. *Frazer's* hist. of *Nadir Shâh*, p. 33. This seems to be the same prince, who, in *Downing's* history of the *Indian wars*, is called the *Grand Seyd* (or *Seyd*), from whom *Angria* took several territories along the sea-coast; and at length made an alliance with him, by marrying his daughter. The same author calls the subjects of that prince *Sedeys*, or *Ganims*, p. 232, and elsewhere.

(E) That is, in place and rank as *Asof*; who they say was *Solomon's* Wazîr. *Frazer*.

assistance, and put the enemy to flight. Not content with that, he pursued them for seven a kos from *Dehli*, and came up with them; yet, having no inclination to fight, secretly made up matters: upon which they marched back to *Dekkan*.

Nizâm's conspiracy.

THE emperor fearing always to be troubled with these incursions of the *Ganims*, while *Nezâm al Muluk* continued in *Dekkan*, in 1638, got *Mebr Parvir*, his grandmother, who had great interest with that lord, to write him a letter; promising him the intire management of affairs, provided he would come forthwith to court. *Nezâm* complied with her request: but met with worse treatment than before from the *Omrâs*, who took all opportunities of affronting him; especially *Kbândorân*, and his creatures, who used to ridicule him when he came to court; saying, *Observe how the Dekkan monkey dances*. This usage having wrought him up to the highest pitch of resentment, he resolved to be revenged of *Kbândorân* and his b party, though by distressing the empire. Not being able to draw the *Wazîr Kamro'ddîn Kbân*, though allied by marriage (F), into his plot, he prevailed with *Saadit Kbân*, Sowbahdâr of *Awdib*, who ever since the scandalous peace made with the *Mâbarâttas*, stood disaffected to the court; and the method they resolved on, was to call in *Nâdir Shâb*, ruler of *Persia*, who was then repairing and fortifying *Kandahâr*; which, during the confusion at the *Great Mogol's* court, he had subdued ^d.

^d FRASER, ubi supr. p. 66, & seqq.

(F) *Nizâm's* son was married to the *Wazîr's* daughter, and the *Wazîr's* son to *Nizâm's* daughter.

S E C T. II.

The conquest of Hindûstân by Nâdir Shah, and confinement of the emperor.

Nâdir Shâh's invited:

THE conspirators having removed the difficulties which *Nâdir Shâb* urged in his answer c to their letters, and promised to make every thing easy to him; that hero set-out with an army of 125,000 horse, of several nations, all inured to hardships. Mean time, *Nezâm al Muluk* and *Saadit Kbân* used all their endeavours secretly to promote their design; and as *Sherzîb Kbân*, governor of the castle (G) of *Kâbul*, *Nazîr Kbân*, Sowbahdâr of that province, a creature of *Kbândorân's*, and *Zakariya Kbân*, ruler of the province of *Labûr*, were the chief obstructions in *Nâdir Shâb's* way, they wrote to inform them, "that, as the emperor and his " favourite courtiers employed their time in nothing but wine and women, they could have no " assistance from court; and therefore the best that they could do, was on this occasion to act " discreetly, and save themselves." These letters had the desired effect with the two latter. So that *Nazîr Kbân*, finding that *Nâdir Shâb*, after he had taken *Ghorbund* and *Ghoznavi* (H), d was marching to *Kâbul*, retired from thence to *Peyshur*: but *Sherzîb Kbân* defended both city and castle for six weeks. He sent repeatedly to *Nazîr Kbân*, and the court, for assistance; but none coming, both were at length, in *June*, taken by storm, and he, with his son, put to death. The victor here found treasures of great value; which had been laid up in vaults ever since the time of *Soltân Bâbr*.

enters the empire,

THIS great success startling the court, the emperor ordered every thing to be gotten ready for taking the field: but as *Râjab Jessing* had informed *Kbândorân*, that *Nâdir Shâb's* invasion was a concerted thing, that *Omrâ* advised *Mohammed Shâb* not to leave the capital. However, it was at last agreed, that his majesty should accompany the army to *Labûr*; and that from thence it should proceed towards *Kâbul*, under the command of *Nizâm al Muluk*, and e the other two *Omrâs*. But, when all things were ready for setting out, *Kbândorân*, to every body's surprize, returned to the palace, and delayed the march; while *Nizâm* seemed earnest to hasten it. The emperor's servants also contrived all the impediments which they could think of, so that *Nâdir Shâb* was far advanced in his march to *Peyshur* (I). There the *Afghâns* and mountaineers kept him in play for seven weeks; when, seeing there was no forcing the passes without much bloodshed, he sent them offers of accommodation. These they came into the more readily, as the Sowbahdârs had sent no assistance; and they had been four or five years without receiving any of their usual pay, or allowance, from court ^e.

with small opposition:

THEREFORE, on *Nâdir Shâb's* giving them a certain sum of money, they not only let his forces pass unmolested, but listed under him. Hereupon, leaving the main body behind, f

^e FRASER, ubi supr. p. 129, & seqq.

(G) There are always two governors; one, called *Hakem*, to command the city; the other *Kullehdâr*, who commands the castle, and is generally for life; but must never stir out of it. *Fraser*.

(H) or *Gazna*, a famous city between *Kandahâr* and

Hindûstân, once the capital of a dynasty, or monarchs, who took from it the name of *Gâzni*, and *Gâznavi*.

(I) A city 202 measured kos (or 253 miles) from *Dehli*, 97 from *Labûr*, and 35 from *Astok*.

he

a he set out in November with 10,000 chosen *Kuzzibāsh* (K) horse, and in seven days got to *Peyshār*. By this means surprising *Nazir Khān*, who was encamped near the city with 7000 horse, he defeated such as stood the shock, and took him prisoner (L); after which he entered *Peyshār*. When the news of this defeat came to court, *Nizām al Muluk*, *Khāndorān*, the Wazir *Kamro'ddin Khān*, and the other Omrās, set out on the second of January, 1738-9, with a numerous army, and train of 700 artillery, to oppose the conqueror. *Nizām*, after using delays, and prepossessing the soldiers with a terror of the enemy's power, marched on, and encamped in the plains of *Karnal*, fifty-five kos from *Dehli*; where the emperor (M) joined his troops on the fourth of February.

MEAN time *Nādir Shāh*, having crossed the *Atok* (N), marched to *Labār*; where *Zekā-comes to Labār* *Khān* had intrenched himself without the city: but, as soon as the enemy's troops appeared in sight, he retreated with his forces into the castle; from whence, having cannonaded the *Persians* for three days, he capitulated, and 1000 *Kuzzibāsh* took possession. *Nādir Shāh* staid there one week, and then, by continued marches, arrived (O) at the village of *Tillawuri*; which is near *Karnal*¹. The emperor's camp, about seven kos in circuit (P), was surrounded by murchas, or barricades, on which were mounted 5000 carriage-guns. In the center stood the imperial quarters; fronting which were the murchas of *Nezām al Muluk* and *Saado'ddin Khān*, mounted likewise with ordnance. On the right was *Khāndorān*; on the left *Kamro'ddin Khān*; behind the emperor was posted *Sirbullind Khān*; and *Mohammed Khān Bungush* in the rear of all; each accompanied with several Omrās at the head of their troops; the whole army amounting to 200,000 horse and foot.

NADIR *Shāh* had with him 40,000 horse, each with two or three attendants, grooms, ^{meets and} and camel-drivers, robust young men. All were completely armed, with lances, bows, or ^{or} muskets, even to the sutlers, and mounted on camels, mules, or horses: amounting in the whole to near 160,000 men. Nay, 7000 women, who had been taken captives, were, tho' veiled, booted and armed like the men; having a furtout over their own cloaths, and a sort of turbān on their heads. The same day that he arrived at *Tillawuri*, which was the thirteenth of February, 1738-9, several messengers were sent to *Nezām al Muluk*, with offers of an accommodation: but he rejected all, and would hear of nothing but war. Next morning *Saadit Khān* arrived in the camp; and being informed, while he waited on the emperor, d that his baggage was attacked by the *Persian* vanguard, halted to assist his people. As this affair happened near *Khāndorān*'s quarters, that Omrā and above twenty more, with their troops, joined *Saadit*.

At the same time, *Nādir Shāh*, who had removed his camp on that side, being apprised ^{the Mogol} of their design, advanced towards them; and, having planted 3000 horse in ambush in three ^{army} different places, sent 500 musketeers towards *Saadit Khān*, and 500 more towards *Khāndorān*, in order to draw them into the snare. This stratagem having taken effect, the horsemen, who lay in ambush, broke-out on and engaged them furiously. Mean time, *Nādir Shāh*, attended by 1000 *Afsbar* horse, rode to and from all quarters to encourage those men. The rest of the army stood drawn up at a distance, ready at a signal to come to his assistance: e but, as it happened, there was no occasion for them: for those four or five thousand having fought obstinately till the evening, when the emperor's forces gave ground, *Saadit Khān*, *Shirjing*, and *Khāndorān*'s youngest son, were taken prisoners. *Khāndorān* himself received several mortal wounds, and was carried back to his quarters. *Muzaffer Khān*, with several other officers, were killed, besides what were wounded; and great numbers lay dead in the field of battle (Q)².

WHEN those who fled returned to the camp, a great tumult arose; and the tents of *Khān*-An accommo-
dorān, *Muzaffer Khān*, *Saadit Khān*, and others, who were in the action, were plundered by ^{dation pro-}
^{posed.}

¹ FRASER, ubi supr. p. 136, & seq.

² FRASER, ubi supr. p. 152, & seqq.

(K) Or *Kezibāsh*, an order of soldiers, much like the janizaries, established by *Sheykh Heydr*, father of *Shāh Ismael*.

(L) Five hundred thousand pounds were remitted to this Navob; who, on his defeat, fled; but was taken and imprisoned: yet in a few days was made one of *Nādir Shāh*'s Wazir's. *Fraser*, p. 144.

(M) The emperor, confounded on hearing *Nādir Shāh* had crossed the *Atok*, was for going by water to *Patna*, or to *Kaffi Benares*, a city in the province of *Alehabad*, famous for *Indian* worship and colleges.

(N) When *Nādir Shāh* was about *Atok*, he wrote a letter to the emperor; in which he said the reason of his stay there was to do him and religion service, by driving to hell the infidels of *Dekkan* (meaning the *Maharattas*, or *Ganims*), in case they should any more invade his dominions; swearing by *Ali Morija*, that he

had no other view. About the end of the same month (of August) by another letter he demanded five millions sterling.

(O) There were killed in the road and villages 8000 people, from *Lakār* to *Karnal*.

(P) What follows is taken from a journal of *Nādir Shāh*'s transactions in *India*, written by *Mirza Zuman*, secretary to *Sirbullind Khān*, and communicated to Mr. *Fraser*.

(Q) According to a letter wrote the next day from the *Mogol* camp, *Nādir Shāh* fought with 50,000 men. *Khāndorān* received a bullet in his arm and in his side. *Muzaffer Khān* was killed jumping from his elephant. *Mirza Khodabenda*, grandson to the *Great Mohabet Khān*, was killed. On *Nādir Shāh*'s side, seven principal officers and 2500 men were slain, about 5000 wounded. —17,000 of the *Hindostān* army were slain.

their own people. In this confusion, the emperor, in conjunction with *Nizâm al Muluk*, the a Wazîr, and the other Omrâs, drew up their men without their barricades in a line of battle, with design to hinder the enemy from advancing any farther: but had not night come on, those precautions would have stood in little stead; and that day would have put an end to the whole affair. As many of those, who escaped out of the fight, as well as of such who attended the baggage, fled towards *Debli*; the camp was in some places so thin of men, that when at midnight the emperor sent for *Nizâm al Muluk*, to come to his tent, the space of his mûrcha, or barricade, about three quarters of a kos, was entirely empty. This made them next day to contract their camp within that space which was sufficient to contain all the troops which remained; who stood under arms all that day, the 16th, every minute expecting the enemy's approach. On the 17th, *Nizâm al Muluk* and *Azîm alla Khân* went to *Shâh Nâdia*'s camp, b to accommodate matters; and, after a stay of six hours, returned. *Nâdir Shâh* embraced *Nizâm* sitting, and made him stand honourably, close by himself; he gave him a cup of sherbet, and appointed him to eat at the house of *Kassum Beg Khân*, his Eytêmâdo'ddowlet, or Wazîr: after which it was agreed, that *Mohammed Shâh* should go and see *Nâdir Shâh*. The same evening *Khândorân* died of his wounds.

The emperor
goes to

THE 18th, at night, *Nizâm* received a rich kalaet, or vest, on being appointed Mîr Bukhshî, or paymaster-general, and Amîr al Omrâ (R), or head of the Omrâs, in the room of the deceased; whose corps was buried the next day with marks of distinction, in the village of *Kârnal*. Mean time, the emperor sitting in a royal litter (S), with a canopy and umbrella, one led horse, and a drum, attended by *Ghâzioddin Khân Azîm allah Khân*, the Wazîr's son, c and several eunuchs, marched out of the camp, with 200 horse; who, when he had gone a little way, returned. With the rest, he went on to *Nâdir Shâh*'s camp. When he was about half-way, *Tabmâsp Khân Vakîl* came to do him the usual honours. Afterwards he was met by *Nâsr allah Mîrza*, the son of *Nâdir Shâh*; who, alighting from his royal litter, paid the emperor his respects after the *Persian* form. Then *Mohammed Shâh*, ordering his own litter to be set down, embraced the young prince: after which they both marched on till they came to the train of ordnance. Here all the attendants were obliged to stay behind; the emperor only, with the Omrâs above-mentioned, and two or three eunuchs, being allowed to pass^h.

Nâdir Shâh's
camp:

WHEN they came to the door of the royal tent, *Nâdir Shâh* came forth to receive his guest; d and, having embraced, seated him close by himself on the same *musnid* (T). After the usual forms of salvation, and enquiry about each other's health, were over, *Nâdir Shâh* addressed him thus: "It is strange you should be so regardless of your own affairs, that although I
" wrote you several letters, sent an ambassador, and testified a friendship for you, your minis-
" ters should not think proper to send me a satisfactory answer. Likewise, by reason of your
" want of command over your own people, one of my ambassadors (U), contrary to all laws,
" has been killed in your dominions. Even when I entered your empire, you seemed under
" no concern for your affairs; nor so much as sent to ask who I was, or what was my design.
" Although I advanced as far as *Labûr*, yet none of your people came with a message,
" or salutation: nay, not with an answer to my compliments to you. Afterwards, when e
" your Omrâs were awaked out of their lethargy, they prevented all means of a reconcilia-
" tion; and coming tumultuously with an intent to stop my farther progress, brought them-
" selves into one general snare."

is severely
lectured,

THEN, having shewn how ill the war had been conducted against him, he proceeded:
" Even when you had thus entangled yourself, I sent you offers of an accommodation; but
" you were so puffed up with your own childish conceits, and foolish resolutions, that you
" would not give ear to any honourable overtures, or consult your own interest, until, by the
" help of God, and strength of arms, you have seen what has come to pass. Moreover, your
" predecessors were wont to take the *jeziyah* (or poll-tax) from the infidels: but you, in
" your reign, have paid it them; having, for these twenty years, suffered the empire to be f
" over-run by them. However, as hitherto the race of *Timûr* have not injured, nor misbe-
" haved towards the *Seffi* family, and the people of *Persia*, I shall not take the empire from
" you: only as your indolence and pride have obliged me to march so far, and I have been
" put to an extraordinary expence; on account also that my men are much fatigued by long
" marches, and want necessaries, I must go to *Dibli*, and there continue some days, until

^h FRASER, ubi sup. p. 159, & seqq.

(R) A title given to the favourite minister.

(S) In the original, *takt us ar*, or a moving throne.

Fraser.

(T) A place in the divan, commonly higher than

any other, large enough for two or three to sit on.

Fraser.

(U) On the *Peyshûr* side of the *Attok*, by some rebellious *Rajpûts*.

- a " the army is refreshed, and the peyshkush, which *Nezâm al Muluk* had agreed to (X), is made good ; after that I shall leave you to look after your own affairs."

MOHAMMED SHAH made no answer to this home speech, or lecture, in which he was *and returned* treated contemptibly enough ; but was fixed in a silence, which testified a good deal of confusion and shame. There were none present, excepting *Javead Khân*, *Bebrozz Khân*, and *Ghazizâddîn Khân*. Towards evening the emperor returned to his camp ; when it being represented to him, that the *Baniyâns* made the grain very dear, he ordered their shops to be plundered ; which, instead of mending the matter, very much increased the dearth of provisions.

- b On the 20th of February, *Nezâm al Muluk*, the Wazîr, *Azîm allah Khân*, and *Ghazizâddîn Khân*, waited on *Nâdir Shâh* ; and, at taking leave, received each a coat and vest : but *Nezam* had a horse also. The same day, orders being given to bury the dead belonging to the *Hindûstân* army, their number was found to be 17,000, and the bodies spread over the space of seven kos. But not one of the *Nâdir Shâh*'s people was seen on the field of battle ; though it was said 400 of them were killed, and 700 wounded : for they buried them the same night. Many of the wounded *Hindûstâns*, who could not stir out of the place, died, because none had compassion enough to bring them off to be cured. Three elephants were also killed. The number of those killed, during three days after the battle, on the roads, and in the neighbouring country, by *Nâdir Shâh*'s troops, when they went out a marauding, amounted to fourteen or fifteen thousand ¹.

- c On the 22d, the emperor's camp was removed to the side of *Karnal*, opposite to *Shâh* *his camp removed*. In their march, the *Kuzzlbâsh* horsemen carried off 27 elephants and 25 camels. Next day, *Nezâm al Muluk*, being sent for to *Shâh Nâdir*'s camp, was there detained, with five or six of his attendants : and several of the *Kuzzlbâsh* being sent against *Tavisâr*, they slew the inhabitants ; and, having plundered the place, returned with great spoil. About eight at night, the Wazîr received a firmân, or order, from *Nâdir Shâh*, importing, that next day the emperor, *Sirbullind Khân*, *Mohammed Khân Bungush*, and *Azîm allah Khân*, should appear before him. Hereupon *Mohammed Shâh* sent for *Sirbullind Khân*, and all the other Omrâs ; with whom having consulted till midnight, he at length declared, that, as affairs were now gone beyond his power, he was under a necessity the next day to do one of three things : to try his fortune by one desperate push ; put an end to all troubles by a dose of poison ; or else to submit tamely to whatever terms should be imposed : which last measure the emperor was inclined to, although he did not then discover it.

- d On the 24th, *Sirbullind Khân* and the other Omrâs were ready, with their men, to act as the emperor should determine. But nothing was that day resolved on ; and at night a note *and himself guarded* arrived from *Nâdir Shâh* to that lord, bidding him be of good cheer, and repair to him before *Mohammed Shâh* set out. Accordingly next morning he went thither, and about nine o'clock the emperor followed in a royal litter. On his arrival, he alighted at a tent, pitched for him in the front of the camp ; where he was allowed all his necessary domestics, and 1000 *Kuzzlbâsh* were set as guards round him. About eight in the evening, he went to visit *Nâdir Shâh*, and after three hours stay returned ; but orders were given, that none of the Omrâs should be allowed to see him. On the 26th, orders were issued to seize all the ordnance, and other arms belonging to the emperor and his Omrâs, with all his treasures and jewels. There was an order also to send to *Mohammed Shâh* his son *Soltân Ahmed*, and the empress *Mauka al Zumani* (Y). A third order was also issued, that all the emperor's old servants and soldiers should be continued in their places ; but that the *babîrs*, or baggage-carriers, and new enlisted men, should be suffered to depart.

- e On the 27th, *Mohammed Shâh*, with the Omrâs, his old servants, and baggage, went to the camp of *Nâdir Shâh* ; into whose possession their effects were put : and he, having *marches to Dehli* picked out 200 cannon from the emperor's ordnance, sent them, with some treasure and other effects then seized, to *Kandahâr*, by way of *Kâbul*. The same day, *Nâdir Shâh* gave three months pay to every man in his army, attendants and all. On the 28th, early, *Tabmâshp Khân Vakil* was dispatched to *Shâh Jehân abad*, or *Dehli*, with 4000 horse and musketeers, to take possession of the castle ; and *Saadit Khân* to secure the city and effects of the Omrâs. On the 2d of March, *Nâdir Shâh* set out himself for the same place, attended by 20,000 horse, and preceded by the *mâhl*, or women, with a guard of 4000, at the distance of one kos. At the same distance behind him followed *Mohammed Shâh*, and forty or fifty of his principal people, with 12,000 horse to escort him. On the sides were *Sirbullind Khân*, *Nizâm al Muluk*, *Kamro'ddîn Khân*, and *Mohammed Khân Bungush*, each with his men and baggage, separated by the distance of half a kos, with horsemen between, to keep them from joining. In this order they marched every day, taking up five kos in length, and three in breadth ².

¹ FRASER, ubi supr. p. 163, & seqq.

² Ibid. ubi supr. p. 169, & seqq.

(X) Of twenty lacs of rupîs, or twenty-five millions sterling.

(Y) That is, *queen of the times*

with Nâdir
Shâh :

who orders
affairs.

IN the road, the *Kuzzlbâsh* not only plundered several villages, amongst which were *Paniput* ^a and *Sanput* (Y); but likewise killed to the number of 7000 inhabitants. The 7th, *Nâdir Shâh* arrived at the gardens of *Sballimûr*. Next day, by his order, *Mohammed Shâh*, in a royal litter, attended by 4000 guards, entered the city at night, and was lodged in the castle. But *Nâdir Shâh*, being informed that the inhabitants were of a seditious, turbulent temper, deferred his entrance till the 9th, in the morning; when he marched in with all the caution imaginable, attended by 20,000 horse, leaving the rest of his army encamped without the city. After he had alighted at the castle, *Mohammed Shâh* came to congratulate him, and they breakfasted together. They were in conversation till the evening; during which time, *Nâdir Shâh* behaved with the greatest complaisance and seeming affection to him. He likewise gave orders to punish, in the severest manner, all persons molesting the *Indians*: who, ^b on their side, were so frightened at the terrible aspect of those men, and the barbarous figure (Z) they made, that most of them avoided coming near them. At night, *Nâdir Shâh*, having called *Saadit Khân* before him, spoke with a great deal of passion; and even used some hard words, in regard to collecting the *peyshkush*, or present of twenty-five millions sterling. That lord, who had for some time been indisposed, died at four next morning: some say, with vexation at his treatment; others, that he took poison.

(Y) Two stages from *Dehli*.

(Z) The *Persians*, however polite and luxurious in regard to the more western nations, are but rude and

hardy in their apparel, diet, and living, compared with the delicate *Indian Mogols* and *Persians*.

S E C T. III.

The massacre of Dehli; and what passed there till Nâdir Shâh's return.

The mob rise.

ON Saturday, the 10th of March, being the *eyd zoha*, or feast of sacrifice, in the morn- ^c ing, *Sirbullind Khân*, *Mostafa Khân*, *Arizbeghi*, *Nezâm al Muluk*, and *Kamro'dîn Khân*, met at the castle, to deliberate on means for collecting the *peyshkush*-money, along with *Tabmâsh Khân Vakil*; who, at noon, sent nine horsemen to order the granaries to be opened, and settle the price of corn. But, as the price which was fixed did not turn to the account of the proprietors, towards evening they assembled a mob; who killed the nine horsemen, and several *Kuzzlbâsh*, who repaired thither to buy corn. After sun-set, they spread a report, that *Nâdir Shâh* was taken prisoner, and some said he was poisoned: on which, the idle and disaffected people, joining from all quarters, poured like a torrent towards the castle; and killed several of the out-guards, who retired within, and to other places of security. Next morning, about eight o'clock, when the tumult was in its height, *Nâdir* ^d *Shâh*, being greatly provoked, walked out of the castle; and, mounting his horse, went towards the bazâr of *Chandîn Chok*, to quell the mob, who were committing great disorders in that quarter. In the way, perceiving many bodies of his people, who had been killed in the night, he sent a strong party to suppress the rioters: with orders, that in case neither threats nor persuasions would do, to cut them off: but on no account to injure others who were not concerned.

a horrible
slaughter:

THE soldiers at first proceeded gently; which, instead of appeasing, emboldened the mob, who began to discharge fire-arms and arrows at them. Mean time, *Nâdir Shâh* having entered the masjid, or temple, of *Royshn al Dowlet*, the neighbouring inhabitants got upon their terraces, and began to throw stones. At length a musket was designedly shot at *Nadir* ^e *Shâh*; which, missing him, killed one of his officers who stood next him. This made him give way to his passion, and order a general slaughter to be commenced from that very place. At this command, the soldiers, in an instant getting up the walls and terraces, began to plunder and kill. This bloody scene extended from the *Serâfa ardui* (A), which is before the castle, to the *Eydgab* (B), which is three kos distant. The bazârs, streets, and alleys, within this space, were all plundered; and whomsoever they found either abroad, or in the streets and shops, great and small, men and women, were put to the sword; nor did the beasts escape their fury ^f.

the number
 slain.

NADIR SHAH, after he had given those sanguine orders, returned to the castle: where, about two o'clock, *Mohammed Shâh* and *Nezâm al Muluk* waited on him; and, having made great intercession for the city, at three o'clock it was proclaimed by beat of drum, that none of the inhabitants should be any longer molested. During the seven hours, which the slaughter

^a FRASER, ubi supr. p. 177, & seqq.

(A) Where all the bankers and money-changers belonging to the king and his army have their shops. *Fraser*.

(B) The place where people assemble to prayers, on the two great annual *eyds*, or festivals. *Fraser*.

- a continued, 400 *Kuzzlbâsh* were slain, and of the citizens 120,000 (C); some computed 150,000. Of the plunder, *Nâdir Shâh* had some, and much was destroyed by the fire. Although the *Hindûs* burned numbers of their dead, yet there still remained so many in the streets, that for a considerable time there was no such thing as passing through them. When the slaughter began, the persons, who had raised the commotion, disappeared in an instant, and left the innocent shopkeepers and their families to be butchered. Several, jealous of their honour, first killed their women, and then themselves. One of these unfortunate creatures, seeing the soldiers near his house, burned about twenty women of his family, and expected they would come every minute and kill him. By chance they missed his house: at which, finding himself disappointed, he went out and brought some of them back; telling them
- b there was a great deal of money and effects therein. They plundered his house; but, to his still greater disappointment, went away without killing him; which so enraged him, that he dispatched himself.

There were great numbers of people, especially women and children, burned in their houses. *Please enlarged again.* About 10,000 women threw themselves into wells (D); some of whom were taken out alive, after being there two or three days. On the 12th, the prisoners of both sexes, to the number of 50,000, were, by the Shâh's order, all conducted back to their respective houses; but in affliction not to be expressed. On the 13th, all people were ordered to betake themselves to their employments, and be under no farther apprehension. The effects of *Saadit Khân*, *Kbândorân*, and *Muzaffer Khân*, were seized. Those of *Kbândorân* (exclusive of what he had in the camp) were computed at no more than one kror of rupîs: but *Muzaffer's* amounted to very near four krors. This day guards were planted round the city, to prevent any person's going out without licence; and next morning a number of *Fakirs*, or poor people, wanting to go out of the city, with design to travel and beg abroad, the out-guards cut-off their noses and ears, and made them return again. The 15th was employed in clearing the streets of the dead bodies^a.

THE 16th, a firmân was drawn up, exempting the dominions of *Persia* from taxes for three *The peyshkush years.* At the same time, arrears of 6,100,000 pounds, due to the soldiers, were discharged: *raised,* likewise one year's pay before-hand, and six months pay, as a gratuity, was given to all, even those who followed the camp. After this, all diligence was used to raise the peyshkush, or present of twenty krors of rupîs, that is, twenty-five millions sterling; which the Shâh had demanded, over and above the jewels, gold-plate set with precious stones, and other fine goods, of the king and Omrâs, which had been seized. The severity used on this occasion, brought on a new calamity. In the king's treasury, the gold and silver coins did not exceed 3,750,000 pounds: but in the inward vaults, which had been shut-up and sealed for many years, there was found in gold and silver to a much larger amount. *Nizâm al Muluk* contributed 1,875,000 pounds, in jewels, money, and goods; *Kamro'ddin Khân* did the like. *Sirbullind Khân*, on account of his poverty, was excused. The Omrâs, Mansabdârs, officers, and rich inhabitants, were taxed on this occasion according to their circumstances; of which they were obliged to give in an account.

e THE care of collecting this peyshkush was committed to *Sirbullind Khân*, and other Omrâs, *with great severity:* who met daily for that purpose at his house. They were from the eighteenth of *March* to the 8th of *April*, settling the list of people, and the sum each was to pay. Mean time several persons, for fear of the consequences, leaving their effects and families behind, escaped out of the city, glad to save their lives. Many others, being hard pressed for their quotas, to save their reputation, killed themselves. Among whom were *Allim Allab*, the adopted son of *Sidi Fâdâ Khân*, and his Naïb. On the sixth of *April*, *Tabmâsh Khân* ordered one of the ears of *Mijilis Ray*, the Duan (E) of the Wazîr *Kamro'ddin Khân*, to be cut off in the presence of his master; who going to intercede for him, *Tabmâsh Khân* told him in an angry tone, *that it would be his turn by-and-by*, which presently silenced him; and six days after this disgrace, the

f Duan killed himself. Several of the emperor's Muttasiddis were so beaten with sticks, that the blood flowed from all parts of their bodies. *Sitâ Ram*, and *Chukl Keshvir*, the *Bengâl Vakîl*, were so violently drubbed, that the latter went home and murdered himself and family^b.

In the interim; viz. the twenty-seventh of *March*, *Nesr Ali Mirza*, son of *Shâh Nâdir*, *The Mirza* was married to the daughter of *Jesdan Bukhsb*, son of *Ram Bukhsb*, and grandson of *Aureng married.* *Zib*; on which occasion there were fine illuminations, and fire-works played-off on the banks of the river. *Mohammed Shâh* made the young prince's a present of jewels to the value of

^a FRASER, ubi supr. p. 184, & seqq.

^b Ibid. ubi supr. p. 190—200.

(C) By the exactest computation, the number was 110,000. See *Frazer*, p. 222.

(D) The number of people destroyed these two ways, joined to those who died of famine and other hardships,

amounted to above 7000. See *Frazer*, p. 223.

(E) The deputy and general accountant of the lord lieutenant. *Frazer*.

6,250 pounds, and the same sum in money. Some days after, *Nâdir Shâb* sent her jewels to a the value of 62,500 pounds^c.

Cruelties exercised.

WHEN the list of names was ready, *Sirbullind Khân*, one of those appointed to collect the money, pressed so hard on the people (F), that several killed themselves; which made *Nâdir Shâb* remit 250,000 pounds to great men who were found indigent, out of 3,750,000 pounds, which remained to be gathered. For want of knowing people's circumstances, they were very unequally taxed. Some, worth 125,000 pounds, were only set down 625 pounds: others, who could not muster 12,500 pounds, were set down 15,000; and when the sum was once fixed, there was no redress to be had: but, if they did not pay, they were beaten so unmercifully, that many died of the blows. Those who came-off best, had either a leg or an arm lamed: this so dispirited the inhabitants, that one *Kuzzlbâsh* might have used 10,000 of them with what severity he pleased. This work went on till *Nâdir Shâb* left the city; by which time near five millions were collected from the people; of which 175,000 pounds were sunk b by his Omrâs. The goods likewise which the Shâh took were under-rated. Thus a horse, worth sixty-two pounds, was valued at no more than twelve or thirteen pounds; and the like was done with jewels and other effects.

Shâh Nâdir takes leave

DURING this time, the *Kuzzlbâsh* horsemen went about plundering the villages, and killing the inhabitants, who made any resistance (G). The first of May, 1739, all the Omrâs being ordered to be present at *Mohammed Shâb*'s apartment by five in the morning, they then put on forty-two kalaets, sent thither by *Nâdir Shâb*. At eight o'clock, the emperor went in a royal litter, with several of the Omrâs, to the general divân: at the door all the Omrâs alighted, and followed the litter to the door of the private divân; where the emperor got-off, and went in to *Nâdir Shâb*. After they had embraced, they breakfasted together. The Omrâs likewise c had breakfast given them. Presently after there were brought in for *Mohammed Shâb*, a crown set with jewels; a *sirpeach*, or band for the turbân; a *bazow band*, or bracelet; a girdle; a sword; a *Dekkan* sword with a strait blade, called *dhowp*; and an enalled *kutteri*, or dagger, all set with jewels. The crown *Nâdir Shâb* put on with his own hands, making him an apology at the same time; and took his leave after giving him some advice. Among the rest, he counselled him "to seize all the *jâghîrs*, or lands allotted them for maintenance, " and pay them out of his treasury. To suffer none to keep forces of their own, but keep " constantly himself 60,000 horsemen; to be acquainted with the name, family, and merit, " of each; and not allow any to be idle. When he had occasion to send out troops, to put " them under the command of one whom he could trust for conduct, courage, and fidelity; d " and recall them as soon as the expedition was at an end, it being dangerous to let any person " stay too long in command; particularly to beware of *Nezâm al Muluk*, whom, by his conduct, he found to be full of cunning, and self-interested, and more ambitious than became " a subject^d."

of Mohammed Shâh:

gives him advice:

MOHAMMED SHAH was very thankful for this instance of his good-will to him; and desired him to appoint those whom he thought most deserving of the principal posts: but *Nâdir Shâb* said, that would not be at all for his interest; since such officers would have but little respect for him in his (the Shâh's) absence. He therefore advised him, when he was gone, to dispose of employments himself; promising, in case any should rebel, to send forces to chastise them; and, if necessary, come with them in person. In effect, *Nâdir Shâb* recommended, e during all the time of his stay, no more than one person to the post of Khân Saman, or steward of the emperor's household; and that was *Danishmend Khân*, whose brother *Mulla ali Akber*, was the Shâh's Mullah Bâshi, or chief Mullah.

threatens the Omrâs:

THE second of May, *Nâdir Shâb* sent for *Nezâm al Muluk*, *Sirbullind Khân*, and other Omrâs, whom he enjoined obedience to the emperor; and, threatening to punish them in case they rebelled, took his leave. It was reported, that he declared before some of his own Omrâs, that he had acted indiscretely in regard to two things: one was, his giving the empire to *Mohammed Shâb*; who being unequal to so great a task, the affairs of *India* would become worse than before: the other, his giving quarter to *Nezâm al Muluk*; who being so very subtle and crafty, it was more than probable he would raise new disturbances: but as, by the decrees f of providence, and their own good fortune, he had once passed his word to them, he could not act contrary thereto.

THE fourth of May notice was given, that, after the troops began their march, none should remain in the city, or carry with them any male or female, excepting bought slaves, or women married to them: nor even those slaves and wives to be carried contrary to their inclinations, under forfeiture of such person's life and estate. Upon this, almost all who were

^c FRASER, p. 197.

^d Ibid. ubi supr. p. 200, & seqq.

(F) However, he was forced to do this much against his will, for he succoured many underhand. *Fraser*, p. 217.

(G) There were massacred on this occasion to the amount of 25,000. See *Fraser*, p. 222.

a married at *Debli* sent back their wives, on finding them unwilling to leave their native country : only a few of the chief commanders and officers, by intreaties, prevailed on some to seem contented to go. But, after some days march, *Nâdir Shâh*, being informed thereof, ordered them all to be sent back.

ON *Sunday*, the sixth of *May*, the Shâh began his march, having first ordered his army to be mustered ; and, it being found that 400 soldiers and servants had deserted, he commanded the *Kutwâl* of *Debli* to find them out. That officer, after diligent search, discovered about sixty, and sent them with a party of horse after the army, which they overtook at *Sherbind* ; where the Shâh ordered all their heads to be cut-off : for this reason, others, who were taken, were let go again by the emperor's command. In his way he plundered and killed the people of *Tanisîr*, and other villages, to the number of 12,000 ; because the country people killed and stripped his straggling foragers. It was said that he gave the *Zemidâr* (H) of *Karnâl* 5000 rupis, towards peopling a village on the spot where he gained the battle ; and directed him to call it *Fatteh abâd*, or the habitation of victory. In his passage, he left *Labûr* on one side, after having accepted 1,250,000 pounds ; which was all the inhabitants could raise *.

MEAN time, on the 13th of *May*, the emperor appeared in the general *divân* ; where the *Omrâs* came to pay their obeisance, and make him their presents. But, from that day, when the Shâh left *Debli*, till the 20th of *June*, nothing was done or proposed relating to the state of affairs in the empire : nor did the late dreadful calamity awaken the sufferers, who were intoxicated with pride and self-conceit, ill-will and malice to each other. Some days after, twenty-two *Omrâs* and *Mansebdârs*, who had run-out of the field of battle, were all discharged the service.

SINCE the battle of *Karnâl* to *Nâdir Shâh*'s departure, the loss sustained by the emperor and the people, in jewels, treasure, goods, and destruction of fields, besides that of the buildings, amounted to near one arrib of rupis, or 125 millions sterling. Out of this *Nâdir Shâh* carried away to the value of 70 krons, or 87,500,000 pounds, in jewels and other effects (I) : his officers and soldiers, 10 krons, or 12,500,000 pounds. The charges of his army, while he continued there, the arrears, pay, and gratuity advanced them, with what goods were destroyed by fire, and fields laid waste, came to near 20 krons, or 25 millions more. Of the inhabitants of the empire, since the Shâh's arrival in *Hindûstân* till his return to *Labûr*, were destroyed 200,000.

BESIDES the immense riches, which *Nâdir Shâh* carried away with him, he obtained from the emperor in writing, dated the 4th of *Môbarram*, 1152 (K), a cession of all the countries to the west of the river *Attok*, the river *Sind*, and *Nala Sunkra*, which is a branch of it ; that is to say, *Peyshor*, with its territories ; the principality of *Kâbul* ; *Ghoznavi* (or county of *Ghâzna*) ; the mountainous residence of the *Afghâns* ; the *Hazârijat*, and the passes ; with the castle of *Bukkar*, *Sunkar*, and *Khowd abâd* ; the rest of the territories, passes, and abodes, of the *Chokias*, *Balluches*, and other people ; with the provinces of *Tâtta*, the castle of *Ram* ; and village of *Terbin* ; the towns of *Chun*, *Sumawali*, *Ketra*, and other places dependant on *Tâtta*. In short, all the fields, villages, castles, towns, and ports, to the west of the *Attok*, from its rise, as far as *Nala Sunkra*, where it falls into the sea : but all countries to the east of that river, the *Sind*, and *Nala Sunkra*, with the castle and town of *Lobri-Bundar* (or *Bendar*), were to remain to the empire of *Hindûstân* †.

THUS we have brought the history of the *Mogols* in *Hindûstân* to the end of this great revolution ; the most remarkable, unexpected, and easily accomplished, of any which hath happened in the world for many ages past.

* FRASER, ubi supr. p. 207, & seqq.

† Ibid. ubi supr. p. 24, & seqq.

(H) *Zemidârs* are the *Râjahs*, or *Indian* lords, who have free estates in land, paying a small acknowledgment to the emperor. *Fraser*.

(I) In jewels, from the emperor and *Omrâs*, twenty-five krons. Utensils and weapons set with jewels, with the peacock throne, and nine others set with jewels, nine krons. Gold and silver rupis, twenty five krons.

Gold and silver plate, which he coined into money, five krons. Fine cloth and rich stuffs, two krons. House-furniture and other goods, three krons. War-like weapons, cannon, &c. one kror. Besides 1000 elephants, 7000 horses, 10,000 camels.

(K) Second of *April*, 1739.

B O O K XIV.

A description of the countries contained in the hither peninsula of India.

C H A P. I.

General division and history of this peninsula.

General division,

THIS great peninsula, in its largest extent, is bounded on the north by an east and west line, drawn from the gulf of *Kambaya* to the north of the river *Ganges*; or, if you will, with the twenty-second parallel of latitude; and on the three other sides by the ocean (A). Within these limits are contained several spacious countries, namely, the provinces of *Bāglāna*, *Ballagāte*, and *Tellingāna*, or *Telenga*, all comprehended under the general name of *Balagātte*; the kingdom of *Vijaypūr*, which, with the other three provinces, are comprised under the name of *Dekkan*; the kingdoms of *Golkonda* and *Orisha*, or *Orixa*; the kingdom of *Karnāta*, or *Karnatek*, a part of which was formerly called *Bīsnāgar*, and *Narsinga*; the kingdoms of *Messūr*, *Madura*, *Marava*, and *Tanjaor*; lastly, the kingdoms of *Kanāra* and *Malabār*.

and history.

Dekan kingdom founded.

FOR many ages these countries were governed by their own Rājahs, or Kings. But since the *Mohammedans* got footing in *Hindūstān*, they have undergone various revolutions: of these, however, we have as yet very imperfect accounts. The first expedition we meet with in this peninsula, is that of *Mahmūd Shāh*, king of *Debli*, surnamed *Nasro'ddin*, who ascended the throne in the year 1264; and is famous for his great conquests over *India*^a. We are told that this prince, descending from the north with a powerful army, conquered all the *Hindūs*, as far as the kingdom of *Kanāra*, with part of the country possessed by the ancestors of the king of *Bīsnāgar* (B). Then returning to *Debli*, he left *Habed Shāh* to prosecute his conquests. This general, by his conduct and valour, became so great, that he coped with his master. His nephew *Madūra* (C), following his good fortune, possessed himself of the kingdom of *Kanāra*; and casting off his allegiance to the king of *Debli*, gave to his new-founded dominion the name of *Dekan* (or *Dekkan*) from the various kinds of people whereof his army, which conquered it, was composed; for *Dekkan* signifies bastards (D). Then dividing his territories into eighteen parts, he gave the government of them to so many of his slave-commanders; obliging each of them to build a palace at *Bedir* (E), which was his royal seat, and leave his son behind for hostage. In process of time the number of those governors diminishing, they who remained grew more powerful; while the king of *Dekan* had scarce any thing more left than his capital city, and the name. In short, when the *Portugueses* arrived first in the *Indies*, in 1498, there were in *Dekan* only seven descendants of those usurping slaves; whose names, or titles, were *Nizamaluk*, *Madremaluk* (F), *Mālek Veridi*, *Kofa Mokadam*, *Abeshjapado* (or the *Abyssine* eunuch), *Kota Maluk* (G), and *Sabay*; which last was at that

^a D'HIERCEL. Bibl. Orient. p. 289, art. *Debli*.

(A) In a less extended sense, its northern boundary will be a line drawn from the city of *Kambaya*, at the head of the gulf of that name, south-east to the coast of *Masulipatan*, on the bay of *Bengal*.

(B) By this account, *Dekan* must have extended southward only, over *Kanāra*, and part of the *Karnata*.

(C) *Barros* calls him *Mahmūd Shāh*.

(D) Others call it also *Dakem*, or *Daken*, as if so named after king *Dakem*, mentioned lower down

(E) Or *Bider*, in *Tillingāna*.

(F) All these names are sadly corrupted, according to the *European* manner. The two first should be *Nizam al Maluk*, that is, the regulator of the empire; and *Imād al Maluk*, the pillar or support of the empire.

(G) It ought to be *Kutob al Maluk*, the axis or pole of the empire.

a time lord of Goa, and the most powerful among them (H). This prince deceasing about the time when *Albuquerque* formed his design against that city, in 1510, *Kuso Hidalkan* (I) possessed himself thereof, and put it into the hands of his son *Ismael* ^b.

This is one account of the *Mohammedan* kingdoms in the peninsula of India. Dr. *Garcia* ^{Divided into provinces.} *D'Orta* relates another. This author tells us, that a certain commander of *Bengâl*, lord of some mountains there, having first slain the king, subdued the kingdom of *Debli* (not long after the *Mogols* had conquered it), with other kingdoms, and assumed the name of *Xa Holam* (*Shâb Alem*), or *king of the world*, founding an empire 800 leagues in compass: that his acquisitions being too large for one sovereign, he conferred the government of *Dekan* and *Kunkam* on his nephew *Dakem*; who being fond of foreigners, intrusted the government of his provinces to them. To one named *Adel Khân* he gave all the maritime country from *Anjediva* (K), in the south, to *Sifardam* (L), in the north; extending about sixty leagues, with the adjoining inland regions. Another, called *Nezâm Mâluk*, he set over the provinces which reach from *Sifardam* to *Negatona*, the space of twenty leagues, adding thereto other inland provinces, with that of *Kambaya*.

NONE but these two lords had any share in *Kunkam*, which stretched from the coast to the Kunkam. mountain of *Ghâte* (or *Gâtte*), in *Balaghâtta*, which signifies *the country beyond the mountain* ^{Bâlaghate.} (M). The government was divided among three others, *Imâd Maluk* (N), called by the *Portugueses* *Madremâluk*, *Kotal Maluk* (O), and *Veridi*.

ALL these governors were foreigners, excepting *Nezâmô'l Muluk*, who is said to have been a natural son of *Dakem*; but the rest were slaves, bought with the king's money.

For some time these governors did their duty; but at length, growing weary of subjection, ^{The governors} they joined in conspiracy, set up for themselves in their respective provinces, and, seizing ^{usurp.} king *Dakem* in *Beder*, capital of *Dekan*, gave him in custody to *Veridi*. There were concerned in this conspiracy, certain *Hindûs*, as *Mohadum Kojâ*, and *Veriche*, to whom were given large countries, with some wealthy cities. On *Mohadum*, for instance, were bestowed *Visiapur* (which, when our author wrote, was the residence of *Adel Khân*), with *Solapur* (P), and *Paranda* (Q); which were afterwards taken by *Nezâm Maluk*: but *Veriche* kept possession of his province, which bordered on *Kambaya*, and the province belonging to *Nezâm Maluk* ^c.

THIS relation of *D'Orta*, though of great use for the general, both to the geography and ^{The time of} history of these countries, is yet very much out with regard to the time when the founder of this great empire lived, if not as to his name also: for if he drove the *Mogols* out of *Debli*, our author must have confounded him with *Cber Khân*, or *Shîr Khân*, the *Pâtân*, who, after conquering *Bengâl*, in 1540, obliged *Humayûn* to fly into *Persia*, as hath been related in the reign of that *Mogol* prince ^d; and in effect *Thevenot* (whose account of this revolution agrees nearly with *D'Orta's*) says, that *Cber Khân*, after defeating *Humayûn*, assumed the name of *Shâb Alem*. But this contradicts the *Portuguese* history; by which it appears, that at the time of their arrival in *India*, in 1498, the several potentates before-mentioned were then existing, ^{this revolution} and consequently could not have their original from the conqueror of the *Mogols*, about forty ^{examined into.} years after. The same history gives an account also of *Shîr Khân's* victory over *Humayûn*; but mentions nothing of his conquering *Dekân*, nor of any revolution having happened in that country through all the sixteenth century ^e; which could not have been the case, had any such come to pass. In short, the fact, so far as relates to the date of this revolution, as assigned by *D'Orta*, is overthrown by the evidence of that author himself; for he says, the great grandfather of the *Adel Khân* then reigning, who was one of the conspirators, and from whom the *Portugueses* twice took *Goa*, died in 1535 ^f. Now this death was five years before the expulsion of the *Mogols* by *Shîr Khân*; and the city of *Goa* was twice taken in 1510. In this same year, 1510, he likewise places the death of *Veridi*, another of the conspirators; consequently, the revolution in *Dekân* must have happened, by his own account, before that period.

^b FARIA Y SOUSA, Port. Asia, vol. i. ch. 5. p. 163, & JUAN DE BARROS. De Laet, Ind. Vera. p. 158, & seqq. ^d See before, p. 7.

^c FARIA Y SOUSA, Port. Asia, vol. i. p. 411. ^f DE LAET, Ind. Vera. p. 160.

(H) Thus writes *De Faria*: but he could not be the greatest of them, unless he was king of *Visiapur*, whose title was *Adel Khân*, mentioned within a line or two.

(I) *Hidalkan*, or, as it is often written, *Idalkan*, and *Dialcan*, should be *Adel Khân*; that is, *the just king* or *lord*. *Barros* says he was the son of *Sabay*.

(K) Opposite to *Sinkatora*, at the mouth of the river *Aliga*, 16 or 17 leagues south of *Goa*.

(L) Between *Dabul* and *Chawl*.

(M) *Bala*, in *Persian*, according to our author, signifies *lofty*, and *Ghâte*, a *mountain*: therefore that vast

province beyond it is called *Balaghâte*, as who should say, *the mountain* or *ultramontane province*.

(N) Rather *Imad*, or *Emadal Muluk*, *the pillar* or *support of the kingdom*.

(O) Rather *Kotbb al Muluk*, *the pole* or *axis of the kingdom*.

(P) *Solapur* is placed by *De l'Isle* on the river *Krishna*, about 20 leagues to the south-east of *Visiapur*.

(Q) *Paranda* is mentioned by *Bernier*, and others, as a place of consequence; but they say not where it is situated.

AND this is conformable to the account of *Castanneda*, one of the earliest *Portuguese* writers a of the *Indian* affairs, as well as of some later travellers, who place that event in the fifteenth century. *Bernier*, with whom *Dr. Frier* pretty nearly agrees, tells us, that scarce 200 years before the time he wrote (R), all this great peninsula of *India*, in its largest limits, was under the dominion of a heathen prince, named *Ram Ras* (S); who having raised three *Mohammedan* slaves of the *Sbiyah* sect, to great honour, gave to one the major part of those countries, at present possessed by the *Great Mogol* in *Dekan*, about *Dowlet abad*, from *Bidar* (or *Beder*), *Paranda*, and *Surât*, as far as *Narbadar*; to the second, all the other lands of *Dekan*, comprehended under the kingdom of *Vifiapûr*; and to the third, all which is contained under the name of the kingdom of *Golkonda*. These three slaves growing rich, and being supported by a good number of the *Mogols*, who were in the service of *Ram Ras*, joined in a general revolt; and b having killed that unfortunate prince, each set up for himself in his respective government, and assumed the title of *Shâh* or king. The issue of *Ram Ras* not finding themselves strong enough to oppose the usurpers, were content to betake themselves to that country of the peninsula commonly called *Karnâtek*, but in our maps, *Bifnâgar*; where their descendants remain to this day, with the title of *Rajâhs* c.

As to the titles of those usurpers, which *Bernier* has omitted, authors generally agree, that the first, who had the tramontane provinces, was stiled *Nezâm Shâh* (1); the second *Adel Shâh*, who seized *Vifiapûr*; and the third, *Kotbb Shâh*, who possessed *Golkonda*.

Extent of
Dekan.

AND here it may be proper to observe, that *Dekan*, or *Dukkan*, was not of so large extent as some authors have imagined; for, from the several accounts above-cited, it appears that c it comprised no more of the peninsula than what lay within the dominions of *Nezâm Shâh* and *Adel Shâh*; that is, the provinces of *Bâglâna*, *Ballagâte*, and *Tellenga*, with the kingdom of *Vifiapûr*. The first three provinces being to the north of the mountains called *Gâte*, went under the denomination of *Ballagâte*, or the tramontane provinces; and under *Vifiapûr* we include *Konkan*, or *Kunkam*, which was that part lying between the *Gâte* and the *Indian* sea, or western coast, where the river *Bate*, near *Bazaim* and *Bombay*, separated it northward from the dominions of *Nezâm Shâh*; and the river *Aligâ*, on the south, from *Kanara* and *Bifnâgar* h.

g BERNIER, Mem. Mog. Emp. part 2. p. 158, & seqq. FRYER'S Trav. p. 165.

h DE FARIA, ubi

(R) That is about 1667; from whence deducting 200 years, you have that of 1467 for the year of this revolution. *Fryer*, p. 165, reckons about 250 years before 1675, which puts that event in 1425.

(S) So he is called by *Fryer* also. Even *Thevenot* makes his *Cher Khân* a *Râjah* of *Bengal*.

(T) That is, King *Nezâm*; changing, probably, the title of *Nezâm al Muluk*, after his usurpation, into that of *Nezâm Shâh*. The like may be understood of the other two.

S E C T. II.

Empire of Bifnâgar.

Empire of
Bifnâgar.

THIS kingdom, called *Bifnâgar* (U), from the capital city, and *Narsinga*, from the d name of one of its *Râjahs* or *Kings*, bounded *Dekan* on the south; and was, at the time of the above-mentioned revolution, or soon after, the most rich, potent, and extensive monarchy in the *Indies*, comprehending almost all the countries in the peninsula south of the sixteenth parallel: for, besides the large kingdom of *Karnâta* or *Karnâtes*, which was the hereditary dominion, and made the body of the empire, it contained the kingdoms of *Kanara*, *Messowr*, *Travankor*, *Madûra*, *Marava*, and *Tanjaor*; in short, all that vast region washed on three sides by the ocean, was subject to the king of *Bifnâgar*, excepting that part of *Malabâr* which belongs to the *Zamorin*, or king of *Kalekut* i. The inhabitants were Pagans, and called *Badagus*, as are those of *Karnâta* at present; they spoke the *Tamul* or *Damul* language, which is the same with the *Malabaric*; but the *Badagun* was used at court. e

City of Bifnâgar.

THE city of *Bifnâgar*, which still subsists, lies eight days journey (X) from *Goa*, and six from the diamond mines. *Cæsar Frederic*, who was at this capital of *Narsinga* in 1567, repre-

i DE FARIA, vol. i. p. 95, & seqq. vol. ii. p. 83, 142.

(U) The *Portugueses* called it *Bifnaga*: but we are told by the *Jesuits* of those times, that its true name was *Vissan agor*; another author says, *Vidianagar*. See *Purch. Pilgr.* vol. ii. p. 1746, and *Della Valle's Trav.* p. 93, & seqq.

(X) This is confirmed by the *Jesuits* map of the

hither peninsula of the *Indies*, inserted in vol. xxiii. of the *Lettres Édifiantes*; which puts it 105 geometrical miles east of that city. Yet former geographers, and even *De l'Isle*, place it near three degrees to the south-east more within land.

a sents it as a very great city, twenty-four miles in compass, whose walls, inclosing certain hills, were washed by the river *Nigondin*. The buildings were all of earth, excepting the pagods, and three palaces. Of the many courts of kings which this traveller had seen, none could compare with that of *Bezenegar*, for the grandeur and order of the palace, which had five courts leading to it, with each a gate, and guards. But when *Frederic* was there, the city was destitute of people, although the houses were standing; the place having been sacked two years before^k, as will be related presently.

ACCORDING to the *Portuguese* writers, the kingdom of *Charnataka* (Y) had no sovereign prince till the year 1200: it began then in *Boka*, a shepherd, who stiled himself *Rau*, or *Râjab*, *History of Bisnâgar.* that is, emperor; which title has descended to all his successors. *Boka*, in memory of a defeat b which he gave to the king of *Dehli* (who attacked these southern provinces), built the famous city of *Visajanâger* (Z), corruptly called *Bisnâgar*. The crown continued in his line till it was usurped by *Narsinga*, from whom this kingdom took its name, as well as that of *Bisnâgâr*, from the city^l.

WHATEVER the king of *Bisnâgar* might have lost by the usurpation of the *Mohammedan* *Khristna* governors before-mentioned, yet we find him still a very powerful prince about the year 1520: *Râjah.* for *Khrisna Râjab*, the then king, resolving to take the city (A) of *Rachol* from *Adel Khân* of *Viziapûr*, as having belonged to his ancestors, he covered the hills and plains with an army of 35,000 horse, and 733,000 foot: besides these, were 586 elephants, carrying castles, each with four armed men in it, 12,000 water-carriers, and 20,000 common women. As *Rachol* c was very strongly fortified, stored with artillery, and garrisoned by 8400 men, of which 400 *Hi. warlike forces.* were horse, the *Râjah* could not take it by assault in three months; at the end of which *Adel Khân* coming to its relief with 18,000 horse, 120,000 foot, 150 elephants, and much heavy cannon, a battle ensued. At first *Khrisna Râjab* was worsted; but recovering himself, he fell on with such fury, that very few escaped the sword, or captivity. Among the slain were forty *Portugueses*, in the service of *Adel Khân*, who had escaped by flight. The principal booty consisted of 4000 horses, 100 elephants, 400 great cannon, besides small, and other riches.

As *Khrisna Râjab* returned in a rage against *Rachol*, *Christopher de Figueredo*, with twenty *Portugueses*, brought some *Arabian* horses, in order to sell them to that prince; who falling *Defeats Adel Khân.* into discourse about the siege, *Figueredo*, after being permitted to view the place, undertook to reduce it. Accordingly, in the second assault, being backed by the king, the city was forced. *Khrisna*, puffed up with this victory, when *Adel Khân's* officers came to beg the booty taken in the former battle, answered, that it should be restored, provided *Adel Khân* would come and kiss his foot, as supreme lord of the empire of *Kanâra*. This base condition was accepted, but the execution prevented by several accidents^m.

AFTER this we met with no dispute between the two kings for many years. At length, *Rama Râjah* about 1558, a *Portuguese*, of the city of *Meliapûr*, or *St. Thomas*, on the coast of *Choromandel* (one of those, saith our author, who worship their interest more religiously than the heathens do their idols; and of these, adds he, there are many in the Indies), persuaded *Râma Râjab*, e then king of *Bisnâgâr*, to march against the city; telling him, the plunder would be worth two millions; and that it would be of great service to the images in the pagods, which were there thrown down by the Christians. He was a good Christian, says *De Faria*, who was so zealous for idols (B). The king, hearkening to the hopes of gain, set forward with 500,000 men. *Peter de Atayde* encouraged the inhabitants to defend themselves; but they, to palliate their fears, said, It was but reason that the king should be admitted to what was his own. Upon f this answer, *Atayde* went away to *Goa*; and the townsmen, preparing for the king's reception, sent him a present of 4000 ducats, wherewith he was somewhat appeased. He encamped, and would not enter the city, but ordered all the inhabitants of both sexes, with all their effects, to be brought into his presence; which being done, he found that the whole value of their substance did not exceed 80,000 ducats. Enraged at the wickedness of the informer, the king ordered him to be thrown to the elephants, who tore him in pieces. After which he dismissed the citizens, and restored all their goods so punctually, that only a silver spoon happening to be missing, it was sought for, and returned to the ownerⁿ.

BISNAGAR was about this time resorted to by merchants from all parts, as being the greatest, *Bisnâgar at-acked, A. D.* if not the only mart for diamonds, in the east. Its riches were equal to its great extent. This 1565.

^k PURCHAS'S Pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1704, & seqq. vol. i. p. 236, & seqq.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 154, & seqq.

^l DE FARIA, ubi supr. vol. ii. p. 118.

^m Ibid.

(Y) *Karnatak*, *Karnates*, or *Karnata*, as it is variously written. Our author, *De Faria*, says *Kanara* (which is the name of a kingdom on the sea-coast) is a corruption of *Charnataka*.

(Z) The Jesuit *Fimenta*, who wrote in 1607, calls it *Vissanâger*; and *Dille Vall*, *Vidianâgar*, as before observed.

(A) Situated in the island of *Salfette*, near *Goa*. *De Faria*, vol. iii. p. 417.

(B) The *Romanists* say the images of all other saints but their own are idols; altho' there is no difference either in the manufacture or the worship.

happy state of the kingdom exciting the jealousy of the kings of *Dekān*, namely, *Nezamo'l-muluk*, *Adel Shāh*, and *Kotbb Shāh* (C), they entered into a league to suppress it; and for this purpose they took the field with 50,000 horse, and 300,000 foot. The king of *Bīsnāgar* (D) met them with double that number, and had the better at first; but fortune changing to the other side, he lost his life, at the age of ninety-six; and the enemy became victorious. They spent five months in plundering the capital, although the inhabitants had, in three days time, *and destroyed*, carried away 1550 elephants, loaded with money and jewels to the amount of above one hundred millions of gold; beside the royal chair for state days, whose price could not be estimated. For all this, *Adel Shāh* found a diamond, as big as an ordinary egg, on which the feather of the late king's horse used to be fixed; likewise a second, of an extraordinary size, tho' not so large as the first; besides other jewels, of an incredible value. After the *aged Rājah's* misfortune, the kingdom of *Bīsnāgar* was divided among his sons and nephews. This dissolution of the monarchy proved extremely hurtful to trade, which, in that year, was reduced to a very low ebb°.

by the Dekān kings.

SUCH is *De Faria's* account of this great revolution, which happened in 1565: but *Cæsar Frederic*, who was at *Bīsnāgar* two years after, that is, in 1567, is more particular; and besides, relates it with different circumstances. According to this author, *Rezenegher*, or *Bīsnāgar*, was attacked by four kings, *Viridi* being joined to the three before-mentioned. Yet was not their success owing to their power, but to the treachery of two of *Rāma Rājah's* chief commanders, who were *Mohammedans*, and had each under his power seventy or eighty thousand men: for after the battle had continued near four hours, they went over to the enemy: which so astonished the rest of the king's army, that they immediately fell into disorder, and took to flight. On this news, the inhabitants of *Bīsnāgar* abandoned that city, and the four kings entered it in great triumph. They stayed there six months, searching all places for plunder, and then withdrew, as not being able to keep so large a kingdom in their hands.

Revolution there.

RAMA RAJAH was not the lawful sovereign, but an usurper, who held the rightful king in prison. He, with his two brothers, *Timi Rājah*, and *Bengāter*, were commanders under the former king; who dying thirty years before (E), and leaving his son very young, the three brothers seized the government; *Rama Rājah* assumed the title of king; *Timi Rājah* undertook to manage the affairs of state; and *Bengāter* was made chief general of the army. As for the king, they kept him prisoner, and only shewed him to the people once every year. These brothers were all in the late battle; from which *Timi Rājah* only escaped, with the loss however of one of his eyes. Upon the defeat, the wives and children of the three tyrants fled from *Bīsnāgar*, together with the prisoner king. Afterwards *Timi Rājah* returning to the city, began to repeople it. He likewise sent to invite the merchants at *Goa*, and other places, to bring him horses, promising to pay a good price for them: but when, by this means, he had drawn together as many as he could, he dismissed the owners, without giving them any thing for their cattle.

New troubles.

IN 1567, the king, displeased with *Bīsnāgar*, on account of the late misfortune, removed with his court, to reside at *Penegonda* (F), a castle eight days journey farther within land. We learn nothing more concerning the affairs of *Bīsnāgar* from *Cæsar Frederic*, excepting that the son of *Timi Rājah* put to death the lawful king, with design to remove all obstacles to the throne; but that the grandees would not acknowledge him for king. Hence arose great distractions; so that in a little time the country became divided among many princes, who set-up for sovereigns^p.

Kingdom at rest.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, in 1597, we find the provinces of *Bīsnāgar* united again under one king, named *Wentakapati*. Whether he was of the race of the former kings, or the founder of a new dynasty, we know not: all we learn from authors is, that he kept his court at *Chandegri* (G), a city situate within land, exceedingly strong by nature, and defended by a castle built in the midst of it, so that it was reckoned impregnable; that his ancestors reigned as far as *Goa* and cape *Komori*; but that lately the *Naiks* of *Travankor*, *Madūra*, *Tanjaor*, and *Jinji*, had thrown off his yoke^q.

° DE FARIA, p. 252, & seqq.

^p CÆSAR FREDERIC'S VOY. ap. Purchas, vol. ii. p. 1704, & seqq.

^q Epist. de Reb. Japan. & Indic. ab HAYO. collect. p. 774, 803, & seqq.

(C) *Cæsar Frederic* makes four confederate kings; *Dial Can* (or *Adel Kkân*), *Zamaluc* (or *Nezâm al Muluk*), *Cotomaluc* (or *Kotbb al Muluk*), and *Viridi*.

(D) Named *Rama Rājah*; the same, doubtless, who attacked *Meliâpûr*.

(E) This will fall in the year 1535.

(F) Or *Penewkonda*, as in the Jesuits map of the peninsula; according to which, it lies to the south-east of *Bīsnāgar*, about 31 leagues distant, on a river which falls into the *Krishna*, the north boundary of *Karnâta*;

and is at present the seat of a Nabâb, or *Mogol* viceroy.

(G) So written by the *Portugueses*; by the *Italians*, *Ciandergi*; it is also written *Chandegrin* by some. In the *Jesuits Epistles*, p. 770 and 836, it is said to be only three miles distant from a famous pagod called *Tripeti*, seated on a hill. This we judge to be the place named in the Jesuits map *Ticoupati*, about 27 leagues west-north-west of *Fort St. George*; in which neighbourhood *Chandegri* appears to have been.

FROM

- a FROM this time nothing of moment occurs in authors, relating to the affairs of *Bisnâgar*, till the entire ruin of that large monarchy, which happened about the middle of the last century. In order to explain the occasion of this great revolution, it will be necessary to look back to the affairs of *Dekan*, and see what was doing on that side. The descendants of the *Is invaded a-* three kings, *Nezâm Shâh*, *Adel Shâh*, and *Kotbb Shâh*, so often mentioned before, maintained ^{new,} their possessions so long as they preserved a friendly union, and assisted one another against the *Mogols*, who frequently made war upon them. But when that good understanding began to cease, they soon found the bad effects of their divisions: for their potent enemies watching their opportunity, about the year 1627 (H), possessed themselves, within a short time, of all the country belonging to *Nezâm Shâh* (I), the fifth or sixth descendant of the first slave^r, containing the provinces of *Balagât*, *Telenga* and *Baglana*^s; and at length took him prisoner in *Dowlat abad*, his capital, where he died (K). As this misfortune was owing to the envy of the other two kings, who refused to assist him, they were not long without the punishments due to their bad conduct: for some years after, *Aureng Zib*, third son of *Shâh Jehân*, being made governor of *Balagât*, that prince invaded the territories of *Adel Shâh*, king of *Viziapûr*, who immediately applied to the king of *Bisnâgar* for succour. But that Râjah neglecting to furnish his ally with troops, the *Mogols* took from the latter *Bider*, *Paranda*, and other considerable cities. This so exasperated *Adel Shâh*, that, making peace with *Aureng Zib* in 1650, ^{and quite de-} he entered into a league with the king of *Golkonda* against him of *Bisnâgar*, whom they vigo-^{lously} attacked, and at last stripped of his dominions. *Kotbb Shâh* seized the provinces along the coast of *Coromandel*, while *Adel Shâh*, having taken what lay next to him, pursued his conquests; seized *Velûr*, then the capital city, with *Jenji* (or *Finji*), and several other towns of *Karnâta*, as far as *Porto Novo*, and cape *Nega Patan*. As for the unfortunate Râjah, he fled into the mountains, where he remained in 1667, when our author, *Thevenot*, was on his travels^u. Thus was an end put to the kingdom of *Bisnâgar*, which about twenty years after fell under the power of the *Mogols*, by the conquest which *Aureng Zib* made of the kingdoms of *Viziapûr* and *Golkonda*.

^r BERNIER, part 2, p. 160.^s THEV. Trav. third part, ch. 2. p. 91,^t BERN. ubi supr.^u THEV. Trav. part 3. p. 92, & seq. TAVERNIER, part 2. p. 66. BERNIER, part 2. p. 171.

(H) *Bernier* says 35 or 40 years before the time he wrote; which brings it to about the year mentioned in the text: but the provinces of *Tillingâna* (or *Talinga*), and *Buglâna* (or *Buglâni*), were taken by *Shâh Jehân*; and, consequently, some years later. As *Dowlat abad* is the capital of *Balagât*, so these three provinces must have belonged to *Nizâm Shâh*.

(I) *Thevenot* erroneously gives the title of *Nezâm Shâh* to the king of *Viziapûr*; and, what is worse, assigns that of *Adel Shâh*, a *Mohammedan* title, to the Râjah of *Bisnâgar*, who was a heathen.

(K) *Fryer*, agreeable to what we gather from other authors, makes *Nezâm Shâh* to have reigned in the countries between *Viziapur*, *Golkonda*, and the *Mogol's* empire; and says *Aureng Zib* put an end to his race, in return for the hospitable reception he gave him at *Jeneah*, when he repaired thither, under the colour of a *Fâkîr*, and one who had been banished from court. The doctor adds, that he saw at *Jeneah* the sumptuous palace which *Nizâm Shâh* had built for that prince's reception.

C H A P. II.

Of the countries comprised in the kingdom of Dekan, or Dekkan.

S E C T. I.

Describing Bâglâna, Balagât, and Telenga.

- a FROM what has been said in the former chapter, it appears, that the kingdom of *Dekan*, ^{*Division of*} *Dakan*, or *Dukkan*, as it is variously pronounced, comprehended properly no more than ^{Dekan.} the four large provinces of *Baglâna*, *Balagât*, *Telenga*, and *Viziapûr*, as it was before the destruction of the empire of *Bisnâgar*, in the last century. Although some authors, without sufficient authority, include *Golkonda*, and even *Oria* or *Orisba*, with the countries as far as *Bengâl* and the *Ganges*. The three first of the four provinces may be comprised under the general name of *Balagât*, as they lay to the north of the mountain *Gâte*: for *Balagât*, as hath been already observed, signifies the tramontane provinces, or those beyond the mountains. This northern part was likewise by much the larger or more considerable of the two; and therefore its kings, stiled *Nizâm Shâh*, were called kings of *Dekan*, till it was conquered by the *Great Mogol Shâh Jehân*; after which the title was given to the kings of *Viziapûr*, who possessed the remaining part of *Dekan*; while the *Mogols*, with more right, added the crown
- b

of *Dekan* to their other titles, as having subdued the larger half of it. This being premised, a we shall give our readers some account of each province in particular.

Province of
Balagât.

THE province of *Balagât*, properly so called, is largest of the three which composed the northern *Dekan*. It has *Kbândish* and *Berar*, in the *Mogol's* empire, to the north; *Tellinga*, to the east; *Bâglâna*, with part of *Guzerât*, to the west; and *Viziapûr* to the south. This province, since it fell into the hands of the *Mogols*, has taken the name of *Dowlet abâd*, from its former capital. It is a fruitful pleasant country, abounding with cotton and sugar. The chief city at present, called *Aureng abâd*, is very great; yet has no walls. The governor, who is commonly a prince, resides there, as did *Aureng Zib* in the time of his father. The houses are mostly of free stone, and pretty high, with pleasant gardens, and trees planted before the doors. They have sheep here without horns, and so strong, as, when bridled and b saddled, to carry boys ten years old. This is a great trading town, and well peopled, with excellent ground about it^a.

Dowlet abâd. DOLT ABAD (or *Dowlle abâd*) is two leagues and a half northward of *Aureng abâd*; and was the capital of *Balagât*, before the *Mogols* conquered it. It belonged to *Dekan* (A), and was a place of great trade, which *Aureng Zib* removed to the present metropolis. The city is pretty big, much longer than broad, extending from east to west. It is walled with free stone, and has battlements and towers, mounted with cannon. It is reckoned the strongest place in all *Hindûstân*, on account of an oval hill within the town, which is strongly fortified; being invironed at the bottom with a wall of natural rock, defended by three forts, and having at top a good citadel, with the king's palace. These fortifications made the *Indians* deem the c place impregnable.

Pagodsof Elo-
ra.

THREE hours march from *Dolt abâd* are the famous pagods of *Eiora*, standing in a plain about two leagues square. In this space there are a great number of tombs, chapels, and spacious temples, full of pillars and pilasters; with many thousand figures, all extremely well cut out of the natural rock, and polished. It is a stupendous work, surpassing in appearance human force; and to be admired by *Europeans*, although the architecture and sculpture be not so delicate as with us. There is a famous pagod on the road to *Golkonda*, between the towns of *Indûr* and *Indelway*: it is called *Chitanâgar*, or *the lady Chita*, because dedicated to *Chita*, the wife of *Râm* (one of the *Indian* saints or demigods). It is built with a kind of *Theban* stone, and has a lovely frontispiece, adorned with figures of men and animals in d relievo, as finely sculpted as if they had been done in *Europe*^b.

Tillingâna,
or Telenga.

TELENGA, *Tillinga*, or *Tillingâna*, lies on the east of *Ballagât Proper*, south of *Berar*, and west of *Golkonda*, having also *Golkonda* and *Ballagât* on the north. It was formerly the principal province of *Dekan*, and reached as far as the *Portuguese* lands towards *Goa*: but since the *Great Mogol* became master of the northern parts of this country, with the towns of *Beder* and *Kalion*, it has been divided between him and the king of *Dekan*; who is only stiled king of *Viziapûr* (or *Vijapûr*), and is reckoned among the provinces of *Hindûstân*. It has on the east *Golkonda*, on the west *Baglâna* and *Viziapûr*, on the north *Balagât*, and on the south *Bisnâgar*.

THE capital at present is *Beder* (or *Bedr*), which did belong to *Balagât* when it had kings, e and for some time to *Dekan*. This is a great city, encompassed with brick walls, which have battlements and towers, mounted with huge cannon, some three feet wide in the bore. Here is commonly a garrison of 3000 horse and foot, with 700 gunners, as being a frontier against *Dekan*. The governor lodges in a castle without the town, and makes a considerable advantage of his post. The *Hindûs* are no-where more superstitious than in this province. It has a particular language, called the *Telenga*, which some make the same with the *Kanûri*.

Baglâna.

BAGLANA, or *Buglâna*, has on the north *Guzerât* and *Ballagât*; on the east, this last province; and on the south and west, that part of *Viziapûr* called *Konkan*, belonging to the *Mâbarâtta*s. It ends in a point, at the sea-coast between *Daman* and *Balsera*. It is the least of all the provinces of which the *Mungl* empire consists; and its capital is called *Mouler*. The f *Portuguese* territories begin in this province at the port of *Daman*, twenty-one leagues south of *Surât*; and run along the coast by *Bassaim*, *Bombay* (now belonging to the *English*), and *Chavel*, to *Dabûl*, almost fifty leagues to the north of *Goa*. In this province, as in the rest of *Dekan*, they marry their children at four or five years of age, and suffer them to bed when the boy is ten and the girl eight: but the females who have children so young give over conceiving at thirty, and grow extremely wrinkled^c.

^a THEVENOT, ubi sup. p. 72.

^b Ibid. p. 76—79.

^c THEVENOT, ubi sup. p. 180, & seqq.

(A) *Vanden Broecke*, who was at *Dolt abâd* in 1617, says it was then the capital of *Dekan*.

S E C T. II.

Kingdom of Visapûr, or Viziapûr, described.

^a **T**HE kingdom of *Viziapûr* (B), called by the *Mogols* *Bijapûr*, is bounded on the east by *Karnâta*, from which it is separated by the mountains of *Gâte*, or a branch thereof; ^{Kingd m of Viziapûr.} on the west by the sea, on the north by the provinces of *Baglûna* and *Balagât*, and on the south by *Karnâta* and the kingdom of *Kanûra*. These were its bounds before the destruction of the empire of *Bisnûgar* in 1667, which became divided between its king and him of *Golkonda*, by a line drawn from the borders of *Viziapûr*, south-eastward, to the coast of *Choromandel*, north of *Porto Novo*; which fell to the share of *Adel Shûb*, with the coast to *Cape Negapatan*. Within land he had *Velcwr*, then the capital of *Karnâta*; *Finji*, and other considerable cities; his dominions being bounded on the south by the *Naik* of *Madûra*. After the extinction of the kingdom of *Nezâm Shûb*, who reigned in the *Balagât* provinces, the title of king of *Dekan* passed to him, as being possessed of all which remained of it: but by the removal of that barrier, through the neglect of him, and the king of *Golkonda*, his power daily declined, and the *Mogols* gained ground, till at length they became masters of *Viziapûr* in 1685.

^b THE capital of this country is the city of *Viziapûr* (C), from whence the kingdom took its name. It is about four or five leagues in compass, fortified with a double wall, on which ^{The capital city.} are many cannon mounted, and a flat-bottomed ditch. The king's palace is in the middle of the town, and is very large, encompassed likewise with the ditch, full of water, wherein are some crocodiles. To the city belong several large suburbs, full of goldsmiths and jewellers shops; yet it hath but little trade, and not many things worth notice. Besides this capital, ^c there are many other considerable cities in the kingdom, with three or four ports; namely, *Dabul*, *Râjabpûr*, *Karapatân*, and *Vingûrla*.

THE coast of *Visapûr*, or, if you will, of *Konkan* (which makes the western part of *Visapûr*), is in a manner divided between the *Portugueses* and the *Hindû* states, lately erected in those quarters. About four miles south of the river *Seragoung*, which separates them from the *Great Mogol's* dominions, lies *Damân*, twenty-two leagues south of *Surât*. This city was formerly a place of good trade, but latterly was reduced to poverty. It belonged to the *Portugueses* till about the year 1740, when it fell, with the rest of their possessions between *Surât* and *Goa*, into the hands of the *Mûharâttas* or *Marats*. ^{City of Damân.} It stands at the mouth of a river, about three quarters of a mile from the sea-shore; and is naturally very strong, by a deep marsh which surrounds it. It is about half a mile long, and near as broad, surrounded with a good stone wall. The houses are built of the same materials. The streets are not paved; but very strait, and all very neat. It had six churches, a convent, monastery, nunnery, and an hospital; also a fort, on the opposite side of the river, garrisoned with 400 men; of which the *Portugueses* were more careful than of any other they had in the *Indies*. It was always a great eyefore to the governors of *Surât*; who often besieged it, but without success; although the *Mogol* army was at one time 40,000 strong ^d.

FROM *Damân* to *Bassaim* is about eighteen leagues: and half-way lies *Trapor*, or *Tarapor*, ^{Trapor and Bassaim.} a small but very rich city, when under the *Portugueses*, and dependant on *Damân*. *Bassaim* is about two miles in circumference, and inclosed with a wall; but its fortifications are but ^e slight. The churches were very magnificent, the market-place large and handsome, the streets clean and regular. It is divided from the island of *Sâlsê* by an inlet of the sea, which washes the walls, and affords an harbour for small ships; but is too shallow to admit any of great burden. It was a place of small trade; because most of its riches lay buried in their churches, or in the hands of indolent country gentlemen; who loitered away their days in ease, without having the least sense of the poverty and calamity of their country ^e. There lived more gentry in and about this place, than at *Goa* itself; whence the *Portuguese* proverb, *Fidalgos of Bassaim*. In short, it was one of the most considerable places the *Portuguese* had ^f; the governor being stiled *general of the north*; having had under him *Diu*, *Damân*, and *Chawî*, with all their territories.

^a THEVENOT, *ibid.* p. 92. TAVERN. part ii. p. 72. vol. i. p. 178, & seqq. DELLON's voy. p. 183. ^b *supr.* p. 187.

^d HAMILTON's new account of East-Ind. ^c HAMILT. *ubi supr.* p. 180. ^f DELLON, *ubi*

(B) It is variously written, or pronounced, *Vizia-pore*, *Visapore*, *Vidiapore*, *Vijapûr*, and the like.

(C) Situated on the river *Mendoua*; and in the la-

titude of 17° 30'. P. Bouchet, *ap. Lett. Edif.* tom. xv. p. 58.

Sâlfet isle.

THE island of *Sâlfet* is about twenty-five miles long, and in some parts ten broad. It was stocked with villages and churches when the *Portugueses* had it; but has no city on it, excepting one, called *Kanra*, hewn out of the side of a rock, with many antique figures and columns, curiously carved, besides several good springs of water: but, in our author's time, it was inhabited only by wild beasts and birds of prey*. *Bandura* is the most remarkable village, fronting *Matrim* in the island of *Bombay*, about a mile distant, of which mention has been elsewhere made. Passing *Bombay*, and some small islands in the hands of the *Siddi* and *Konna ji Angaria*, you meet with *Chawl*, which lies about seven leagues south-east of *Bombay*. The town was fortified by the *Portugueses*, and formerly a noted place for trade, having a river for small vessels, but latterly became miserably poor. Seven leagues still more south is *Dandi Râjahpûr*, a town belonging to the *Siddi*, who generally lies there with a fleet of the *Great Mogol's* vessels and ships of war, besides an army of 30 or 40,000 men. This place affords a good harbour, and the adjacent country feeds store of black cattle, from whence the *English* at *Bombay* are mostly supplied, when they keep in good terms with the *Siddi*; otherwise he makes them feed on fish. There is a rock within a league northward of the mouth of the river, fortified by the *Seva ji* (D); as are the two little isles, called *Horney Coat*, opposite the river of *Zeferdan*.

Dabul.

FIVE leagues to the southward of this last place stands *Dabul*, at the mouth of a large river; and, of old, was a place of trade, where the *English* had a factory. There is an excellent harbour, called *Sangusîr*, eight leagues to the south of *Dabul*: but the country, being inhabited by robbers, is not frequented; neither is *Râjahpûr*, seven leagues further down, although it has one of the best harbours in the world, and had formerly both an *English* and *French* factory settled there (E); the betillas and muslin being the finest in all *India*; but now there is no encouragement for such.

Râjahpûr.

Ghiria.

GHIRIA (F), the common residence of *Konna ji Angaria* (or *Angria*), lies about two leagues to the south of *Râjahpûr*, and is well fortified by a strong large castle, washed by the sea (G). Twelve leagues more southward is *Malwan*, an isle, two miles in circuit, inclosed with a stone wall. It lies about one mile from the main land, and is governed by an independent Râjah; who, with three or four grâbs, robs all he can master at sea.

Vingurla.

VINGURLA, which lies four leagues south of *Malwan*, was formerly a place of trade, and the *Dutch* had a factory there for cloths: but, in 1696, a Râjah, called *Kempason*, over-ran that country; and, under pretence of visiting the chief factor, seized and plundered the factory. The trading people, for their security, fled to the *Portuguese* dominions of *Goa*, which lie within six leagues of *Vingurla*; and, on the viceroy's refusing to send them back, entered his territories, and burnt as well as plundered whatever came in his way, not sparing the churches and images; for which sacrilege the *Portugueses* gave him the name of *Kema Santo*, or *St. Burner*: and, after bearing his inroads for many years, were obliged to buy a peace, by allowing him a pension. His army consisted of 7 or 8000 men, and he had two piratical grâbs at sea: but having a dispute, about a prize, with *Konna ji Angria*, this latter, who was much superior in power, burnt his grâbs; and, landing at *Vingurla*, destroyed the villages about the town¹.

Country of Sundah.

Country of Sundah.

SOUTH of the *Portuguese* territories, which end at *Cape de Rama*, or *Cape Ramus* (as the *English* call it), lies the country of the Râjah of *Sunda*; whose dominions extend along the coast about fifteen leagues from the said cape to *Merzee* (or *Merzeou*), and sixty or seventy leagues within land, being bounded on the south by *Kanara*. He is at present tributary to the *Great Mogol*; but was formerly feudatory to the king of *Visapûr*, of which *Sunda* was a part*. In *Fryer's* time he resided at *Sunda*; whence the whole country took the name. It is mountainous, and lies on both sides of the *Gâtti*, or *Gâte*; maintaining them in pay 12,000 foot and 3000 horse¹.

THERE is no river or harbour for shipping till you come to *Sevasîr*; and that is no good one, though covered with a large castle.

* HAMILT. ubi supr.
Trav. p. 162, 163, 169.

¹ Ibid. ubi supr. p. 243—248.

* Ibid. p. 261.

¹ FRYER

(D) That is, the successors of *Seva ji*.

(E) It lies exactly in 17 degrees of north latitude, above four leagues up the river of the same name; which runs with a gentle stream. Our author says, the *English* were dislodged by the *Indians*. How the *French* came to quit it we do not find. He adds, that the chief commodities are saltpetre, callicoes, but especially pepper, which grows there in plenty. *De lon Voy. East. Ind.* p. 56. c. 19. *Cornwall*, p. 36, says it belongs to the *Siddi*.

(F) Our author, Capt. *Hamilton*, doubts whether *Ghiria* be also called *Vizendruk*, or lies seven leagues more southerly. But Captain *Cornwall*, in his observations on several *India* voyages, p. 36, makes them the same place.

(G) *Karapatan*, or, as it is called in our charts, *Careptam*, lies about three leagues to the south of *Râjahpûr* river.

- a KARWAR lies seven leagues south of Cape *Ramus*, with a good harbour, and a river capable to receive ships of 300 tons. The *English* have a factory here, fortified with two bastions, and some small cannon for its defence^m. Five days journey from hence lie the pepper mountains of *Sundab*, producing the best pepper in the world; known in *England* by the name of *Karwar* pepper: but as the *Rajah* finds a trade for it up the country, at the best rates, therefore but little of it is transported into *Europe*ⁿ. *Hamilton* says, the vallies abound in corn and pepper, the best in all *India*; and the mountain-woods with many sorts of wild beasts, as tigers, wolves, deer, elks, monkeys, hogs, and cattle of a prodigious size. He saw a bull killed whose four quarters weighed a ton: the horns measured twenty-three inches about the roots; and the bones so large, that he took out the marrow with a common silver spoon: but the flesh is not so well tasted as that of small tame cattle.

b THIS country is so famous for hunting, that, in the year 1678, two *English* gentlemen of distinction went thither incognito, in one of the *East-India* company's ships, to enjoy that diversion. There are three species of tigers in *Karwar* woods; the smallest, which is not above two feet high, is the fiercest, and delights much in human flesh. The second sort is about three feet high, and hunts deer and wild hogs. The largest size tiger is three feet and half high, less rapacious than the other kinds, sooner frightened, and seldom greedy of man's flesh. One of them, after killing a buffalo, bemired in a bog, and sucking the blood, pulled him out, and threw him over his shoulder, as a fox does a goose, and was carrying him with his feet upwards to his den; but let him fall, on seeing the people pursue him^o.

^m HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 262.

ⁿ FRYER, ubi supr. p. 163.

^o HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 263 & seqq.

S E C T. III.

History of Visapûr, or Vijapûr.

- c THE kingdom of *Visapûr* had seven kings, of the *Pâtan* race, who all enjoyed the title of *Adel Shâh*, assumed by the founder; whose names are given us by Dr. *Fryer*; viz. 1. *Adel Shâh*. 2. *Afsof Adel Shâh*. 3. *Bissab allah Adel Shâh*. 4. *Ibrâhîm Adel Shâh*. 5. *Soltân Mahmûd Adel Shâh*. 6. *Allah Adel Shâh*. 7. *Soltân Sokodr Kawder Adel Shâh*; who reigned in our author's time.

- d ON the death of this last prince's father, *Allah Adel Shâh*, the great officers were divided in their interests. It was reported, that *Allah* was the son of an elephant-keeper; who, on a time when the choicest of those animals were stabled near the women's quarters, to hide them from the *Great Mogol's* ambassador, found means to get into the apartment of *Soltân Mahmûd's* queen. The issue of this correspondence was *Allah Adel Shâh*; whom his mother, after the old king's death, settled on the throne: nor did any stir to dispute his right during his life: but, on his death, *Soltân Sokodr* (or *Sekânder*) being an infant (H), some of the children of *Soltân Mahmûd* raised forces, to oppose his succession. However, after several hot disputes, the factions were suppressed by *Kowis Khân*, who by the late king had been appointed protector of the kingdom. This lord, who was an *Hobsi*, or *Arabian* (I) *Kafir*, kept *Seva ji* in no small awe. However, the nobles, who held their provinces as feudatories, or rather vassals, of him, taking advantage of the king's minority, began to withdraw their allegiance.

- e KOWIS KHAN, though an excellent commander, yet being addicted to wine, the distracted laid to his charge not only all miscarriages in the government, but also the loss of the country, which had been over-run by *Seva ji*. *Bullul Khân*, the general, was indeed sent to oppose that rebel, and was able to have put a stop to the growing mischief: but the *Pâtan* envying the authority of *Kowis Khân*, he let the enemy proceed without opposition; and, impatient to usurp his post, soon after he had been called from the expedition, basely murdered him. To effect this he invited that minister to a treat in his tent, where he took care to ply him with liquor till he became drunk, and fell asleep. Then *Bullul Khân*, surprising his few followers with 12,000 *Pâtans*, forced his way into the castle, and seized the young king: after which he put *Kowis Khân* to death, and usurped the government of affairs. However, being no less envied by the *Dukkan* princes, than his predecessors had been envied by him, he watched their motions, and hindered them from joining their forces. Mean time *Vizapûr* was in the utmost danger of being ruined; for, besides the factions, which tore the state to

(H) Other authors say, that, being an orphan, the late king and his queen adopted him for their son: that the king before his death caused him to be proclaimed; but, being an infant, the queen was proclaimed regent: and, having made peace with *Seva ji*, went to *Mekka*; from whence she returned in 1604.

See *Tavernier's Travels into India*, p. 92. *Tavernier*, p. 72.

(I) These *Kafirs* were preferred to the chief employments, under the title of *Siddâis*; and only in *Vizapûr* arrived to great preferments, as being the frizzled woolly-pated Blacks.

pieces within, the kingdom was threatened without by *Seva ji* on one side, and a great army of *Mogols* on the other. This happened about the year 1675, when the young king was scarce ten years old. The new protector endeavoured to gain the interest of the great lords ; but to no purpose, so long as he refused to resign his power ^p

Seva ji's success.

A. D.
1680.

SEVA JI, taking advantage of the times, sends a detachment, under his son *Sam'a ji*, from his army at *Pundit* before *Goa* ; which, marching through the country, proceeded as far as *Bâghnâgur*, capital of *Golkonda*, plundered and burnt that city : but, as *Bullul Khân* watched his motions, he did no harm to *Viziapûr*. At the same time *Seva ji* himself, with another detachment, advanced to *Surât* ; which gave him the usual *pishekush*, or present. On his return he treacherously seized on the Râjah of *Râmnâgar*'s territories in the mountains, through which he obtained leave to pass ; and returned a bold answer to *Bullul Khân*, who had sent to demand a reason for his proceedings. The Khân, foreseeing from thence that a storm was gathering against him, took the field to prevent it ; and, surprising *Serji Khân* (Râjah of *Sunda*), and *Timi Naig*, general of *Kanâra*, who were going to join the *Dukkaneses*, the first fled, and the latter was trodden to death in the confusion, after most of his forces had been slain by the pedereros, carried on the war-camels.

Mogols attack Viziapûr.

THESE auxiliaries were to have been seconded by *Badur Khân*, the *Mogol* general, who, some time afterwards, appeared twice before *Viziapûr*, with a formidable army ; pretending to support the rights of the *Dukkaneses*, and call *Bullul Khân* to an account. But he was both times repulsed by the protector, at the head of 12,000 *Pâtans* ; who the last time forced him to leave his *Hâfnah*, or military chest, with 1000 camels, some elephants, and several pieces of ordnance. There were likewise slain 4 or 5000 *Mogols*, with the *Basha* of *Busserab*, and his son, whose heads were put on poles, and set up on the city walls ^q.

The kingdom conquered.

FROM this time we meet with nothing remarkable concerning the affairs of *Viziapûr* for near twenty years, excepting what relates to the proceedings of *Seva ji* ; who, by degrees extended his power in that country. At length, *Pan Naik*, a Râjah, relying on the strength of his country, as being situated among twenty-seven inaccessible mountains, called *Settais Pale*, in which there are villages and cultivated lands, took up arms also, in order to shake off the *Viziapurian* yoke. At this juncture *Aureng Zib*, who for a long time had an eye towards the conquest of this kingdom, seeing the forces of the kingdom, amounting to 30,000 horse, and as many foot, employed against those rebels, laid hold of the opportunity ; and, under pretence that the king had given *Seva ji* (K) passage through his country (which yet he could not have hindered, had the other attempted it), besieged the city of *Viziapûr* (L). This capital was valiantly defended by *Siddi Mansutu* (M), a black, who governed during the king's minority : but at length, in 1685 (N), it was taken, with the castle, and the king, named *Sikânder* (or *Sekânder*), carried away prisoner : to whom however the conqueror allowed a million of rupis a year for his maintenance. Our author *Gemelli* saw this prince the same year at *Aureng Zib*'s camp (O). He was a sprightly person, about twenty-nine (P) years of age (Q), of a good stature, and olive complexion ^r.

Power of the lords.

THE ruin of *Viziapûr* was in a great measure owing to the privilege of inheritance, which the lords enjoyed, contrary to the custom observed in other countries of the *Indies* : for in *Dukkan*, the lands descended from father to son among the nobility, although the common people were mere slaves. They built forts, made peace and war, fell-out with one another, and with their king, at pleasure : in short, were restrained only from raising men in his name, and for his use. This made them insolent and stubborn, so that it was difficult to get them to unite for the common good ; and many times they sided with the enemies of their country.

How checked.

IN some measure to balance the power of his lords, the king of *Viziapûr* bought *Kafirs*, or Blacks, whom he educated, and, according to their merit, promoted to the chief places of honour and trust, in the same manner as the king of *Golkonda* made use of eunuchs, who

^p FRYER'S Travels, p. 147. 167, 168.
ap. Church. collect. vol. iv. p. 148.

^q FRYER'S Trav. p. 163, & seqq.

^r GEMELLI Trav.

(K) *Seva ji* died in 1680 ; so that his successor must here be understood.

(L) *Hamilton* says, he had an army of 3 or 400,000 men, and soon conquered the open country ; but the city being built on a flat mountain, of difficult access, and room enough to sow corn on it, it took him up a blockage of seven or eight years to reduce it. *Hamilt. new Account of the East-Ind.* vol. i. p. 262.

(M) The same, probably, whom *Fryer* calls *Siddi Massute* (or *Massud*).

(N) This is the true year, not in 1695 ; in or about which year *Viziapûr* was conquered, according to *Bracms* ; and *Golkonda* quickly after, as will be observed hereafter.

(O) It is likely that this prince was but newly conquered, and had not been yet out of *Viziapûr* : for if he had been once carried into the *Mogol*'s dominions, it is hardly to be supposed that he would ever have been brought back into those which were lately his own.

(P) That was in 1665 ; which agrees not very well with *Fryer*'s account ; who says, that, in 1675, the king was scarce was ten years old.

(Q) According to Captain *Hamilton*, he was a good simple prince ; whom the conqueror carried in triumph, along with his victorious army, near the space of thirty years ; at the end of which he died.

- a were his slaves. By this policy the lords were partly kept in awe: and, if at any time they who raised disturbances fell into his hands, he not only cut-off their heads, but confiscated their estates, and gave them to his favourites; which bound them still stronger to his interest^s.

^s FRYER, ubi supr. p. 167.

C H A P. III.

The history of Seva ji, and the Mâharâttas.

- b **S** EVA JI was descended from an antient line of Râjahs, of the warlike tribe of the *Boun-^{in birth}* *selos*. His grandfather, named *Vangu ji Râjab*, and his father, *Shâb ji Râjab*, were both in esteem under *Nisbâm Shâb*, king of *Dukkan*, by whom the latter was made governor of *Jeneab Gur*; where he had two sons, *Seva ji* (R) and *Samba ji*, by his first wife; and by his second, a third son, called *Ekow ji*. On the downfall of *Nisbâm Shâb* (which happened in 1650), *Shâb ji Râjab* and his two younger sons put themselves into the service of the king of *Viziapûr*, who gave them considerable employments, which they held in 1675, when our author was in *India*.
- c As for *Seva ji*, he, being of a turbulent nature, sought to raise himself by the ruin of *refless spirit*, others; setting the lesser lords at variance with their prince, and sharing in the spoils of those who were defeated. For this reason his father disinherited him (S), and at his death settled his youngest son *Ekow ji* in the Râjahship of *Benglûr*, which was yet of no great value, having suffered much in the troubles of *Dukkan*.
- d THE king of *Viziapûr*, observing the aspiring genius of *Seva ji*, with an intent to blast *deceives* *Abdol* him in the bud, sent a potent army against him, conducted by *Abdol Khân*, an experienced *Khân*; soldier. As soon as *Seva ji* understood that this general had taken the field, while the main body of his army was at a distance, he sent him flattering messages; intimating withal, that, in case the *Khân* would stop his march, he would meet him at a certain *chowlti*, and kiss his feet. *Abdol Khân*, believing him sincere, contrary to the intreaty of his friends, at the day appointed, set out with his son and a select number of his men to the rendezvous; near which *Seva ji* had placed an ambuscade, and with a few attendants waited the general's coming. As *soon as Seva ji perceived him at a distance, he advanced, and falling at his feet, with feigned tears, craved pardon for his offence; nor would he rise, till Abdol Khân had promised to intercede for him. After this, as they were going to enter the chowlti together, he cries out, that his lord, so he stiled the general, might possibly take away his life. Hereupon Abdol Khân, to remove all suspicion, delivers his sword and poniard to his page, and bids Seva ji enter with courage. The treacherous Dukkaneze entered accordingly; and, after some discourse, watching his opportunity, slips a dagger from under his coat-sleeve, and strikes it to the heart of the general. At the same time, the signal being given, his men came from their ambuscade: on which a skirmish ensued, wherein Seva ji received a wound from the son of Abdol Khân; but the latter with difficulty escaped, in disguise, to the camp, when the soldiers were so dismayed with the news of the disaster, that they immediately dispersed* *and kills him.*
- e **S** EVA JI, elated with this success, resolves not to return till he had sacked *Panala*, one of *Attempts Pa-* the most strong and wealthy cities: but, finding much opposition from the garrison, though *nala*, small, he sends 7 or 800 of his men, as deserters, to the city, to complain of his barbarity, and offer their service. This offer was accepted; and they were set to defend the walls, while the citizens themselves guarded the gates. But one night the pretended deserters received the enemy under covert of the trees, which were planted along the ditch; and, having opened the gates, let in the rest of *Seva ji's* forces, who cut down the trees, to prevent their doing the like mischief to themselves^s.
- f **M** EAN time the son of *Abdol Khân*, being reinforced with new troops, joins *Rustam Jemma*, *and Viziapûr* another general, in order to revenge his father's death: but *Seva ji* having gained *Rustam*,

^s FRYER'S Trav. p. 171, & seq.

(R) *Thevenot* says, he was born at *Bazaim*, then belonging to the *Portuguses*: and as the same author makes him thirty-five years of age when he plundered *Surât* in 1664, he must have been born in 1629. See *These Trav. Ind.* part iii. chap. 16.

(S) According to *Thevenot*, he rebelled in his father's life time; and keeping the mountains with the robbers

and debauched young men, who followed him, could not be reduced by the forces sent to attack him. The king, suspecting that his father held intelligence with him, caused him to be arrested; and he dying in prison, his son was so incensed that he resolved to be revenged. In a little time after, he plundered part of *Viziapûr*.

by

by a sum of money, whose influence the most loyal of those people are not able to resist, a when the two armies were ready to give battle, that general withdrew with his cavalry, leaving his colleague with but a few forces to the mercy of his enemy. For all this, young *Abdol* fell on like a lion; calling out, *Thou coward, Seva, here am I*. But *Seva* did not go near him; saying, *He is a rash youth, let somebody else kill him*. *Abdol* broke through the enemy two or three times; till, being tired, he founded a retreat, and hastened to *Viziapûr*, to complain of *Rustam's* treachery. This general with some of his friends went over to *Seva ji*; advising him to follow his blow, and set upon the capital itself; which he did, and would have taken it, had not *Siddi Jor* come to its relief with a vast recruit.

Outwits Siddi Jor; UPON this *Seva ji* retires to *Panala*, whither he is pursued by the *Siddi*, who closely besieges the place; but after he had lain a long time before it, *Seva ji*, by his connivance (as it was b thought), stole out by night, and, by means of a false firmân, gets possession of the *Siddi's* town of *Râjapûr*; pretending that the *Siddi* was to surrender it in exchange for *Panala*. On this general's return to *Viziapûr*, the king dissembled his resentment for letting that traitor escape, and dismissed him with thanks: but, having made *Bullul Khân* commander in chief, he dispatches him after the *Siddi*; who, suspecting his design, attacks and puts him to flight. Upon this the king takes the field with his general; who did by fraud what he could not effect by force; for the night after the two armies were in view, the *Omrâs*, who were with the *Siddi*, forsaking him, he was slain, and his head brought to the king, without any more strokes given on either side.

Seizes several places: SEVA JI, being thus delivered from an enemy whom he was not able to cope with, he, at c his leisure, seizes on smaller places, such as *Dandê Râjapûr*; whose prince being forced out of his possessions, excepting the strong castle at that town, which is encompassed by the sea, but within shot of the land, applied to the *Great Mogol* for his protection. Hereupon that monarch assisted him with succours by sea, which enabled the castle to hold out against the batteries of the enemy (T).

and makes peace. DURING these transactions the king of *Viziapûr* dies (U), and leaves an infant to dispute for the throne. The queen, who became regent, did all she could to reduce *Seva ji* to duty: but her endeavours proving unsuccessful, she accepted of the peace which he proposed to her. After which she lived at rest.

Invades the Mogols. MEAN time *Seva ji*, who could not be out of action, plundered some places belonging to d the *Great Mogol*, *Aureng Zib*; which obliged that monarch to send forces against him, under the conduct of *Shasta* (or *Shâb Hest*) *Khân*, his uncle, who was governor of *Aureng abâd*. *Shasta Khân's* forces being much superior to those of *Seva ji*, he vigorously pursued him; but as he was very vigilant, and his retreat was always in the mountains, the *Khân* could not surprise him. However, that experienced general resolved to continue with his troops on *Seva's* territories; concluding, that his turbulent spirit would at length oblige him to make some false step. This patience of *Shasta Khân* being very irksome to *Seva ji*, he had recourse to a stratagem. He ordered one of his captains to write to the *Mogol* commander, offering to go over to his master's service, and carry with him 500 men, who were under his command. This was done with so much art, that at length *Shasta Khân*, believing the e officer sincere, gave him leave to come to the *Mogol* camp.

Almost surprised. THE pretended deserter, by reviling *Seva ji*, and ravaging his lands with greater fury than any other, gained so far at length on the good opinion of *Shasta Khân*, that he made him captain of his guards. But, some time after, being appointed to be upon guard on a certain night at the general's tent, he sent word to *Seva ji*; who repaired thither at the time appointed. *Shasta Khân*, awaking with the noise, flew to his arms, and was wounded in the hand (X). However, he made a shift to escape; but a son of his was slain: and *Seva ji*, thinking that he had killed the general himself, gave the signal to retreat. This he did in good order, carrying off the *Khân's* treasure, and his daughter, who was treated with the greatest respect, and afterwards sent back, on payment of the ransom demanded. He wrote f afterwards to *Shasta Khân*, desiring him to withdraw off his lands, for that otherwise he should certainly lose his life, by the stratagems which he continually formed against him.

Seva's march; THE *Khân*, not thinking it prudent to slight such advice, informed *Aureng Zib* that it was impossible to force *Seva ji* in the mountains, without ruining his troops; and received orders to withdraw, under pretence of a new enterprize. Mean time *Seva*, pursuing his resolution of revenge against the *Great Mogol*, in 1664, formed a design to plunder *Surât*; which he knew at that time to be full of riches. As his territories lay chiefly in the mountains on the

□ FRYER'S Trav. p. 172, & seq.

(T) When *Fryer* wrote, in 1676, *Seva ji* had lain before the castle 15 years.

(U) This must have been about 1663, or 1664.

(X) *Bernier* says, this attempt to seize and carry off

the *Khân* was made in the city of *Aureng abâd*; and that this bold and enterprising lord gave *Shâb Hest Khân* more trouble in *Dekan*, than all the forces of the king of *Viziapûr*. *Mem. Mogol. Emp.* part ii. p. 149.

a road between *Bassaim* and *Cbawol*, he divided his forces into two bodies, each of which encamped near one of those cities. Then, having ordered his commanders not to plunder, but pay for every thing they had, he departed, in the habit of a *Fakir*, for *Surât*. In that disguise he observed every part of it at leisure, and returned to his army; from whence, being followed by 4000 men, he marched back, with all the secrecy he could, and encamped near *Brampûr* gate. To amuse the governor, who sent to know his business, he demanded guides, under pretence of marching to another place (Y): but that lord, without giving him any answer, retired into the castle, with his effects, and sent for assistance on all hands; while most of the inhabitants in consternation fled into the country ^x.

HEREUPON *Seva ji*'s men entered the city, and plundered it for four days, burning several ^{plundered Surât.} houses. None escaped pillage, excepting the quarters of the *English* and *Dutch*; who, ^{A. D. 1662} instead of an attack, received his compliments, seeing them so well provided with cannon. We are told likewise, that he spared the Christians at the instance of a Capuchin friar. Neither did he attempt the castle, where he knew most of the wealth of the place was lodged; because it was capable of making a vigorous defence, and he was afraid the forces of that country would gather before he could execute his designs. However, it was computed that he carried away, in gold, silver, and jewels, to the value of above thirty *French* millions (Z).

As *Jessom Seyn Râjah* was suspected to have held intelligence after this with *Seva ji*, he was recalled from *Dekan*, and *Jessyn* sent in his room, accompanied by *Soltân Mawzm* (*Aureng Zib*'s eldest son), though without any power. This *Râjah* vigorously besieged *Seva*'s principal fortresses; and, being more expert than all the rest in matters of negotiation, he so managed the business, that *Seva* surrendered before it came to extremities. After this, he drew him to ^{de lared a} the *Great Mogol*'s party, against *Viziapûr*; whereupon *Aureng Zib* declared him a *Râjah*: ^{Râjah:} and, taking him under his protection, gave the pension of a very considerable *Omrâ* to his son.

SOME time after (*viz.* in 1666), *Aureng Zib*, designing to make war against *Persia*, wrote ^{goes to Dehli} very obliging letters to the new *Râjah*; wherein he extolled his generosity and abilities to such a degree (A), that, on the faith of *Jessyn*, he went to *Dehli*. But the wife of his uncle *Shâh Hest Khân* (who was then at court) persuaded *Aureng Zib* to arrest the person who had murdered ^d her son, wounded her husband, and sacked *Surât*. So that one evening *Seva ji* saw his pavilion beset with three or four *Omrâs*: but he made shift to get away in the night ^y. This is the account given by *Bernier*, with which that of *Dr. Fryer* agrees: but *Thevenot* relates the fact in a somewhat different manner. According to this author, *Seva ji* at first met with all imaginable caresses: but some months after, perceiving a coldness in the king's behaviour, he complained of it; and boldly told him, *that he believed his intention was to put him to death, although he was come voluntarily, on the security of his royal word, to wait on him: that, however, if he perished, there were those who would revenge his death; and that, in hopes they would do so, he was resolved to die by his own hands.* Then, drawing his dagger, he made an attempt to kill himself; but was hindered, and had guards set upon him.

^e *AURENG ZIB* would willingly have put him to death; but feared an insurrection of the ^{escapes from} *Râjahs*. They already murmured at the treatment he had received, after the promise made ^{thence:} to him; and the rather, as most part of them came to court upon no better security. This consideration obliged the king to use him well, and make much of his son. He assured him that he never had it in his thoughts to put him to death; and promised to give him a considerable government, provided he would go with him to *Kandabâr*; which he intended to besiege. *Seva ji* pretended to consent, on condition that he might command his own forces; and having, with that grant, obtained a passport for their coming, he resolved to make use of it for withdrawing from court. Accordingly he ordered those, whom he trusted with it, to provide him horses along the road: mean time he got himself and his son to be conveyed ^f in panniers to the river-side. As soon as they were over, mounting the horses, which were ready for them, he told the boat-man he might go and acquaint the king, that he had carried over *Râjah Seva ji*. They posted day and night: but the son, unable to bear the fatigue of ^{his son died:} such hard riding, died on the road. *Seva* left money to have his body honourably burned, and arrived in good health in his own territories. *Aureng Zib* was extremely vexed (B) at his

^x THEVENOT Trav. part iii. p. 27, & seqq. BERNIER's Mem. part ii. p. 149.

^y BERNIER, ubi

(Y) *Bernier* says, that he spread a report on the road, that he was a *Râjah* going to court.

(Z) In getting this wealth, he is accused by *Bernier*, and others, of using extreme cruelty; cutting off the inhabitants, to make them discover their treasures. *Bernier's Mem. of the Mogol. Emp.* part ii. p. 151.

(A) *Thevenot*, who places this affair in 1666, says

these letters were written to insnare him; *Aureng Zib* having resolved to destroy him: but *Bernier*, who was then at court, may be presumed to have known the circumstances better.

(B) Yet *Fryer*, with others, says it was not without his privity.

escape²; which made a great noise at court: every body accusing the eldest son of Râjah *Jesséyn* to have assisted in it³, as hath been already observed^b. On the other hand, *Seva ji*, in revenge of this usage, at his return, went and plundered *Surât* a second time. Afterwards he enlarged his territories southward, as far as the walls of *Goa*: from whence he proceeded to the borders of *Kanôra* and *Sunda Râjah's* country^c.

plunders
Baghnâghar,
seizes Râmnâgar:
HAvING finished this expedition, *Seva ji* encamps at *Pundit*, before *Goa*; where leaving the main body of his army, he detaches two bodies of troops: one he gives to his son *Samba ji*; who marches quite through *Viziapûr*, as far as *Baghnâghar*, the capital of *Golkonda*; which he plunders and burns. This done, he returned the way he went; but without doing any harm to the country: because he was observed in his passage by *Bullul Khân*, who was then protector, as well as general of the army. However he set upon and plundered *Hublay*, *Rabay*, and other mart towns. With the second detachment, *Seva ji* marched to *Surât*, which he called his treasury; and although they shut their gates against him out of form, yet they gave him his usual *pishkush*, or present. As the *Mogol* forces possessed the plain country, he obtained leave of Râjah *Râmnâgar* to carry his army, in his repeated expeditions, over the hills, which reach within thirty miles of *Surât*. By this means, having made himself acquainted with the avenues into that Râjah's country, he, in his last return from *Surât* (C), seized upon it; giving only this reason for his treachery, *that it was inconvenient to trust him with the door of his exchequer*. The inhabitants of *Râmnâgar* are the savages called *Kûleys*.

reply to Bullul Khân:
BULLUL KHAN, being at the helm, sent to demand how he durst attempt to rob those places? O, quoth he to the messenger, *go tell thy master, I wonder how he durst dispossess any great man of life, or place, without having first advised with me* (D). *I did this only to let him know, that I, not he, am a member of Viziapûr*. The protector, foreseeing by this answer that a storm was gathering, steps forth to prevent it; and, by surprising *Sergi Khân*, and *Timi Naig*, who were advancing to join *Seva*, broke all his measures^d, as hath been already related^e.

his dominions:
AT this time, *Seva ji* was master of all *Konkhon*; extending along the coast from *Balfore* hills, a little to the south of *Surât*, to the river *Gongola*, a little to the south of *Goa*, the space of 250 leagues. Within land his possessions were not very great in the plains: but he had intire dominion over the *Goat*, or chain of mountains which are piled one upon another. Nor did the *Dukkaneſes* attempt to retake any of his acquisitions, altho' he had blocked up their ports, so that they had none left them free, excepting only *Porto Novo* (E), beyond *Tuttikori* (or *Tuttikorin*). Neither were those which the *Portugueses* and *English* possessed of any great account to them, in respect of trade, since he hindered the *Kaffilas* from repairing to their ports; not more to the detriment of the *Europeans* than his own: whereas the profits arising from commerce would have been of infinite more service to him, than ravaging countries, and murdering the inhabitants. He had taken and maintained above sixty strong hills against the *Mogols*; who, not caring for such rugged places, chose rather to desert than defend them. On the other hand, as they were masters of the plains, *Seva ji* was unable to do any thing there, but rob from time to time, and presently retreat to the high lands; whence *Aureng Zib* called him his mountain rat^f.

invests the Mogols:
marches to Surât:
IN (or about) the year 1678, *Seva ji* marched again towards *Surât*^g; which motion of his so frightened the merchants, who had suffered by him formerly, that although the city was then surrounded with walls able to resist a strong force, yet they would not venture it, but fled with their wealth and families. The Râjah, ever since the time that he had so cruelly plundered *Surât*, considered it as under contribution to him, and came to receive the usual tribute; while the governor taxed the *Baniyans* to satisfy the enemy's demands, even after the walls were built. This being represented to *Aureng Zib*, he, in May 1679, sent *Morâd Bek*, his armour-bearer, to command that city; who the same month marched to put a stop to the incursions of *Seva ji's* troops, who ravaged the neighbouring places: and although *Aureng Zib's* eldest son (*Soltan Mahmûd*) advanced to *Brâmpûr* with a formidable army, yet *Seva ji* plundered the country; knowing that the Soltân could not break his forces to hazard a battle, till he saw how his father sped against the *Raspûts*; that he might be the better able to judge what was most proper to be done, in order to promote his own designs of mounting the throne. But not long after, death delivered the *Mogol* monarch from this troublesome enemy; who died on the 1st of June, 1680^h.

² THEVENOT, ubi supr. p. 30.

ubi sup. p. 174.

³ See before, in the reign of Aureng Zib, p. 116.

⁴ BERNIER, ubi supr.

^d FRYER, p. 162, & seq.

^b See before, p. 114.

^c See before, p. 142.

^h FRYER, p. 412, & seqq.

^e FRYER, p. 170, & seq.

(C) About the year 1674, or 1675.

(D) This alludes to *Bullul Khân's* having usurped the protectorship, by the murder of *Kowis Khân*.

(E) This place, called by the *Malabars* *Pirinki*

Potey (a), is on the coast of *Choromandel*, in the kingdom of *Finji*, and a factory of the *Dutch*, between *Tranquebar* and *Pondichéry*.

(a) See the *Propagat. of the gospel in the East*, by *Danish missionaries*, part ii. let. 6. p. 41.

a SEVA JI, as to his person, was short of stature, and of a tawny complexion; but had very quick eyes, which indicated a great deal of wit. He usually ate once a day, and preserved a very good state of health. If he was 35 years of age when he plundered *Surât*, in 1664ⁱ, it from thence follows, that he was no more than 51 when he died.

ON *Seva ji*'s death, the two chief ministers were at variance about settling the succession: one was for advancing his younger son; the other declared for *Samba ji*, the elder: who, at length prevailing, was declared Maw Râjah (F), or the lawful heir to his father's conquests^k.

WE know very little concerning the successors of *Seva ji*, whom some authors speak of as living many years after his death (G); while others seem to give that name, or title, in common to all his descendants. Thus much, however, we learn from several hands, that, instead of losing ground, they continued to enlarge their territories on all sides.

IN 1683, we are told that *Seva ji Râjah* (by whom must be understood *Samba ji*, his immediate successor) got footing on the island of *Goa*; and, having raised some batteries against the city itself, would have annoyed it very much, had not a Portuguese heroine, in a sally, forced into a redoubt of the enemy, and cut them all to pieces: which struck such a terror into the Râjah's army, that they quitted their posts and fled. The lady, named *Donna Maria*, received the pay of a captain ever after (H) that noble exploit; which was not the first she had achieved: for a gentleman, who had promised her marriage, having deserted her, and passed to *India* in quality of a captain, thinking that way to avoid her resentment, she followed him thither in man's apparel; and, when she had found him out, challenged him at sword and pistol. But he prudently chose to make up the quarrel by marriage, rather than put the matter to an issue; which, whatever turn it took, could not but end in his disgrace^l.

THESE Râjahs continued to invade their neighbours by turns; nor does it appear, that they lost any thing by the conquest which *Aureng Zib* made of *Viziapûr*, about 1685: for although this monarch is said to have subdued that kingdom, which he in effect put an end to, yet in reality not much above half the country fell by that means into his possession: for the successor of *Seva ji* was then master of the western part from the mountains of *Balagât* to the sea (I), while other Râjahs kept the parts which they had before seized. And although by degrees the *Mogol* emperor not only reduced those Râjahs to a submission (K), but even subdued other countries to the south and east; yet the successors of *Seva* still maintained their footing against the *Mogol* generals, in spite of whom they made frequent expeditions, both into *Karnâta*, formerly called *Bisnâgar*, even as far as the coast of *Choromandel*; and into the *Mogol* empire itself, where they levied tribute on several provinces.

WE must not neglect to mention what we are told by a certain author, that at the funeral obsequies of the princes of the race of *Seva ji*, all the officers of their household (who amount to a considerable number) are burned with their corpses; and that the same custom is practised in several of the other petty kingdoms of the *Indies*^m.

THE subjects of those princes are called *Mâharâttas* (L), or *Ganîms*; who have of late acquired a surprising power by such incursions. They have also taken the island of *Sâlsset*, with the castle and town of *Bâzaim*, besides other places, from the Portuguese; maintaining on foot above 200,000 horse (M) in the northern, southern, and inland provinces. Their present prince is named *Sabow Râjah*, and keeps his court at *Settara*, in *Dekkân*ⁿ.

OF their expeditions south-eastward into the peninsula of *India*, we find mention particularly of three, made in the years 1695, 1705 (N), and 1740: of which last only we are able to give our readers some account.

IT has been already remarked, in our account of the late revolution^o in the *Mogol*'s empire, that *Nezâm al Mulûk* (otherwise called *Azof-ja* (*)) was for a long time governor of *Dekkân*; where he staid without going to court, under pretence of keeping the *Mâharâttas*, or *Ganîms*, in awe. The truth is, they never ravaged the empire, excepting when, to serve his own designs, he set them to work: but, being at length prevailed on to return to court, the *Mâharâttas* (O) took advantage of the troubles which ensued, and descended like a torrent from their mountains; with no less a design than to subdue the whole western peninsula of

ⁱ THEVENOT, ubi supr. p. 30.
p. 254.

^k FRYER, ubi supr. p. 416.

^l HAMILTON'S Trav. vol. i.

^m DELLON'S Voy. E. Ind. p. 51.
p. 121, & seqq.

ⁿ FRASER'S Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 33.

^o See before,

(F) Rather *Mâha Râjah*, that is, the great prince, in the *Sansekerrit* language, or that of the *Brammans*.

(G) *Gemelli* speaks of *Seva ji*'s subjects; and tells us, he passed through his territories in the year 1695.

(H) She was living in 1705.

(I) Which part was formerly called *Konkân*, *Kunkbân*, or *Konkam*: afterwards they extended it southward to the coast of *Malabâr*; part of which also they subdued; and northward, till within a little way of *Surât*.

(K) As the *Sundab* Râjah, who is now tributary. See

Hamilton's new Account of the East-Indies, chap. 22. p. 261.

(L) Corruptly, by some, *Maraffes* and *Morats*.

(M) *P. Saigne* says 140,000. See *Lettres Edif. & Curieuses. Recueil* 26, p. 260.

(N) See *Ovington's Voy. to Surât*, p. 183; and *Lettres Edif. tom. xxiv. p. 257, & seqq.*

(*) Or *Azof-ja*, *Azofia*, in our author and others.

(O) *P. Saignes*, and others, calls them *Marattes*, or *Marats*.

A. D. 1740. *India*, and root out the *Mohammedan* government. In the year 1740, they made an incur- a
sion as far as the *Ganges* : then, turning towards the west, they seized all the country in *India*
belonging to the *Portugueses* ; excepting the city of *Goa*, which they besieged, and would
have taken, but for the forts which defended it.

they invade
Karnata :

defeat the
Mogols :

AFTER this expedition, their prince *Sito ji* began his march southward with 50,000 horse, and passed the mountains belonging to the *Paleakarens* (P), or *Indian* princes : who made no resistance, but seemed to be engaged in the combination to throw-off the *Mohammedan* yoke. However that be, as soon as the *Mogol* governors were apprised of this invasion, they gathered forces, and went to meet the enemy with an army nearly equal to theirs. The *Mâbarâttas*, it is true, were repulsed, and obliged to retire to their hills : but a detachment having slid down by another defile which was not guarded, and appeared behind the *Mogols* ; b
these latter, taking them for a reinforcement sent them from the city of *Arkat* (Q), suffered them to approach without opposition, till they discovered their error ; but then it was too late. This surprize put the whole army in confusion ; which being shut in by the mountains, had not room to draw out in order of battle ; so that the *Mâbarâttas*, attacking them both in front and rear at the same time, cut them all in pieces ; except a few who either escaped, or were taken prisoners ^P.

plunder Arkat :

Velowr and

Kanjivoran :

pillage the
pagods,

and churches :

raavage Mes-
sûr,

Among the slain, there fell the Nabâb, who was general of the army, with his son, and some other lords, gallantly fighting. As soon as this news reached *Arkat*, that lord's second son, his mother, wife, children, and a great number of quality, fled with their effects to *Ponticherri*, which is but three days journey from that city, under a guard of 7000 horse. Some time after, the *Mabarâttas* arrived at *Arkat* ; which, though very large, is defended only by a despicable citadel, built of earth : so that the garrison, making no resistance, for fear of being put to the sword, suffered the enemy to plunder the city without molestation. From thence they marched to *Velowr*, another considerable city, whose citadel is built with a double wall, of free-stone, fortified with bastions, and a large ditch full of crocodiles : so that being impregnable without cannon, and the *Mâbarâttas* having left theirs beyond the mountains, they proceeded to *Polowr*, a town where there resides a Nabâb ; which they took and plundered. They did the like to *Jingama*, *Tirowna-Maley*, *Kanjibowran* (R), and all the towns and villages whither they went. However, they did not burn many places, nor kill the inhabitants ; excepting such as opposed them : but sometimes, not having the patience to wait while the women took the rings out of their ears and noses, they, to make short work, tore them out. Several principal persons in the villages were so cruelly *chabowked*, or horse-whipped, to make them discover where the provisions and goods were hidden, that they died under the lash. d

AT *Tirowna-Maley*, the inhabitants put all their riches into the pagod of *Rowtren* ; imagining, that the *Mâbarâttas*, out of respect, would not meddle with them. But they were mistaken : for the enemy, not having had so great a veneration for their deities as they expected, carried-off not only the goods, but also the dancers, and such other girls belonging to the temple as they took a fancy to. They served the *Romish* churches, which came in their way, in the same manner ; the missionaries flying on all sides to *Pondicherri* ; where fourteen e
got safe. Four *Portuguese* Jesuits fell into the hands of the enemy ; and *Pere Madeira*, after being cruelly flogged, was exposed several days naked in the sun, tied to a post, and with only just victuals enough to keep him alive. This was done at the instigation of a *Brâmmen*, who said he had hidden great treasures : and, when none could be found, advised the *Mâbarâttas* to tell him that he should be put to the most tormenting death, unless he got his disciples to redeem him, with a large sum which they demanded. Instead of this, the missionary forbade them to advance the money ; declaring, that he would rather die, than they should, on his account, be reduced to extreme necessity. In short every thing was prepared for his execution. The iron chair and cask were made red-hot : the first for him to sit in, and the second to put on his head : when one of the *Mâbarâtta* commanders taking pity f
on him as a stranger, desired that he might be set at liberty ¹.

THE king of *Maisfour* (or *Messûr*) sent a powerful army to guard his frontiers : but the enemy, having defeated it, entered his country, and committed all sorts of robberies. The people, who dwelt near the woods and mountains, fled thither for refuge ; but gained little

^P P. SAIGNES ap. Lettr. Edifiantes, tom. xxvi. p. 260, & seqq.

¹ P. SAIGNES, ubi sup. p. 264—271.

(P) The kingdoms of the southern *India* are divided among several *Paleakarens* ; who, though dependent on the kings of their respective countries, are yet absolute masters of their little states.

(Q) In the map of the hither peninsula of *India*, made by the missionaries, and inserted in the 23d recueil, this place is called *Arkate*, and placed on the river *Palamalerow* ; which falls into the bay of *Bengâl*, at

Sadraspatan, about two stages to the east by south. In *Saignes's Letter* it is printed *Arkar*.

(R) Or *Kanjivoran*, as others write. It is a large city of *Karnâta*, a little to the north of the river *Pale-malerow* ; which falls into the gulf of *Bengâl*, at *Sadraspatan* : but is not inserted in the missionary's map of the peninsula of *India*.

a by escaping from the *Mîbarâttas*: for the *Paleakarens* made them pay dearly for the shelter given them, under pretence that they were obliged to raise new troops to guard and defend them. The greatest mischief which the enemy did, and what was most regretted, was their seizing on children of both sexes; whom they carried into their own country. Mean time, ^{and Madûra:} the rainy season came on; but that did not put a stop to their incursions: for they pushed forward as far as *Porto Novo* (S), a factory of the *Dutch*, on the coast of *Choromandel*; which they plundered. With the same design they advanced within three leagues of *Pondicherri*, and even to some villages belonging thereto: but the *French* having detached troops to repulse them, and the enemy being informed of the strength of that place, they turned-off towards the kingdom of *Madûra*; continuing their ravages all the way they went.

b THE conquest of this country cost them but little trouble. They burned two churches in ^{take Tirow-} their route, and plundered the rest. The missionaries, who were able to get to *Tirowchirapali*, ^{chirapali} a pretty good city, and capital of a kingdom of the same name, fled thither, under the protection of *Skander Sabe*; who had lately conquered it, and been made a Nabâb by the *Great Mogol* (T). This *Mohammedan* lord, unable to keep the field, with 11,000 men retired into the citadel; where he defended himself with much valour for two months. *Bara Sabe*, his his brother, coming to his assistance with 4000 horse, slew in the first encounter 2000 *Mîbarâttas*. However they still pushed on the siege, and summoned *Skander Sabe* to surrender; ^{from the} threatening otherwise to destroy all with fire and sword. In short, 3000 ladders were already ^{Nulâb:} prepared to scale the walls, when the Nabâb resolved to put all to the risk, and make a sally with the whole garrison. He did so, but with very ill success: for his brother was killed, his troops cut to pieces, and himself taken prisoner. Of all their conquests, the *Mâbarâttas* kept none excepting this place; where they left 15,000 men to command the country, till they had their king's orders^r.

THE design of the *Mâbarâttas* was not to stop here. Their intentions were to go and ^{their farther} dethrone the king of *Tanjaour*; and having placed another prince in his room, to return along ^{designs:} the coast of *Choromandel*, by *Pondicherri*, *Kareykal*, *Sadrâspatan*, *Madras* (or *Fort St. George*), and other cities belonging to the *Europeans*, with a resolution either to oblige them to pay contribution, or to take them by force. Their resentment was levelled chiefly against *Pondicherri*, for having deprived them of their rich prey, in giving protection to *Dost al Khân*, the late Nabâb's son, and the treasures of *Arkat*. That lord informed *Azof-ja* (or *Nezâm al Muluk*) of the kind reception given him and his family by Mr. *Du Mas*, the governor; who thereupon received a letter of thanks from the Wazîr, accompanied with a habit, turbân, and scarf of honour.

As the *Mâbarâttas* make war purely for the sake of pillage, and not to keep the places ^{they quit} which they conquer, they abandoned *Arkat* six days after they had taken possession of it. ^{Arkat:} Hereupon *Dost al Khân*, having reassembled part of his troops, to the number of 20,000 horse, he left *Pondicherri*, and returned to that city; where he came to a treaty with the enemy, by paying them a considerable sum of money.

c THE *Mâbarâttas* had never penetrated so far into this part of the peninsula, since the time ^{their success} that *Aureng Zib* had driven them out of it: because the *Mogol* governors had always, either by ^{owing} their policy or valour, hindered them from crossing the mountains which separate *Karnâta* from their dominions: but jealousy having sown discord among the governors of *Arkat*, *Velowr*, *Pelowr*, and *Tirowchirapali*, although relations, they refused to succour one another; and by ^{to Mogol} that means were beaten each in his turn. On this occasion the empire suffered considerably: not ^{discord.} only by the loss of the usual tribute, but the country was also so ravaged, that no provisions were left on the lands; and what was worse, the people had not grain to sow them. It was reported, that the Wazîr had ordered his son to fall upon the territories of the *Mâbarâttas* with an army of fourscore thousand horse, in order to oblige those robbers to return home^s: but this is all which our memoirs inform us concerning this remarkable expedition (U).

f THE *Mâbarâttas*, or *Ganîms*, are sometimes confounded with, at other times distinguished ^{Rise and success} from, the people called *Siddîs* in the parts about *Surât*, from their prince, who is stiled the *Grand Siddî*, at least by the *English*. But however fortunate he hath been elsewhere, he has of late years been incroached upon by *Konna Ji Angria*, a famous *Indian* pirate. This *Angria*, ^{of Angria.} about the year 1710, first seized *Kanneri*, a little island near *Bombay*, from whence he did the *English* great mischief; and in a short time increased so much in strength by the natives, who flocked to him in numbers, that he attacked and defeated the forces of the *Grand Siddî*; who

^r P. SAIGNES, ubi supr. p. 271, & seqq.

^s Ibid. ubi supr. p. 275, & seqq.

(S) Called by the natives *Pirenki Potey*. *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, part ii. let. 6. p. 41.

(T) *Soltân Mohammed Shâh*, the late emperor, is here to be understood.

(U) These people took part in the wars which ensued; first among the governors, and then between the *English* and *French*.

at length, to get rid of the danger, thought fit to give him his daughter in marriage, and a make an alliance with him, which has proved of great use in his wars against the *Great Mogol*^c. These *Mábaráttas* have a peculiar language: for *Fryer* occasionally mentions the *Moratti* tongue^u.

^c DOWNING'S Hist. of the Indian Wars, p. 1, & seqq. & p. 232.

^u TRAV. p. 78.

CHAP. IV.

Of the kingdom of Golkonda.

SECT. I.

Description of the country.

Kingdom of
Golkonda:

THE kingdom of *Golkonda* is bounded on the east with the sea of *Bengál*; on the north, a with the mountains of the country of *Orixa* (or *Orísba*); on the south, by that part of *Bísnágar*, or *Narsínga*, which heretofore belonged to the king of *Viziapúr*; and on the west, by the province of *Balagát*.

weather:

WINTER begins here in *June*, by rain and thunder. The thunder, when our author was in *Golkonda*, continued not above four days; but the rains poured down, with furious storms of wind, till the middle of *July*, with some intervals of fair weather. The rest of that month was pretty fair; but in *August*, *September*, and *October*, there fell great rains, yet without thunder; which swelled the rivers so prodigiously, that there was no passing over the bridges. The river of *Bágnágar* threw down near 2000 houses, in which many people perished. The air was somewhat cold in the night and morning; but the heat, during the day, was as b moderate as in *France* in the month of *May*: and thus it continued till *February* following, when the great heats began again. These rains render the land exceeding fertile; especially in

produce:

fruits. Vines are very plenty there; and of the grapes, which for the most part are ripe in *January*, they make white wine. They have two crops of rice and several other kinds of grain.

ports there:

GOLKONDA has some good and well frequented ports on the coast of *Choromandel*; particularly *Masulipatan*, *Paliakata*, and *Madraspatan*. The first lies E. S. E. from *Bágnágar*, on an excellent coast. The *English* and *Dutch* have factories in this place; where our author bought a sheep for twelve pence, a partridge for one penny, and a fowl for less than two pence. Provisions bear the same price almost all over the coast of *Choromandel*, which extends from c *Masulipatan* to the cape of *Negapatan*. At *Paliakata* is *Fort Guedria*, a factory of the *Hollanders*; and at *Madraspatan*, commonly called *Madras*, is *Fort St. George*, the chief factory of the *English* in the *East Indies*. A little to the south stands *Meliapúr*, or *St. Thomas*; which was taken from the *Portugueses* by the natives, in 1662. The kingdom of *Golkonda* extends along the coast from *Siakola*, or *Sikokel*, to about two leagues south of *St. Thomas*^a; although *Karnátes* reaches thirty or forty leagues lower to the south of *Sadráspatan*, where the *Imperialists* have a factory.

Bágnágar the
capital:

THE capital of this kingdom is called *Bágnágar* (by the natives), and *Hayder abád* by the *Persians*. It is fourteen or fifteen leagues from the borders of *Viziapúr*, in a very long plain, surrounded by little hills. It is washed on the west side by the *Nerva*, a small river; d which, in the rainy season, is as large as the *Seine* at *Paris*. It is crossed by a stone bridge of three arches; which joins the city to a large suburb on that side. The town makes a kind of cross, much longer than broad, being 5,650 paces in length; not in a strait line, but with a sweep. Beyond it is another large suburb. The houses are built with earth, and thatched with straw: they are likewise so low and ill contrived, that they seem no better than huts, excepting those of the quality; but they have all fine gardens.

king's palace:

THERE are several medâns, or public places, in the city; but the fairest is that which lies before the king's palace, which stands on the north side. Over-against it is a portico, where the musicians repair several times a day to play on their instruments, when the king is in town. The palace, which takes up one side of the square, is 380 paces in length; and is e continued to a building called *The Four Tours*. The walls, which are of great stones, have at certain distances half-towers; and facing the square is an open gallery, from whence to behold

^a THEVENOT'S Trav. part iii. p. 93, 104, & seqq.

a the fights of elephants, and other spectacles. Nobody enters the palace but by express orders from the king.

THE *Four Towers* is a square building, about forty-two feet high. Each front is sixty feet long, and has an arch in it twenty-four feet wide; each arch facing a street of the same width. This building has two galleries, one above the other, and a balcony, or turret, at top: at each corner is a decagon tower, sixty feet high, with four galleries each. The whole is adorned with roses and festoons, pretty well sculpted. It is arched underneath, and appears like a dome, surrounded on the inside with balusters, and all open. There are several doors in the walls to enter at; and under the dome stands a large table on a divan, raised seven or eight feet from the ground, with steps to go up. All the galleries serve to make the water mount, so as to be conveyed to the highest apartments of the palace. Although nothing in the city is so beautiful as the outside of this fabric, yet it is surrounded with ugly wooden fruit-shops, covered with straw; which spoil the prospect ^b.

THERE are many fair gardens in *Bâgnâgar*; whose beauty consists in having long walks, kept very clean, and lovely fruit-trees: but they have neither beds of flowers, nor water-works; contenting themselves with cisterns, or basins of water. The loveliest gardens are without the city; among which there is one remarkable for its beauty.

THERE are in *Bâgnâgar* many rich merchants, bankers, and jewellers; besides vast numbers of very skilful artificers. There are likewise many *Franks*; especially fugitive *Portugueses*: the *English* and *Dutch* have settled there, and the last make great profits. Public women are allowed in this kingdom; and the common people give their wives great liberty, as to walk through the town, visit their neighbours, and drink fari, which the *Indians* here are very fond of. Theft is punished by cutting off both the hands. A trading city.

THE castle, where the king commonly kept his court, is two leagues west of *Bâgnâgar*, and called *Golkonda*; from whence the kingdom take its name. In the middle of the castle rises a hill, like a sugar loaf; the sides of which are surrounded by the king's palace. This fortress, for largeness, may be called a city. The walls are built of stones three feet diameter, encompassed with deep ditches, divided into *tanks* full of good water. After all, it hath no fortifications except five round towers; which, as well as the walls, are mounted with a great many cannon. The palace is very large, and well situated for air, and has a prospect over *Bâgnâgar* itself. One must pass through twelve gates before he comes to the apartment of the prince. All the *Omrâs* and great lords have houses in the castle; where there are several good bazars, with all sorts of necessaries: but, besides the lodgings of some officers, there is no good building in the castle. The king, before the conquest, used to make jewellers, and other artificers, live in the palace; where the former were fully employed in cutting diamonds, and other stones, of which the king had great quantities. He hath likewise store of excellent bezoars; keeping goats which produce them. It was sold for forty crowns the pound. The sepulchres of the king, who built *Golkonda*, and his five successors, are about two musket-shot from the castle; each in the middle of a garden, with the tombs of their relations about them ^c.

THIS king had vast revenues arising from the property of lands, customs of merchandizes, and provisions; but chiefly the diamond mines: for *Golkonda* might be said to be the country of diamonds. They who were allowed to dig those towards *Masulipatan*, paid him a pagod every hour they worked, whether they found diamonds or not. His chief mines were those in the kingdom of *Karnâtes* (or *Bisnâgar*) in several places towards *Viziapûr*; he had 6000 men continually at work in them, who daily found near three pound-weight of those precious stones: and nobody dug there but for the king. King's riches.

THIS prince wore on the crown of his head a jewel almost a foot long; which was reported to be of an inestimable value. It was a rose of great diamonds, three or four inches diameter; and on the top of it was a little crown, out of which issued a branch, shaped like a palm-tree branch; but round and crooked at the top. This branch was an inch thick, and about six long. It was made up of several sprigs, which served as leaves, with each a lovely pearl (shaped like a pear) at the end. At the foot of this posie were two bands of gold, in form of table-bracelets; in which were incased large diamonds, set round with rubies. This, with large pearls which hung dangling on all sides, made an exceeding brilliant shew. These bands are fastened to the head by diamond clasps. The king of *Golkonda* had many other rich jewels in his treasury; and surpassed all the *Indian* monarchs in precious stones. Jewel for the head.

THE *Omrâs*, or great lords of *Golkonda*, were of the same nature with those of the *Mogol's* empire; being for the most part *Persians*, or the sons of *Persians*, and all very rich: for, besides the great pay belonging to their respective offices, they made great advantage by the soldiers; as they kept in pay scarce half the number which they were obliged to maintain. The king also gave them lands and villages for life; where they committed great extortions, by the *Brammins*, who were their farmers. These *Omrâs* always made a handsome figure in the The great Omrâs.

^b THEVENOT, ubi supr. p. 94. & seqq.

^c Ibid. ubi supr. p. 96. & seqq.

Their state. streets; either riding on horseback, or carried in a palanki, preceded by music, forty or fifty a troopers, with an elephant or two, and men carrying banners, at their head. The lord himself is attended by thirty or forty footmen; some clearing the way; others, with fine napkins, driving away the flies: one holds an umbrella over his head, another his tobacco-pipe; others carry pots with water. The palanki, with its porters, come next. Lastly, a camel or two, with men beating of timbrels on their backs, close the procession. When the Omrâ chose his palanki, he was seen lying in it effeminately, with flowers in his hand, smoking tobacco, or chewing betel. All, who had any considerable pay, imitated the state of the grandees. The *Dutch* interpreter at *Bâgnâgar* went with such an equipage; nor was there a cavalier but had his umbrella-bearer, his two fly-drivers, and his cup-bearer.

Lesser Omras. THE lesser Omrâs, for there were several orders of them, proportioned their equipage to b their revenue: but then the quality of Omrâ was become so common about the year 1665, and so much liberty allowed to take the title, that the *Indians* who guarded the castle, and the outside of the king's palace, to the number of a thousand, would needs be called Omrâs; although their pay did not exceed one crown a month. However, some of the great Omrâs was exceeding rich: among whom might be reckoned the *Amîr Jemla*. He was the son of an oil-man of *Ispâbân*, and had the wealth of a prince. He left the service of the king of *Golkonda*; and, going over to that of the *Great Mogol*, died governor of *Bengal*. He was very powerful there; and, could he have drawn his son from the court, would have made himself king of that province. He had in diamonds the weight of twenty mâns, which make c 408 pounds of *Holland* weight. This vast wealth he got by the plunder which he made in *Karnâtes*, at the head of the king of *Golkonda*'s army; when that prince, in conjunction with him of *Viziapûr*, made war on the king of *Bisnâgar*. That general took many places in a short time; but finding he could not take the fortress of *Gandikot* (U) (standing on the top of an inaccessible rock) by force, he drew out the governor by fair promises, and then detained him till it was delivered up^d.

^d THEVENOT, ubi supr. p. 102, & seqq.

(U) It is within ten days journey of *St. Thomas*, *Meliapûr*, or *Fort St. George*, on the coast of *Choromandel*.

S E C T. II.

Latter state of Golkonda, and conquest by Aureng Zîb.

Amir Jela enwied: THE king of *Golkonda* maintained in pay above 500,000 soldiers; but as *Abdo'llah Kotbb* d *Shâb*, who reigned in 1667, did not keep so good an army on foot as his father, he became tributary to the *Great Mogol Aureng Zîb*; who about eight years before, when governor of *Aureng abâd*, surpris'd *Bâgnâgar*^a; which happened on the following occasion. *Amîr Jimola* (or *Jemla*), generalissimo of the forces of *Golkonda*, having been sent to reduce certain rebellious Râjahs, whose territories lay upon the *Ganges*; according to custom, left with the king both his wife and children, as a pledge of his fidelity. He had several daughters, and but one son; who made a great figure at court. During the Amîr's absence, the enemies, whom his reputation and riches had procured him, endeavoured to render him suspected by the king, as if he intended to dethrone his majesty, and set his own son upon the throne. The method they propos'd to make away with *Jemla*, was to poison him; and *Abdo'llah*, being c easily persuaded, gave them leave to act as they thought most proper for his security. Under this authority they set their instruments to work; but, having missed of their aim three or four times, the Amîr's son got intimation of the plot, and gave his father notice.

his son ill treated: As soon as the messenger returned, the young lord, naturally high-spirited, went to the king; and, representing the great services of his father, who had been the chief instrument of setting the crown on that prince's head, reproached him with ingratitude in no very respectful terms. The king, offended with this liberty, having withdrawn, the lords who were present fell upon the Amîr's son, and treated him very roughly. At the same time he was arrested and committed to prison, with his mother and sisters. This affair made a great noise at court; and coming quickly to the general's ears, he resolved to be revenged for the injury done him. f To compass his design, he wrote to *Soltân Sujâb*, *Shâb Jeshân*'s second son, who was governor of *Bengâl*, near which the general then was; promising, in case he would join him with his forces, to put him in possession of the kingdom of *Golkonda*. But *Soltân Sujâb*, instead of accepting so advantageous an offer, sent the Amîr word, that the person who could betray his natural prince, might betray him; and therefore he would not trust him.

^a THEVENOT, ubi supr. p. 100.

UPON

- a Upon this unpolite refusal, *Jemla* wrote to *Aureng Zib*, who was then governor of *Bram-pûr*; and, not being so nice as his brother, readily embraced the proposal. The two armies ^{surprises Bâgnâgar.} being at length joined, they arrived at the gates of *Bâgnâgar*, before the king was in a condition to oppose them. He had only time to escape to his fortress of *Golkonda*; to which the *Mogol* prince, after he had rifled the city of *Bâgnâgar*, and plundered the palace (A), laid a close siege. *Kotbb Shâh*, finding himself thus vigorously pressed, sent the *Amîr Jemla* his wife and children, in an honourable manner. He did an action still more generous than this: for a cannoneer, observing *Aureng Zib* on his elephant, riding about to view the fortifications of the castle, told the king, who was standing on the bastion, that, if he pleased, he would bring down the *Mogol* prince with a ball. But the king forbade him; saying, it became
- b princes to spare the lives of one another. The gunner obeyed; and, instead of shooting at *Aureng Zib*, took off the head of the general of his army, who was a little before him: which ^{Aureng Zib besieges Golkonda.} put a stop to the assault they were about to have given. *Abdo'l Jaber Beg*, who commanded the king of *Golkonda*'s army (B), understanding the disorder which the loss of their general had put the enemy into, attacked them furiously while they were in that confusion; and, putting them to the rout, pursued them for four or five leagues, till night put a stop to their career. Some few days before this event, the king of *Golkonda*, finding provisions fail in the fortress, was about to have delivered the keys to *Aureng Zib*. But *Mirza Mohammed* (C), his son-in-law, and kinsman to the great Sheykh of *Mekka*, snatched them out of his hand, and threatened to kill him if he persisted in that resolution^f.
- c *AURENG ZIB*, being thus constrained to raise the siege, spent some days to rally his forces; ^{Peace brought about,} and, having received a reinforcement of fresh troops, returned to the leaguer with new resolution. However, *Amîr Jemla*, who still retained some kindness for the king of *Golkonda*, would not suffer the *Mogol* prince to use the utmost extremity: but by his wit and good management obtained a suspension of arms. *Shâh Jebân*, after the battle which he lost against his father *Jebân Ghîr*, fled for refuge to the king of *Golkonda*; and, having met with a very kind reception, entered into a strict friendship with him; swearing to his benefactor, never to make war against him, upon any pretence whatever. *Amîr Jemla*, therefore, knowing that it would be no hard matter to bring two kings, who had such ties upon them, to an ^{by Amîr Jemla;} accommodation, wrought underhand with both towards a peace, and so brought it about,
- d that *Abdollah Shâh* humbly wrote a letter to *Shâh Jebân*, wherein he requested "that monarch to become an arbitrator between the prince, his son, and him; promising to submit intirely to his decision, and sign such articles as he should propose." On the other hand, *Shâh Jebân* was prevailed on by the *Amîr*'s persuasions, in answer to the king of *Golkonda*'s letter, to propose a match between his second daughter and *Soltân Mohammed*, son of *Aureng Zib*, on condition that, after the death of the king her father, the son-in-law should inherit the kingdom of *Golkonda*; which proposition being accepted of, the peace (D) was concluded.

As for the *Amîr Jemla*, he quitted the service of the king of *Golkonda*, and went to *Brâm-pûr* with *Aureng Zib*; who, by his powerful assistance, afterwards obtained the crown of *Golkonda*. ^{who quits Golkonda.}

e *Hindistân*. Soon after *Shâh Jebân* made him his prime minister, and generalissimo of his armies. According to our author, who had occasion to speak with him several times, he was a man of great parts and dexterity, in dispatching affairs which came before him^e.

THE king of *Golkonda* had two other daughters: the eldest was married to *Mirza Mohammed*, a relation of the Sheykh of *Mekka*, as mentioned before; whose courtship was attended with some very uncommon circumstances. This Sheykh came to *Golkonda* in the habit of a *Fakîr*, or religious mendicant; and for some months lodged without the gate of the palace, disdainng to give any answer to the several courtiers, who demanded what his business was. At length, the affair being made known to the king, he sent his chief physician to enquire the reason of his coming to *Golkonda*. The physician, and some other lords of the court, ^{Mirza Mohammed:} who likewise discoursed with him, finding him to be a person of great wit and learning, carried him to the king; who was very well pleased with his aspect and deportment: but at length the Sheykh coming to declare to his majesty, that the end of his coming was to espouse the princess, the king was much surprised at the proposal, and most of the court lords judged that the Sheykh was out of his senses. The *Kotbb Shâh* laughed at him at first; but when he found him persist in his demand, and even threatened the kingdom with great calamity, unless the

^f TAVERNIER'S Trav. part ii. p. 67, & seq.

^e TAVERNIER, ubi supr. p. 68, & seq.

(A) *Thevenot* says, even to the plates of gold, where-with the king's apartments were covered.

(B) *Gemelli* says, it consisted of 70,000 men.

(C) In *Owington's* memoir of the revolution in *Golkonda*, he is called *Meera Mamood* [that is *Mîr*, or *Mirza*. *Mahmûd*.] *Voy. to Surât in 1689*, p. 527.

(D) *Thevenot* says, this peace was obtained from *Aureng Zib* by the address of the queen-mother; and that the son-in law, whom he calls *Mahmûd*, should succeed, in case the king died without children; meaning, doubtless, male issue.

princess was given to him in marriage, he was committed to prison; where he lay a long time. At length the king sent him in a vessel, which carried pilgrims from *Masulipatan* to *Mokka* in *Arabia*, in order to travel to *Mekka*.

his strange history.

For all this bad success, the Sheykh was not discouraged: but two years after returned to *Golkonda*, and managed matters so well, that he espoused the princess, and grew into high reputation, as well as power in the kingdom; which he governed with great applause. Before the siege of *Golkonda* the king had no great love for him; but after that bold action, by which, as before mentioned, he prevented his surrendering the fortress, *Abdollah Sháh* took a great affection to him, and did nothing without his advice. He was a passionate lover of all who understood mathematics, and a zealous *Mohammedan*; so that, to hinder the great pagod in *Bágnágar* from being finished, he threatened the whole kingdom with some signal calamity, if that work went forward ^b.

Abdo'llah

THE third princess of *Golkonda* had been promised to *Soltán Sejed*, another Sheykh of *Mekka*; and the day was appointed for celebrating the nuptials: but by the instances of *Abdol Jabber Beg*, general of the army, and other lords, the match was broken off, and the princess married to *Mirza Abdol Kofing*; to whom she would have been given before, but for his debauched courses, which however he forsook after his marriage. He had by her two sons (E); which, says *Tavernier*, quite annulled the pretensions of *Aureng Zib's* son; who was then imprisoned by his father in the castle of *Gwaliyár*, for joining with his uncle *Sujáb* against him. Now, continues the same author, the king of *Golkonda* does not stand in so much fear of the *Great Mogol* as before; for, in imitation to him, he keeps his money within his own country, and has already hoarded up treasures sufficient to maintain his wars. Besides, he was devoted to the sect of *Ali*, as well as the king of *Viziapúr*, who was married to the sister (F) of him of *Golkonda*; for which reason the *Persians*, who repaired into *India* to seek their fortune, chose rather to offer their service to these kings than to the *Great Mogol* ^h.

Golkonda's

THEVENOT, who was at *Golkonda* much about the same time as *Tavernier*, gives an account very different of this prince's affairs; and which seems to agree better with the revolution, which some years after followed in his dominions. According to that author, notwithstanding the peace before-mentioned, the king of *Golkonda* was in continual fear of another visit from *Aureng Zib*. After sending 200,000 men to the assistance of the king of *Viziapúr*, who was vigorously attacked, he was obliged to recall them, and pretend they were sent without his knowledge. This shewed how low the power of *Abdo'llah* was reduced. He durst not put to death his *Omrás*, even for crimes; for which, on being found guilty, he only fined them, and took the money. The *Dutch* themselves insulted over him, and obliged him to abandon an *English* ship, which they had seized at *Masulipatan*; although he had undertaken to protect her ⁱ.

Power of the Omrás.

THE weakness of this prince's reign, and power of his chief *Omrás*, are confirmed by the testimony of a later *English* author (G); who hath written the history of *Mirza Abdallah Koffin*, or, as that writer calls him, *Soltán Abdulla Hoosan* (H), till he ascended the throne of *Golkonda*; of which he was the last king. Our author begins with the circumstances of this prince's marriage; which he relates at large, in the following manner.

Sudden rise of

KOTHE SHAH, being old, and perplexed with the factions of his ministers, to whom he had wholly left affairs, resolved to marry his third daughter, whom he loved exceedingly, to some person of quality and courage; who might be able to curb the factions at court, and worthy to become his successor. For he hated *Soltán Mahmúd*, eldest son of *Aureng Zib*, who had married his eldest daughter: nor had he any affection for his second daughter, or her husband, *Mirza Mahmúd*; who was an *Arab* of high birth. This princess was courted by *Sind Soltán* (I), another *Arab*, descended from *Mohammed*; and as he was a man of wit and spirit, the king of *Golkonda* thought him a proper person to execute his designs, and accordingly encouraged his addresses: but this person, presuming too much on the favour of the king and princess, by his insolent behaviour disobliged the ministers; who, fearing worse treatment in case he came to the crown, resolved to hinder the match.

Mirza Abul Hassan.

THE three who managed the business of the state were *Moso Khán*, *Sind Mirza Zaffer* (K), and *Mushúk*; for *Mirza Mahmúd*, not being in favour, was out of employment. However

^b TAVERNIER, ubi supr. p. 66. p. 100, & seq.

^h TAVERNIER, ubi supr. p. 69.

ⁱ THEVENOT, ubi supr.

(E) By *Sheldon's* account, hereafter mentioned, he had but one son and two daughters: nor was this lord reckoned debauched.

(F) *Thevenot* says, to the fourth daughter of the king of *Golkonda*; but other authors say he had no more than three.

(G) Late revolution of *Golkonda*, by Mr. *Daniel Sheldon*, inserted by *Overton* in his *Voy. to Surát*, p. 527.

(H) It is hard to say, whether by *Kofing* and *Hoosan* is to be understood *Husséyn* or *Hassan*. If this was the king, from whom *Golkonda* was conquered, his name, according to *Frazer*, was *Abul Hassan*.

(I) This is *Soltán Sejed* of *Tavernier*. It should perhaps be *Seyd*.

(K) Afterwards named *Zind Mir Zaffer*,

a he had free access at court, and was respected by all, as one who was likely to succeed the king. These hopes made him jealous of *Sind Soltân*, and put himself at the head of the party, which was formed against him. The old courtiers therefore set upon the king; and having persuaded him to break off the match, by representing the young *Arab* as a person of great ambition, and one likely to form dangerous designs, *Muslik* advised his majesty to marry this princely to some person of birth and courage, but small fortune, and rather given to pleasure than business; as qualifications which would render him obedient, and divert him from ambitious views. This counsel being approved of by the king, he ordered them to look for a person of that character; and they pitched on *Mirza Abdallah Hassan* ^{*}.

b This young nobleman was the son of an *Arab* of quality, but low circumstances; who, coming to *Golkonda* to seek his fortune, had a small government conferred on him by the king: ^{The Vizir's contrivance} from which, by his good behaviour, he was advanced to one of the most considerable commands in the kingdom. But at his death, the king being heir to his estate, his son was reduced to a very poor condition, and forced for subsistence to enter into the army; where he received the pay of five or six pounds *per* month. As soon as the affair was agreed upon, *Zind Mir Zaffer* sends for the young soldier to his house, that the king might have a sight of him; and, having held him in discourse for some time, about his father's merit and his own circumstances, promised to provide for him, and then dismissed him. When he was gone, *Kotbb Shâib* objected, that he was not so comely a person as he had been represented; nor discovered so much life and vigour as he expected. This being imputed by *Mir Zaffer* c to the dejection consequential to his sudden fall from grandeur into poverty; he told the king, that he would find a change presently in *Abdallah*, had he but money to make an appearance.

HEREUPON the king, resolved to make the experiment, orders *Mir Zaffer* to contrive ^{to supply his wants} some way to furnish him, without letting him know from whence it came. The minister immediately sends for some *Sherafs*, or money-brokers, and orders them to furnish him with whatever money he required; promising to repay them: but enjoined them, under pain of death, not to discover the affair. Away the brokers go to *Abdallah*; and under pretence of desiring his assistance in business they had with some great men (for persons of high birth, though ever so poor, are respected in those countries), after two or three visits, growing d more familiar, they told him he looked melancholy; and, as they believed he might have occasion for money, offered to lend him two or three thousand pounds. At first he thankfully refused the offer; fearing to borrow money, which he had no prospect of being able to pay: but at length, overcome by their importunity, and his own wants, he accepted of a considerable sum: for which they not only refused security, but bid him live like the son of so great a father; promising to supply him with more, when that was spent ¹.

THE young cavalier, naturally inclined to gallantry, and high living, presently took a house, with servants, and all things fit for a person of quality. Mean time *Mir Zaffer*, who ^{He lives splendidly:} presently perceived the alteration which he expected both in his person and behaviour, desires the king to see him again; which his majesty does; and now likes him so well, that he e orders *Zaffer* to give him frequent opportunities of seeing him; and the more he sees him, the more he is taken with him. At length, resolving to marry his daughter to him, without delay, the king one evening sends the *Devîr*, or secretary of state, with an *Omrâ*, called *Jabber Begh*, and a guard of horse to conduct *Abdallah Hassan* to court. The young gentleman was entertaining some friends at his house, when word was brought, that some great officers belonging to the court were at the door. His company, with the dancing women, immediately retired by a back-way, while he went out to meet the officers, to conduct them in. As soon as he beheld two such eminent persons, attended with a guard, he was greatly surprised; and his fears were much increased at the sight of a rich vest, which the secretary presented him with from the king; for he took it for granted that it was poisoned. However, f after mentioning his father's services, with his own fidelity to the king, and apologizing for his present way of living, he put on the vest; and, at the same time, desired the secretary to present his duty to the king, and tell him, that his majesty had more reason to preserve such subjects as he was, than to take away their lives only for his pleasure.

THE secretary, who had orders to observe every thing which he said and did, having ^{Marries the princess:} helped him on with the vest, made a low reverence, and assured him, that they were not sent by the king to execute any sentence of his displeasure, but to conduct him to his favour, and the greatest honour which he could bestow on him. On this he goes with them, not very well assured of his safety, till they brought him a fine horse, with rich furniture: on which mounting, he rode between the secretary and *Jabber Begh* to court, where he was the g same night married to the princess; and the whole business was managed with so much privacy, that *Mirza Mahmûd*, who had married the king's second daughter, had not the least

* OVERTON'S Voy. to Surât, p. 528, & seqq.

¹ OVERTON, ubi sup. p. 527, 532, & seqq.

nues, the auditing of which he gave to *Mufsbūk*, who then became his favourite. He rewarded bountifully those who did their duty; and although he condemned none to death, yet he punished offenders after other manners, very severely^a. As our author mentions no dates, we cannot precisely fix the beginning of *Abdollah Hoofan's* reign; but judge it must have been between the years 1670 and 1673, when Dr. *Fryer* landed at *Madras*; for he speaks of this king (R) as then on the throne. However that be, we find nothing more relating to the transactions of this king's reign, or of his affairs there, till the conquest of his dominions by the *Great Mogol*: with regard to which revolution we are informed as follows.

Aureng Zib AFTER the peace made with the king of his country, whom our author calls *Tana Sháb*, on condition of giving his daughter to *Soltán Mahmúd*, as before-mentioned, the *Mogols* attempted nothing against *Golkonda* for several years. But at length *Aureng Zib* having resolved to make a conquest of that kingdom (S), after he had quashed the rebellion of his fourth son, *Akber*, in 1680, sent his second son, *Sháb Alam* (T), with a powerful army, to attack *Golkonda* afresh: but the *Mogol* prince, either thinking the conquest difficult, or overcome by *Tana Sháb's* (U) promises to give him his daughter in marriage, and assist him to secure his father's throne, so managed affairs, as to obtain his father's consent to conclude a peace. And altho' afterwards he received many repeated commands, could never be prevailed on to return to the siege; but casting his limiter at his father's feet, told him that he was a Mussulman, and could not violate the peace which he had promised to keep.

besieges the fortrefs, UPON *Sháb Alam's* thus refusing to renew the war, *Aureng Zib*, after he had made himself master of the kingdom of *Viziapúr*, marched in person, with a mighty army, to conquer that of *Golkonda*. At his first arrival near *Bágnágar*, he secured the passage of the river, and that city: then, without staying to fortify it, by the advice of the *Franks*, who were in his service, and gave our author this account, he proceeded to besiege the fortrefs of *Golkonda*, whither the king had retired. As this place was built with stones of vast dimensions, and incompassed with a deep ditch, it held out a siege of nine months, tho' battered with many pieces of cannon, particularly by three pieces of such a prodigious size, that each of them was drawn by 500 elephants, and 200 men: for they could make but a small breach in the citadel, which was not inclosed with walls, but a solid rock. At length want of provisions, and distempers which raged in the place, joined to the presents and promises made by the *Great Mogol*, not only prevailed on the soldiers to desert to him, by getting down the walls at night, but also corrupted the governor, who surrendered the fortrels against the will of his sovereign. The king of *Golkonda* offered to pay a tribute of three millions and seven hundred thousand rupís, and become his vassal: but *Aureng Zib* refused, and entered the place in triumph, in the year 1687 (X).

and takes it, THE king, who had on a collar of inestimable value, presented it to *Azem Sháb*, who carried him away prisoner, on an elephant. *Aureng Zib* observing that his hands were not bound behind him, calling out to put his son in mind of it; *Azem Sháb* answered, that he was a king, and that they ought to be satisfied with depriving him of his kingdom and liberty. The unfortunate king was shut up in the fort of *Dawlet abad*, where his conqueror allowed him the wretched maintenance of twenty rupís (or about ten crowns) a day (Y). But a son being born to him in prison, a blessing which he never had while upon the throne (Z), in pity to the infant prince, he raised the father's pension to 500 rupís. *Pan Naik* (A), who

^a OVERTON, p. 549—552.

(R) He does not name him; but it appears to be *Abdollah Kofing*, or *Hoofan*, from the account given of his marriage, eleven years before, with his predecessor's daughter; which is related nearly in the same manner as in *Sheldon's* memoir.

(S) To which the claim, in right of his son *Mahmúd*, as before mentioned, was doubtless both a pretence and a spur.

(T) This must be *Mohammed Mauzm*, as in *Frazer*, who succeeded his father.

(U) *Gemelli* here commits a great mistake, by making the king, who gave his daughter to *Soltán Mahmúd*, the same with him who was conquered by *Aureng Zib*; or confounds *Abdallah* with *Abúl Hassan*; as appears from the authority of other credible authors: besides, *Abdallah* had but three daughters, all disposed of before the year 1660 or 1662.

(X) *Gemelli* places this event in 1686; but it happened not till the year after. The siege began the second of February, 1687, and ended the twentieth of October following; which agrees very well with what that author observes about its duration. Scarce any of the travellers mention the exact time of this important conquest. *Ovington*, who was at *Surát* in 1690, says

nothing of it: nor does *Frazer* himself mention it in his *Short History of the Great Mogols*. *Braems*, who left *Batavia* in 1696, in his report to the States General [See *Recueil des Voy. de la Comp. Introd.* p. 133.] observes, that according to the last advices which they had from the coast of *Choromandel*, the *Great Mogol* having subdued *Viziapúr*, was marching to conquer *Golkonda*; as if it happened the last-mentioned year: so shamefully careless and inaccurate are some of those who go into foreign parts. But we learn from Count *Forbin's* memoirs, that on his return from *Siam*, in 1687, the ship put in at *Masulipatan*, at which time *Golkonda* was besieged; and that, being but 30 leagues distant, he would have gone thither to see the *Indian* way of making war, if he could have met with a boat to carry him; *Masulipatan* having been almost depopulated by the plague.

(Y) Our author says he was 60 years of age in 1695.

(Z) *Mirza Abdallah Kofing*, or *Hoofan*, had a son before he came to the throne; which seems to corroborate the opinion that *Abúl Hassan* (the king here spoken of) was his son.

(A) Mentioned in our description of *Viziapúr*, or *Vijapur*.

- a had with considerable forces assisted *Aureug Zib* in conquering the kingdom, was rewarded with death, upon very slight jealousies. His son, enraged at his father's treatment, refused to pay the tribute, and retired among inaccessible mountains: but a few years after (B), the greater power prevailing, he submitted to pay tribute, and to receive a governor, appointed by the *Great Mogol* to reside within his dominions^r.

^r GEMELLI'S Trav. ap. Churchill's Collect. vol. iv. p. 248, 249, 232.

(B) This farther proves, that the conquest of *Golkonda* was not in 1695, according to *Braems's* report; for this must be supposed to have happened while *Gemelli* was in *Golkonda*, where he was in 1695.

CHAP. V.

The kingdom of Kanora, or Kanâra.

- a **K**ANORA, or the *Kanatick* country, begins at *Gongola*, a village about 40 miles to the south of *Goa*, and extends along the coast to the dominions of the *Zamorbin* (or *Zamorin*) of *Kâlekut*; and within land, up to the pepper mountains of *Sunda*, and the district of *Serji Khân*, in the kingdom of *Viziapûr*^a. This country has on the north the principality of *Sundab*; on the west, the sea; on the south, *Malabâr*; and on the east it is bounded by the mountains of *Gatti*, or *Gattam*, which divide it from the principality of *Ikkéri*, and part of *Messûr*.

THE air of *Kanâra* is very pure, and sufficiently pleasant; the country also is so fertile, that it supplies all *Europe* with rice, besides several parts of the *Indies*^b. Besides this grain, the soil produces store of betel nuts, and wild nutmegs, used in dyeing. There is likewise

- b some pepper, but not comparable to that of *Sundab*; and wild elephants are found in the forests.

THE capital city of *Kanâra* is called *Bedmur* (A), situate four days journey from *Mirja* (or *Merzee*); a castle on the shore at the mouth of the river of the same name, mentioned before. In our author's time, about 1675, it was the residence of the *Râna*, or relict of *Sham Shanker Naig*, or *Naik*, *Râjah* of *Kanora*, who was murdered by his nobility. She then governed, during the minority of her son, *Bassépî Naig*, the young *Râjah*, in conjunction with *Timi Naig*; who from a feller of toddi, by his cunning more than valour, raised himself to be general and protector. He was slain in battle, going to join *Seva jî*^c, as already mentioned.

- c A LATE author informs us, that this country is generally governed by a lady, who may marry whom she pleases; but her husband never gets the title of *Râjah*; altho', if she has sons, the eldest of them does. Yet neither husband nor son has any thing to do with the management of affairs, while she lives; nor are queens obliged to burn themselves with their husbands^d.

THE *Râjah*, or *Râna*, keeps generally about 15,000 soldiers on their *Malabâr* frontiers, with forts of earth; wherein are kept two or three hundred soldiers, ready to encounter small parties of their neighbours, who slip in clandestinely, with design to rob or steal. There is likewise another army to cover the borders, against the subjects of the *Seva jîs*: for those two nations being poor, in respect of the *Kanârins*, watch all opportunities to borrow their

- d superfluities^e.

THE *Kanârins* are of a tawny complexion, and middle-sized, wear their hair long, and dress not unlike the *Hindûs* of *Surât*. They are generally good soldiers, and most expert in mining: nor do they fight so disorderly as the *Malabârs*: but they are not quite so brave, being more addicted to commerce, which carries them to all parts of the *Indies*. Neither do they follow the laws and customs of the *Malabârs*, especially in what relates to the distinctions and degrees of their tribes; but conform themselves, in most respects, to those of the *Hindûstân* pagans^f.

- e THE prime nobility have the title of *Naiks*, or *Naigs*, as those of *Malabâr* are called *Nairos*. The language is peculiar, and called *Kanâreyn*, being spoken every-where with some variation of dialect, from the borders of *Malabâr* as far as *Surât*.

^a FRYER'S Trav. p. 162.

^b DELLON'S Voy. p. 154.

^c FRYER, ubi supr. p. 162, 164.

^d HAMILTON'S New Account of East India, vol. i. p. 282.

^e Ibid. p. 286.

^f DELLON'S Voy.

p. 154, & seqq.

(A) *Hamilton* calls it *Baydour*, which he places two days journey from the sea coast. *De l'Isle* writes *Bed-dour*, and sets it about 25 miles to the north-east of *Mangalor*.

Women burn themselves. KANARA hath several customs peculiar to it; and many of them have spread into remote countries. Here it was that the practice of widows burning themselves with the corpses of their deceased husbands had its beginning. Before this law was invented by the *Brâmmans*, the women were so ready at poisoning, that the least quarrel cost the husband his life. Our author had seen several burned, in different manners, as already related; with this addition however, that on the edge of the pit a huge log of wood, at least 500 weight, was placed so as to fall in upon the woman, on drawing a cord, in order to dispatch her the quicker, or at least run her down. There, if the victim hesitates, the priests thrust her in with long poles; at the same time making a hideous noise, to deafen hers, and dancing round the fire^g.

Men sacrifice themselves. ALTHO' the men do not burn themselves here with their wives, yet they take their turn also in making themselves voluntary sacrifices another way. To explain this, it must be observed, that to the wheels of the waggons, on which their images are carried in procession on festival days, great iron hooks are fastened; and on these some of the superstitious-zealots are accustomed to throw themselves; so that being turned round with the wheels, they are cut to pieces. Others lie sprawling on the ground, for the wheels to pass over, and crush them to death^h. The like is done in other parts of the *Indies*.

Few offenders. No man is permitted in *Kanâra* to ride on horses, mules, or elephants, but officers of state, or troopers; oxen or buffalos being the common voiture: nor are any suffered to have umbrellas held over them by servants, but they must do that office themselves, to keep off sun or rain. In all other respects people are at liberty. The laws are so well obeyed in this country, that robbery and murder are scarcely ever heard of among them: and a stranger may pass thro' the country without being asked where he is going, or what business he is aboutⁱ.

Cruel punishment. This may be owing, in great measure, to the manner of executing their criminals, which is very cruel: for they strip them stark naked, and thus tied hands and feet, expose them on the sands to the scorching heat of the sun, and stinging of the flies; where they die a most miserable and lingering death^k.

Onor. THERE are on the coast of *Kanâra* several considerable places. The most northern is *Onoar*, or *Onor*, situated on a river capable to receive ships of two or three hundred tons. It has a castle on a low hill, about a mile within the bar, built of old by the *Portugueses*: but the Râjah of *Kanâra*, unable to bear their insolence, reduced it by famine, after a three years blockade. There is a pagod here, called *Ramtrut*, visited yearly by a great numbers of pilgrims. The image, which resembles a monkey more than a man, is sometimes carried in procession. He is placed in a coach, in form of a tower, with a pyramidal top, about fifteen feet high; where eight or ten priests are set to bear him company, and sing his praises. The coach, which goes on four wheels, is drawn thro' the streets by means of a good strong rope, attended by a great mob, who are always fond of superstition^l.

Batakola. THE next port southward, is *Batakola*, which has the vestigia of a very large city, standing on a little river about four miles from the sea. There is nothing worth notice now remaining, except ten or twelve small pagods, covered with copper and stone. The country produces good quantities of pepper; and the *English* had a factory there; but, about the year 1670, one of their ships coming there to lade, the chief begged a fine bull-dog of the captain; which sometime after killing a cow, as they were out a hunting, the priests raised a mob, who slew the whole factory, eighteen in number. Since which time the *English* never resettled there, but often repair thither to buy pepper.

Barseloar. AFTER *Batakola* follows *Barseloar*, standing on the banks of a broad river, about four miles from the sea. The *Dutch* have a factory here, about a mile from the river's mouth, which has a castle on the north side for its guard. Their business here is purely to buy up rice, with which the adjacent country abounds, for their garrisons on the *Malabâr* coast. The *Portugueses* also get supplies of the same grain for *Goa*; and have six or eight ships there, which carry rice to *Muskât*, in *Arabia*, bringing back horses, dates, pearls, and other commodities, in exchange. To the south of this place, in the road to *Mangulore*, there is a walk eight or ten miles long, planted with four rows of trees, whose spreading branches afford umbrellas to passengers; who are likewise refreshed, from time to time, with fine clear water, given gratis by some old people, placed there in little huts, at the charge of the state. Between *Barseloar* and *Mangulore* lie *Bakkanoar* and *Molkey*; by whose rivers the large quantities of rice which their fields produce are exported^m.

Mangulore. MANGULORE is the greatest mart for trade in all the *Kanâra* dominions: having the conveniency of the united streams of three rivers, which are made by the great rains and dews falling from the mountains of *Gâtti*, twenty-five or thirty leagues distant, and join about a mile from the sea. The town is poorly built along the streams, and has no defence but two small forts, one on each side of the river's mouth. The fields bear two crops of corn yearly; and the higher grounds produce pepper, betel nuts, sandal wood (or sanders), iron, and steel,

^g HAMILTON, ubi supr. p. 280.

^h DELLON, ubi supr. p. 154.

ⁱ DELLON, ubi supr. p. 154.

^j HAMILTON, ubi supr. p. 278, & seqq.

^k HAMILTON, ubi supr. p. 282.

^l Ibid. p. 282, & seqq.

which

a which creates a pretty good trade. The *Portugueses* have a factory for rice at *Mangulore*, and a pretty large church, because great numbers of black Christians reside there: but, says our author, both priests and people are the very dregs of Christianity. The clergy are so shameless, that they will bargain with a stranger to pimp for him; and the laity look on whoring, thieving, and murder, as no sins, provided any gain can be gotten by them.

In 1695 the *Muskât Arabs* came with a fleet, and plundered the sea coast of *Kanâra*, burnt *Barfeloar* and *Mangulore*, and carried away a rich booty. The same coast was insulted in 1720 by *Konna ji Anguria*; but on landing some men, he found so much resistance, that he embarked again without doing any great mischief.

b THERE is only one small sea-port more in *Kanâra*, called *Manguzîr*, about five leagues south of *Mangulore*, and three from *Dekulli*; which is a large fort, built on an island close to ^{part.} the continent. And three leagues farther south is a small river, which divides *Kanâra* from the *Malabâr* territories".

" HAMILTON, p. 285, & seqq.

CHAP. VI.

The dominions commonly called the coast of Malabâr.

SECT. I.

The country described.

a **T**HE country of *Malabâr*, taken in its larger sense, contains not only the country under that name, to the west of *Cape Komori*, but also those to the east, as far as *Nagapatan*: ^{bounds} for so far the inhabitants are called *Malabârs*; and the *Malabâr* tongue extends a great way beyond, within the kingdom of *Karnâta*. Taken in the more contracted and modern sense of the word, *Malabâr* includes only the countries so called to the west of *Cape Komori*, otherwise denominated the dominions of the *Samorîn*. This country begins at the small river three leagues to the south of *Fort Dekulli* before-mentioned, and ends at *Cape Komori*, the most southern point of the peninsula of *India intra Gangem*, the space of about 350 miles. Its greatest breadth is about eighty miles; in some parts it is not more than twenty broad. It is washed by the sea on the west; and on the east is bounded by the mountains of *Gâtî*, or *Gâte*,
b which divide it from the kingdoms of *Messûr* and *Madârey*.

THE air all over *Malabâr* is very good, the coast delightful, and the soil one of the most ^{Soil and pro-} fruitful in all *Asia*; affording two crops a year^o: yet rice is not very plenty, much being ^{dice.} imported from *Kanâra* (B): but the coast being low and sandy, it nourishes vast numbers of kokoa-nuts, betel, and arekka trees, whose fruit brings in much riches from abroad^p. Here are likewise store of other kinds, excellent in their nature, but very different from those of *Europe*; such as the jakka, of a prodigious bulk. Its fruit is divided into many partitions, ^{Fruit-trees.} which contain a substance of a yellow colour, and taste, like melons, inclosing a sort of chesnuts, which are the seed. The mango is a much more excellent fruit, resembling the nectarine. They are of different colours when ripe, as red, white, and green; some the size of an egg;
c others bigger than the largest pears. The skin is hard, and the pulp soft; they are excellent either to preserve or pickle: but the *Malabâr* mangos are the worst in the *Indies*; those towards *Surât* are better, and those of *Goa* best of all^q.

THE higher grounds produce pepper and kardamums; which, we are told, grow no-where ^{Pepper and} in the world except in the kingdom of *Kannanore*, near the mountain six or seven leagues from ^{kardamums.} the coast. They need neither sow nor plant it: it is enough, after the rainy season, to burn the herbs which grow on the spot, whose ashes produce this grain; which is the grand seasoning of the eastern countries. Cinnamon grows on the *Malabâr* coast; but it is not comparable to that of *Seylân*. The arbour de reys, banyan, or war-tree, is no-where so plenty as in this country^r. The mountains yield iron and steel, but not so good as the *European*. Their woods,
d besides store of game, furnish teak-timber, and angelique, for building; sandal-wood, or

^o CORNW. Obs. on Ind. Voy. p. 55. DELLON, ubi supr. p. 61. ^p HAMILTON, vol. i. p. 292. ^q Ibid. ubi supr. p. 61. ^r Ibid. p. 66.

(B) Particularly from *Farfalore*; because the *Malabâr* rice will not keep above three months out of the husk; but in the husk it will keep a year. *Hamilton's New Account*, p. 331.

landers, white and yellow; cassia fistula, nux vomica, coculus indiae, and other drugs, in a plenty'. The soil likewise produces all sorts of pulse; and, among the rest, beans, four inches long, inclosed in a pod a foot and an half in length: but they are only used by the poorer sort of people, as having no good taste.

Beast and reptiles.

MALABAR abounds with wild-fowl and tame, the same as in other parts of the *Indies*; likewise with tigers of the three sorts already mentioned; jackalls, or addives, buffaloes, civet-cats, and monkeys: but no animal is so noxious in this country as the adders, especially a green kind, whose poison is incurable. Some, tho' long, are very small; those of the largest size are near twenty feet long, and of so vast a thickness, that they are able to swallow a man. But they are less dangerous than the other sort, because they are sooner discovered, and more easily avoided¹.

Division into kingdoms.

THE country of *Malabâr* was formerly united under one emperor, called the *Samorin* (C), who, in his old-age, turned *Mohammedan*; and resolving to make the pilgrimage to *Mekka*, before he put to sea divided his dominions, by will, among his four nephews. To the eldest he bequeathed *Kallistra*, whose sea-coast reaches from *Dekulli* to *Tikorey*, about twenty-four leagues; to the second, whom he loved best, he left from *Tikorey* to *Cbitwa*, the same extent of coast, with the title of *Samorin*; to the third, *Attinga*, which reached from *Cbitwa* to *Cape Komori*, about fifty leagues; because that part of the country is confined between the sea and the mountains of *Gatti* (D); and divided by rivers from those mountains, by more than 1000 islands between *Cbitwa* and *Quoyloan* (or *Koulam*). The youngest had *Koyl*, which reached from *Cape Komori* to the river of *Nagapatam*, about fifty leagues beyond. In process of time each of these kingdoms came to be divided into many lesser principalities, as they are at present (E). However, many of the *Hindû* tribes continue tributaries to the provinces mentioned in the old king's will; although a much greater number are become independent².

No villages.

It is remarkable, that although cities and towns are frequent enough in *Malabâr*, yet there are no villages to be seen all over it; every one having his separate habitation and inclosure in the country: and, as it is an established custom among them not to make use of their neighbours water, every house which does not stand by the side of a river has a well of its own³.

Mount Delli.

BETWEEN *Dekulli* and mount *Delli* (F), there is no harbour; but a fine deep river runs all the way for about eight leagues, never above a bow-shot from the shore, and falls into the sea at the foot of the mount, over rocks and sands, in a chanel half a league broad. A small river also runs on the south side: and three leagues lower down is a spacious river called *Baliapatam*; where the *English* company had once a factory for pepper.

Kannanore.

NOT far from thence, southward, is *Kannanore*, a town formerly belonging to the crown of *Portugal*, with a strong fort, built on a point of land almost surrounded by the sea. But the *Dutch*, joined by the natives, who were weary of the *Portuguese* tyranny, took it about the year 1660, with very little trouble: for a *Fidalgo* being killed by a cannon-shot, the first day on which the enemy opened their trenches, the governor fled in the night, and left the garrison to shift for themselves; who capitulated the next day. The *Dutch* demolished the town, and with the stones fortified the fort, which has a garrison but of forty soldiers, their trade being small. However, there is a pretty large town built in the bottom of the bay, belonging to *Adda Râjah*, a *Mohammedan* prince; who can bring near 20,000 men into the field. His government is neither absolute nor hereditary. He has not so much as the command of the public money: but when there is occasion for any, the *Râjah*, the commissioner of trade, the chief judge, and the treasurer, meet, to take it out of the chests, where it is lodged, by means of holes in the lids, of which each has a key. The coin is all gold.

Adda Râjah.

IN 1668, this prince paying a visit to the *Dutch* captain, his men attempted to surprise the fort, but without *Adda's* knowledge; for which the ringleader was put to a cruel death by his order⁴.

King of Kallistri.

EIGHT or ten miles from *Kannanore* the king of *Kallistri* keeps his court: whither our author, with another *Englishman*, went in 1702. His palace was built with twigs, and covered with kadjans, or kokoa-nut tree leaves, woven together. The king, named *Omni-*

¹ HAMILTON, ubi supr. p. 291.

² DELLON, ubi supr. p. 108.

³ DELLON, p. 77, 85.

⁴ HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 292, & seqq.

⁵ HAMILTON, ubi supr. p. 291.

(C) *Hamilton* says, this emperor reigned when the *Portuguese* first entered the *Indies* by sea, in 1498. But *De Faria y Sousa*, and other *Portuguese* authors, place the reign of this *Samorin*, called *Perimal*, 600 years before. As to the division, *De Faria* says he gave to the chief of his relations the kingdom of *Koulam*, where he placed the head see of the *Bramman* religion, and called him *Kobritim*; which is the same as high priest. This dignity was afterwards translated to *Kochin*. To his nephew, *Perimal* gave *Kalikût*, with all the tempo-

ral dominion, calling him *Zamori*, which is the same as emperor. See *Portug. Asia*, vol. i. p. 100, & seq.

(D) So is the whole country; and this part broadest of all.

(E) Of these captain *Hamilton* has given a list, p. 287, as it was procured in 1694 by the Heer *Van Rede*, commissary of the *Dutch East India* company.

(F) Or mount *E'li*; that is, *Eli's* mount; as *Dellon*, and some others, name it. *Voyage to East India*, ch. 21. p. 61. *Engl. edit.*

- a *tri* (G), was about forty years old, and successor to the eldest son of the *Samorin* before mentioned, who died in his voyage towards *Mekka*. They paid their compliment each with a gold ckekîn, and a few grains of rice laid on it. He treated them with toddi wine, some plantains, and young kokoa-nuts. His dress was only a silk lunjey, or scarf, which was fastened about his middle by a girdle of gold plate, and reached to his knees. He had great jewels of massy gold, set with rubies, emeralds, and pearls, hanging at his ears; but no ornament on his head, except his hair, which hung over his shoulders, and was very beautiful. His queen and daughters were in the same habit, only their hair was tied up behind; being all naked above the navel, and barefooted. Her majesty had a chearful countenance, and was very affable, distributing betel and arekka with her own royal hands.
- b ABOUT the year 1680, three princes of the royal blood conspired to cut off *Omnitri*, and his family: but, being detected, they were beheaded on altars, built square, of stone, about three yards high, and four in diameter, two miles from *Kannanore*.
- ADDA RAJAH's dominions reach but ten miles to the south of *Kannanore* to *Tellicherri* Dormé-river; near which he has a harbour, called *Dormépatam*. The entrance is embarrassed with patam. rocks, and has an island opposite to it, about a league from shore, invironed with the same dangers. The same Râjah is likewise in possession of the *Lakka Diva* islands (H), which lie Lakka Diva about forty leagues off the *Malabâr* coast, between the latitudes of eight degrees thirty islands. minutes, and twelve degrees thirty minutes. Our author had seen eighteen of them (I). They are all low, and have many dangerous shoals about them. There is a large chanel
- c between them and the *Maldiva* islands, called the *eight-degree chanel*. They produce nothing but kokoa-nuts and fish; which latter they export dried to the continent. From the nut-kernels they express oil; and of the fibres of the husk, called kayar (or kayro), they make cordage and cables for shipping. Sometimes in the south-west monsoons they find ambergrise floating on the sea. Captain *Hamilton* saw a piece in the Râjah's possession as big as a bushel; and he valued it at 10,000 rupis, or 1250 pounds sterling. The inhabitants are, like their prince, *Mohammedans* ^z.
- THE next province to *Adda Râjah*'s dominions is *Tellicherri* (K); where the *English* have Tellicherri. a factory, pretty well fortified with stone walls and cannon: but to little purpose; since it has no river near it to protect it, nor can it defend the road from the insults of enemies. The
- d town is inclosed with a stone wall, and stands behind the fort, within land.
- TWELVE or fourteen miles farther southward stands *Burgara*, a sea-port belonging to Bal- Burgara port. lanore *Burgarey*, a formidable prince, whose country produces pepper and the best kardamums in the world. This prince and his predecessors have been lords of the seas, time out of mind; and all trading vessels between *Cape Komori* and *Daman* were obliged to carry his passes. Those of one mast paid eight shillings yearly, and those with three, about sixteen. But when the *Portugueses* settled in *India*, they pretended to the sovereignty of the sea; and this occasioned a war, which has lasted ever since. This prince keeps some light gallies; which Lord of the cruize along the coast from *October* to *May*, in order to make prize of all such vessels as have seas. not his pass. He, without any scruple, went on board Captain *Hamilton*'s ship, who was there
- e in 1703, and treated him nobly on shore: but would drink nothing on board; telling the Captain, that his water was polluted by his touch. And, when our author had paid his visit, he caused an apartment of his palace, built with reeds, and covered with kokoa-nut leaves, to be new thatched; because, in walking together, the stranger's hat had chanced to touch the roof.
- THE dominions of this prince end at *Tikorey*, about twelve miles south of *Mealey* (L). Midway is *Kottika* (M), famous for seizing vessels which traded without their lord's pass. Off *Kottika*, about eight miles, lies *Sacrifice Rock*: so called, because, when the *Portugueses* first Sacrifice rock, settled in *India*, the cruizers of that place sacrificed on it the whole crew of a *Portuguese*

^z HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 296, & seqq.

(G) *Dellon*, who calls him *Onitri*, says it is a title belonging to all the kings of *Kannanore*, as he makes him to be; and that he was in his time the most powerful of all the kings in *Malabâr*; and much superior in strength to the *Samorin*, tho' his territories were not near so large. See *Voyage to the East Indies*, part i. ch. 21. p. 61. also ch. 38. p. 117. But ch. 40. p. 123, he says the *Samorin* is the most powerful of all the *Malabar* princes.

(H) In *Dellon's Voyage*, p. 118, he is, doubtless by some mistake of the press, called *Atitaja*; and is said to be king of several of the *Maldiva* islands (instead of the *Lakka* isles); yet subject to the king of *Kannanore*; meaning *Onitri*, or *Omnitri*.

(I) In effect, the large ones do not exceed that number. Captain *H. Cornwall* has given a chart of them in his *Observations on several voyages to India*, p. 40.

(K) Or *Tilseri*, as the *French* call it: but its true name is *Tatishere*. See *Dellon's Voy. East-Ind.* p. 118, ch. 38.

(L) Or *Meali*, two leagues north of *Bargara* (or *Burgara*). *Dellon's Voy.* part ii. ch. 1. p. 138.

(M) This doubtless is *Kota*, or *Kognali*, a bazâr, or market-town; whose lord was a great pirate: but *Dellon*, p. 138, places it not above a mile and half from *Bargara*. *Kota* signifies a fort.

vessel, which they had seized. It is observable, that those *Europeans* could never get one foot a of ground in the *Balanore's* country, although they often attempted it ^a.

Samorin's country.

THE country of the *Samorin* (N) reaches along the sea-coast of *Malabâr*, from *Tikori* to *Chitwa*, about twenty-two leagues. Its products are, pepper in abundance; betel-nut and kokoa-nut, whose tree yields jaggheri, a kind of sugar; and kopera, or the nut-kernels dried, which affords a clear oil. Here are found iron, sandal-wood, cassia lignum, and timber for building; which commodities are exported to great advantage.

Kalikut, or Koy Kota.

THE chief city (if it may be called one) of the *Samorin* is *Kalekut* (O); where he commonly resides. His palace is built of stone; and there is some faint resemblance of grandeur to be seen about his court. He is reckoned the most powerful king on the *Malabâr* coast, and has the best trade in his country; which makes both him and his people richer than their b neighbours. The *English* had a factory there for many years: but are now removed to *Tellicherry*; whither their pepper is sent from thence by sea. The *French* have a small factory also, settled in 1698; and the *Portugueses* a poor church: but the first have not money to carry on trade; nor the latter credit enough to procure converts.

Road of Kalekut.

THE *Portugueses* formerly built a town before *Kalekut*; which being undermined by the sea (P), or swallowed up by an earthquake, as some affirm, in 1703, Captain *Hamilton's* ship, which drew twenty-one feet, struck on some of the ruins in six fathom water, in the road of that city ^b.

Tannore.

FIVE or six leagues south of *Kalekut* is *Tannore* (Q) (or *Tanor*), a town of small trade, inhabited by *Mohammedans*; who are a little free state; but pay an acknowledgement to the c *Samorin*. Five leagues from thence, towards the same point, is *Pennaney*, before-mentioned; which has the benefit of a river, and was formerly a place of trade; where the *French* and *English* had their factories till the year 1670, when they removed. About four leagues more to the south, is *Chitwa* river (R), which bounds the *Samorin's* dominions on that side; where the *Dutch* built a small fort, and settled, about the year 1714 ^c.

One odd custom,

MANY strange customs were observed formerly in this country; of which some still continue. One was, for the *Samorin* to reign no longer than twelve years. If he died before that time expired, it saved him a troublesome ceremony of cutting his own throat on a public scaffold; which he ascended for that purpose, after feasting, and taking leave of his numerous nobility and gentry: who, having buried his body with great pomp, elected a new *Samorin*. d In place of this custom, at present, at the end of twelve years a jubilee is proclaimed through the *Samorin's* dominions; and, a tent being pitched for him in a large plain, a feast is celebrated for ten or twelve days, with great rejoicings, guns firing both day and night. At the end of which, any four of the guests, who have a mind to gain a crown by a desperate action, may undertake it; which is, to force their way through 30 or 40,000 of his guards, and kill him in his tent: he who gives the bold stroke succeeding him in the empire.

changed for another.

IN 1695, one of these jubilees happened, and was kept at *Pennani* (S), a sea-port, about fifteen leagues southward of *Kalekut*. No more than three men would venture on that extravagant enterprize. They fell in, with sword and target, among the guards; and, after they had killed and wounded many of them, were killed themselves. However, a nephew of e one of the desperadoes, about fifteen or sixteen years old, had like to have carried the prize: for, keeping close by his uncle's side, when he saw him fall, the youth got through the guards into the *Samorin's* tent, and, making a stroke at his majesty, had certainly dispatched him, if a large brass lamp, which was burning over his head, had not marred the blow: but before he could make another he was killed. Our author Captain *Hamilton* happened at that juncture to sail along the coast, and heard the guns for two or three nights successively.

Marriage customs.

WHEN the *Samorin* marries, he must not cohabit with his wife till the Nambourey, or chief priest, has enjoyed her; and, if his sanctity pleases, he may have three nights of her company. Because the first fruits of her nuptials must be an holy oblation to the god she worships: and some of the nobles are so complaisant as to allow the clergy the same tribute. f However the common people cannot have that honour done them, but are forced to supply the places of the priests themselves ^d.

^a HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 299, & seqq.
^d Ibid. ubi supr. p. 399, & seqq.

^b Ibid. p. 318, & seqq.

^c Ibid. ubi supr. p. 322.

(N) Or *Zamerlim*, as *Fryer* and *Cornwall* say.
(O) Called in the *Malabâr* language *Koy Kota*; that is, the fort of the cock, or cock fort; because the *Samorin's* kingdom was of no greater extent formerly than you might hear a cock crow. *Dellon's Voy. to East-Ind.* p. 140.

(P) *Dellon*, p. 141, imputes this to the inundation caused by the south-west winds, which blow from May to September. The fort, he says, lies half under water: and those inundations removed the trade from *Kalikut*

to *Goa*. The same author says, gold dust is found among the sands on the sea shore.

(Q) The king resides about a league from thence: and though his dominions are not above eight or ten leagues long, and as many broad, yet he is as absolute as any in *Malabâr*, and tributary to none. *Dellon's Voy.* p. 144.

(R) It is about ten leagues to the north of *Kochin*.

(S) *Pennancy*, or *Panancy*; sometimes the place of the *Samorin's* residence.

^a THE king of *Kouchin's* (or *Kochin's*) dominions are next to the *Samorin's*, and extend from *Chitwa* about twenty-four leagues to the southward. So many rivulets descend from the mountains of *Gatti* (or *Gite*), which reach within eight leagues of the coast, that they reckon above 1000 islands made by their streams, which join at *Kranganôr*, five leagues below *Chitwa*; where they make one great outlet to the sea. *Kingdom of Kochin.*

THE first place of note after leaving *Chitwa* is *Kranganôr*; where the *Dutch* have a small fort, which retains the same name, standing about one league up the river. Formerly it bore the name of a kingdom, and was a republic of *Jews*; who once could reckon 80,000 families, but are now reduced to 4000. They have a synagogue at *Kochin*, not far from the king's palace, about two miles from the city, in which are preserved their records, engraven on copper-plates in *Hebrew* characters; and when any of the characters decay, they have them new cut. *Jews there;*

MYNHEER *Vanreede*, before-mentioned, about 1695, had an abstract of their history translated into *Low Dutch*. They declare themselves of the tribe of *Manasseh*, a part whereof was, by order of *N. bukkadnezzar*, carried to the most eastern province of his large empire, which it seems extended as far as *Cape Komori*: and this journey 20,000 of them performed in three years from their setting out from *Babylon*. *their history.*

^c WHEN they arrived in *Malabar*, they were received with great civility by the inhabitants, who allowed them liberty of conscience, and the use of their own customs. There, having increased in number and riches, they at length purchased the little kingdom of *Kranganôr*; and chose two sons of an eminent family to govern the commonwealth, and reign jointly over them. But one of the brothers, ambitious to reign alone, killed the other at a feast; and his son, having revenged his father's death by that of the murderer, the state fell again into a democracy; which still continues among these *Jews*. Many of them, through poverty, have embraced the *Hindû* religion; the lands having for many ages reverted into the hands of the *Malabars*.

^d To the south of *Kranganôr*, and within the island of *Baypin*, which reaches from thence to *Kochin*, there is an old *Portuguese* fort; and five leagues up the rivulet is a *Romish* church, called *Verapoli*, served by *French* and *Italian* priests; whose superior can raise 4000 men, all of the church of *Rome*. But there are many more Christians of *St. Thomas*, who will not communicate with those of *St. Peter*; and some *Portuguese*s, called *Topases*, who communicate with neither: for they will be served by none but *Portuguese* priests, because they indulge them more in their villanies, and let them have absolution from their crimes at an easier rate^e.

^e THE water of this country near the sea-coast from *Kranganôr* to *St. Andrea* (T), about twelve leagues to the south, has the bad quality to give the constant drinkers of it swelled legs; some it affects in one, some in both. Our author has seen legs above a yard about at the ankle. It causes no pain, but itching: nor does the thick leg seem heavier than the small one to the owner. The *Dutch* at *Kochin*, to prevent that malady, send boats daily to *Verapoli* for water to serve the city: and yet Captain *Hamilton* has seen both *Dutch* men and women troubled with that distemper; to heal or prevent which, no remedy hath yet been found. The *Romish* legends impute the cause of those great swelled legs to a curse *St. Thomas* laid upon his murderers and their posterity. But *St. Thomas* was killed (they say) by the *Tillinga* priest at *Meliapûr*, on the coast of *Choromandel*, about 400 miles distant, and the natives there are not afflicted with this distemper. *Swelled legs.*

^f THE *Portuguese*s, who were the first *Europeans* settled at *Kochin*, built there a fine city on the river-side, about three leagues from the sea: but, the latter gaining on the land yearly, it is not now above 100 paces from it. However, the situation among rivulets and canals makes it exceeding pleasant. It was a mile and a half long, to one mile in breadth; but the *Dutch* having taken it about 1660, with the assistance of the king of *Kochin*, whose friendship had been destroyed by the *Portuguese* insolence, they contracted it to almost one tenth of its former magnitude: it being now about 600 paces long by 200 broad; but fortified with seven large bastions, and thick curtains. The garrison consists of 300 men. The king of *Kochin*, who at best is but a vassal to the *Dutch*, has a palace built of stone, about half a league from the *Dutch* city; and there is a straggling village not far from the palace which bears the name of *Old Kochin*, with a bazâr, or market-place, in it; where the country merchandizes are sold, but no curiosities. His majesty's ordinary residence is at another palace, six leagues to the south of *Kochin*, and two from *St. Andrea*; but he keeps only a small court. *City of Kochin.*

ON the shore of *St. Andrea*, about half a league out in the sea, lies *Mud Bay*, a place which few in the world can parallel. It is open to the wide ocean, and has neither island nor bank to

^e HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 323, & seqq.

(T) This is only a village with a church in it, dedicated to *St. Andrew*, and served by priests of *St. Thomas*; who are generally both poor and illiterate. *Hamil.* p. 332.

break-off the force of the billows, which come rolling with great violence on all other parts of the coast in the south-west monsoons, but on this bank of mud lose themselves in a moment; and ships lie on it, as secure as in the best harbour, without motion or disturbance. It reaches about a mile along-shore, and has shifted from the northward in thirty years about three miles ^a.

Porkah
principality.

ABOUT two leagues south of *St. Andrea* begin the dominions of *Porkat*, or *Porkab*, which are of small extent, reaching not above four leagues along the coast. The prince is poor, having but little trade; although it was a free port for pirates when *Avery* and *Kid* robbed on these shores: but since that time they infest the northern parts, where they find richer prizes, among the *Mokka* and *Persian* traders. The *Dutch* keep a factory at *Porkab*; but of small consequence.

Kali Koulam.

KOIL KOILOAN (or *Kali Koulam*) is another little principality contiguous to *Porkab*, where the *Dutch* keep a factory: and next to it is *Koyloan* (or *Koulam*), another small principality, and city. It has the benefit of a river, which is the southermost outlet of the *Kochin* islands; and the *Dutch* have a small fort within a mile of it, on the shore, which they took from the *Portugueses*. It has a garrison of thirty men; and its trade is inconsiderable. At *Erwa*, two leagues to the south of *Koyloan*, the *Danes* have a small factory, being a poor looking thatched house by the sea-side, with a trade suitable to it: and two leagues beyond

Aujengo fort. *Erwa* lies *Aujengo*, a fort, built by the *English* in 1595. It stands on a sandy foundation, and is fortified by the sea on one side, and a little river on the other: but there is not a drop of water for drinking but what comes from the *Red Cliffs*, three miles to the north; which would have been a much better situation. The country produces good quantities of pepper, and long cloth, as fine as any made in the *Indies*. Their factory is in the dominions of the queen of *Attinga*. Before it was built, the *English* had two others in her country, to the south of *Aujengo*; one called *Brinjan* (or *Bringjohn*), the other *Ruttera* (or *Reytora*): but, being naked places, they left them, to avoid the insults of the needy courtiers.

Queen of
Attinga.

In those times they sent a yearly present to the queen of *Attinga*, whose court is about four leagues within land from *Aujengo*: and, in 1685, it being carried by a young beautiful gentleman, her black majesty fell in love with him, and next day made him proposals of marriage. But, although he modestly refused so great an honour, yet, to please her majesty, he staid at court a month or two; and when he came away, she made him some presents. About 1720, the annual present being demanded by the queen's officer, and the *English* chief refusing to pay it to any but the queen herself, she invited him to court; where, to appear great, he carried two of his council, and some others of the factory, with most of the military belonging to the garrison: but they were all cut off by stratagem, excepting a few black servants, who made their escape.

Tengapatam.

TEGNAPATAM (or *Tengapatam*) lies about twelve leagues southward of *Aujengo*, in a country producing pepper and coarse cloth. Here the *Dutch* have a factory. *Kolicha* (or *Kolechey*), situate between the middle and west point of *Cape Komorin* (or *Komori*) affords good cloth and salt; but neither the *English* nor *Dutch* trade thither. Close by *Kolicha*, at the said middle point (U), there is a secure harbour for small vessels ^e.

FROM the borders of *Koyloan*, above-mentioned, as far as this cape, is called the kingdom of *Travankôr*: and, as we are told on one hand that it belonged to *Attinga*, and on the other, that it was governed by the queen, it may be presumed that she was the same just now mentioned. Besides the places on the sea-coast already taken notice of, this country has several considerable ones within land; among which are the cities of *Travankôr*, *Kali*, and *Kotate*.

City of Kotate.

This last is situate at the foot of the mountains (of *Gatti*) about four leagues from *Cape Komori*, and is very large and populous ^b; but without either walls or ditches, as are most of the towns in these parts.

Cape Komori.

AT this famous cape, which makes the most southerly point of this peninsula of *India*, one experiences two opposite seasons of the year, winter and summer at the same time; for in that tongue of land, which is not above three leagues in extent, sometimes even in the same garden, which is not more than 500 paces square, one has the pleasure to see those two seasons united; the trees being loaded with flowers and fruits on one side, while on the other side they are stripped of all their leaves. This surprising phænomenon is owing to those mountains; and our author, who relates this fact on the testimony of others, himself observed that on the opposite sides of the cape the winds are constantly opposite, and as if at strife: so that at the same time the winds blow from the west on the western side, they blow from the east on the

Strange variety.

^f HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 325, 328, & seqq.
Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 44, & seq.

^g Ibid. ubi supr. p. 333, & seqq.

^h BOUCHET ap.

(U) By the context our author must mean the point commonly called *Cape Komorin*; but *Kolicha* is above fifty miles to the north-west of it, by the late map of the

Jesuits sent from *India*; although *De Lisse* and the charts place it near the cape.

a eastern side¹. More than this, those mountains of *Balligâte* (or *Gâtti*) being covered with a very fine sand, light as dust, it is carried by the winds as far as the island of *Seylon*, and is very troublesome at *Tutukurin*, on the *Fishery* coast: besides, as this sand is red, the reflection of the sun's rays makes the sky seem all on fire; which is a sight dreadful to behold^k.

¹ TACHARD, *ibid.* tom. iii. p. 209, & seq.
and BALDÆUS, *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 583.

^k NIEUHOFF. *ap.* Church. Collect. Trav. vol. ii. p. 262.

S E C T. II.

The inhabitants of Malabâr.

- b **T**HE inhabitants of *Malabâr* are generally well-shaped, all of them black, or at least *Inhabitants*. very deep tawny; but are not near so ugly as the *Africans*. They let their hair grow to a great length; but shave their beards close: excepting a few, who wear whiskers. They do not want ingenuity; but very rarely improve it by any useful arts or sciences. They are very treacherous, breach of faith being their daily practice; in which, says *Dellon*, they almost outdo the *Mohammedans*, their masters. However, they are generally very patient, and not easily put in a passion. Besides, it ought to be mentioned to their honour, that when injured *Character*, or affronted, they have recourse to the most generous methods of taking satisfaction, and never revenge themselves by clandestine means; poison not being so much as known among them.
- c THE *Malabâr* females are for the generality well shaped, and not ill-featured: but little women are in greater esteem than tall ones¹.
- THESE people are distinguished, as in other parts of *India*, into several degrees or tribes. *Divided into* The first is that of their princes, the second of their clergy; the third consists of their *Nayers*, *tribes*, or nobles; the merchants make the fourth; and under the fifth may be comprised the mechanics, husbandmen, fishers, and the inferior kinds of people.
- WITH regard to the first order, or that of the princes, in each kingdom of the *Malabârs* *Crown hereditary*, there are several families which are branches of the royal stock, superior in rank to all others; *ary*. and, for the general, the most antient of all the princes succeeds without opposition: so that a young sovereign is the greatest rarity that can be seen among the *Malabârs*.
- d THE first thing which a new king does, is to appoint a lieutenant-general, or first minister: *Prime minister*. for although this post be exposed to sale, yet the king reserves a power of chusing from among the candidates, him whom he judges most capable of executing that important trust. And whether a *Nayer* or *Shati* be invested with this dignity, he will make himself obeyed even by the princes themselves, no less than if a person of the first quality had been elected. The king leaves the whole management of affairs to his conduct; and, for the most part, lives in a retired place; but with a great deal of magnificence. This governor-general has the whole direction of the treasury, as well as of making peace and war, in concert with the king; in whose presence he always stands. He permits not any of the courtiers or guards to enter his majesty's bed-chamber; and never speaks to him without laying his hand on his mouth. The least neglect in any of these respects would be attended with the loss of his office, which is only during pleasure: however, such changes rarely happen^m.
- e WHEN the king (for instance, him of *Kannanôr*), goes abroad, he is carried either on an *The king's* elephant, or in a palanki; having on his head a crown of gold, shaped like a ducal bonnet, *state*. weighing somewhat above 200 guineas. It is always given by the new governor-general, and repositied in the treasury of the chief pagod when the king dies. His majesty is surrounded with his guard of *Nayers*, before whom certain officers march to clear the way, and give notice that the king is coming; who marches under the sound of drums, trumpets, and other warlike instruments. The prince and princesses, when they go abroad, appear with the same pomp: but the prime minister is only attended by his guards, without martial instruments, or any to clear the way; unless he happens to be a prince, and then he enjoys those honours in respect of his birth, and not of the dignity of his office.
- f THERE are in the *Malabâr* countries many degrees or dignities in the church, as well as in *The clergy*. the state. The clergy consist of three orders; *Nambouri*, *Brâmans*, and *Buts*. The *Nambouri* are the first in both capacities of church and state: and some of them are popes, being sovereign princes in both respects. Of these priests there are two ranks or orders; the first called *Iregale Nade*, the second *Nambiar*. The *Brâmans* are the second degree of clergy, and concerned in spiritual affairs only. The *Buts*, or magicians, says our author, are next to them, and in great venerationⁿ. Such is the authority of the clergy here, that in all matters which concern religion, the kings are subject to the *Nambouri* and *Brâmans*.

¹ DELLON'S Voy. to Ind. p. 91, 106, 107. 114.

^m *Ibid.* p. 101.

ⁿ HAMILT. *ubi* supr. p. 290. 312.

Nayers, or gentry, THE *Nayers*, or, as others write, *Nairs*, *Nabors*, and *Nayros*, are the gentry. These are a very numerous °. They may be easily distinguished from the rest, by their civil deportment and conversation.

serve as guides It is an antient law or custom for all strangers or others, who are not pagans, never to travel without a guard of one of these *Nayers*; insomuch that the princes never take cognizance of any violences offered to travellers who neglect this precaution. These *Nayers*, whose pay is no more than eight tares, or four pence a day, never betray or abandon those they guard upon the road: but if a man happens to lose his life while he is under their care, they will not survive him. If they should do otherwise, they would be looked on as cowards: and where-ever they chance to violate their trust, none are so forward as their own wives and kindred to be their executioners. For all this, a traveller is more secure under the guidance of a son of a *Nayer*, than of several *Nayers* themselves: because it is a sort of law among the *Indian* robbers, never to hurt children, or such as are not able to defend themselves; whereas they spare none who are provided with arms.

WHEN the *Nayers* children go into the country, they only carry in their hand a twisted stick, about a foot and half long, with a handle at top, like that of a dagger, and a large knob at the other end. None but the sons of the gentry are allowed to wear such a stick, by which they are distinguished from others; and their wages is not above three halfpence a day. But although this is the securest way of travelling, yet none but the poorer sort of people use it: because travellers are respected in this country according to the number of their guards from place to place ^p.

Teyvis. THE *Teyvis* are next to the gentry, and the farmers of kokoa-nut trees. They apply to husbandry, and gathering the palm wine. These may bear arms; but not without a licence.

Chatims. MERCHANTS are of all orders, excepting that of *Nambouri*; and are in some esteem.

Maynats. THE *Maynats*, or whiteners of linen, the weavers, and those who make it their employment to draw it, are divided into so many different classes or families.

Poulias and Mukwas. THE *Poulias* produce the labourers and mechanics. These *Hamilton* thinks are inferior to the *Mukwas* (X), or fishermen; who are obliged to live near the sea, and are not permitted to follow any other employment, or to bear arms, even in case of the greatest extremity. But *Dellon* says, the *Pouliats* are the vilest and most contemptible of all the *Malabârs*; if he does not confound them with the *Poulichis* (or *Pulchis*), who, according to the former author, are the lowest class of human creatures, and excluded from the benefit of laws both human and divine.

If a *Poulia*, or *Teyvis*, meets with a *Nayer* on the road, he must go out of the way to let his worship pass, on pain of a severe chastisement, if not of death, at his hands. But the *Poulichis*, or *Pulchis*, are in a much worse condition: for, by the law, they are not permitted to converse with any other tribe (Y); nor to wear any kind of cloth, but only a little straw to cover their nakedness, made fast by a cord round their middle. They must not build houses or huts (Z) on the ground, nor inhabit the plains where there is corn-land: but are doomed to dwell in the woods, and build on the branches of trees, like birds, with grass and straw. If they happen to see any body coming towards them, they howl like dogs, and run away; lest those of quality should take offence at their breathing the same air. Not being permitted to till the ground, they plant fruits and roots in obscure places of the woods, stealing the seed in the night from the neighbouring gardens: but if they are caught, they are put to death on the spot, without any form of law. When they want food, they come to the skirts of their woods, and howl like foxes. Upon this signal, the charitable *Poulias* and *Teyvis* relieve them with rice, kokoa-nuts, and fruits; which they lay down within twenty paces of them, and then withdraw, that the *Poulichis* may come and carry it into their forests. They are very swift of foot, and dextrous in catching wild beasts and fowl ^q.

Religion. THE inferior tribes have liberty of chusing their deities. Our author had seen at the houses of many *Mukwas*, or fishers, a stake with a few notches cut about it, fixed in the ground two feet high; and this, covered with kadjans, or kokoa-tree leaves, serves both as a temple and god to that family. Some get a tree consecrated for their worship: others pay their devotion to the first animal, let it be cat, dog, or serpent, which they see in the morning; and this serves for the day. Their temples are neither large nor beautiful, but dark; their images all black and deformed, with lamps continually burning before them. However, they all

° DELLON'S Voy. p. 104.
DELLON, p. 91, & seqq.

^p HAMILT. ubi sup. p. 94. & seq.

^q HAMILTON, p. 312, & seq.

(X) In the *English* translation of *Dellon* they are called *Moconas*; perhaps by mistake.

(Y) *Dellon* says, if a *Nayer* has a mind to try his arms by killing one of the *Pouliats*, he may, with impunity.

(Z) *Dellon* says, they live in wretched huts, made of palm-leaves; and that their whole business is to watch the rice fields.

a believe in one supreme God, of whom they never make any image : and the transmigration of souls is a doctrine universally received by them^a.

THESE people eat carrion and vermin, which contributes to render them so odious ; especially *Reckoned in-* their not scrupling even the flesh of oxen and cows which die a natural death. They are so *filious.* despicable, that no offering to the gods, or presents to the prince, will be accepted from them, unless it be gold or silver : and then they must lay it down at a distance, and retire twenty paces ; while the *Nayers*, who are the prince's guards, come to take it up, and give them an answer at that distance. They are often fined in very great sums ; which they are able to pay, because they rob the graves of the *Malabars*, most of whose gold and silver is buried with them. But this being considered as a kind of sacrilege, they are looked upon as forcerers, b and an infamous generation, capable of the most enormous crimes. For this reason they are, on the least suspicion, accused, and condemned to death ; whereas no person belonging to the other tribes can be convicted, without very substantial evidence^c.

THE laws which forbid an upper *Hindû* tribe or family to have any commerce with an inferior, particularly as to eating and drinking, are no-where more strictly kept up than among *Superiority of families* the *Malabars* ; or, in other words, the folly of family pride, which reigns in most nations, is carried here to the greatest pitch of extravagance. They will not suffer their victuals to be dressed by one of a lower rank ; nor will they drink of the wells used by such : nay, if one of an inferior tribe enters their houses, the *Brâmmans* is sent for to take away the infection, by certain ceremonies used for that purpose. But this rule is observed with the greatest exactness *strictly kept up.* c when they contract alliances by marriage : nay, the women (A) are even debarred having commerce with a man of inferior degree. Thus, a man may marry a woman of the next class below his own, but not of a superior rank. In such case both parties are punished with death ; except the females descended from the *Nambouris* and *Brâmmans* : for, in such case, they are left to the disposal of the prince, who sells them for slaves ; and as they are generally the handsomest among the *Malabars*, foreigners are eager to purchase them at a dear rate ; of which our author saw an instance.

If a man of an inferior degree be accused of having received a favour from a lady of a rank *A cruel law.* superior to his, they conduct him, with fetters on his hands and feet, to the prince, where he is put to death. Nor is this thought a sufficient atonement for the offence ; but the d nearest akin to the lady have liberty for three days to kill all such relations of the criminal as they shall meet with in the district where the fact was committed. The *Nayers* have a power to exercise this cruelty on such occasions against the *Teyvi*, and *Sheres* or weavers ; as these have the same power over the *Mukwas* or fishermen ; and these again over the *Poulchis*. The *Nambouri* and *Brâmmans* not being allowed to kill any body, their authority extends no farther than to deliver up those poor victims to slaughter. This cruel custom would be intolerable, were it not that they commonly respite the offender for eight days, that his relations may have time to get out of the way, till the three days allotted by the law for revenging the affront, are expired^e.

In point of habit, there is scarce any difference between the men and women in *Malabâr. Habit.* e They wear their hair, which is black, and very long ; and go naked as far as the middle. The princes themselves, if they sometimes make use of a small vest, leave it open before. About their middle they fasten a piece of cloth, which reaches to their knees, and never make use of shoes or stockings. In other countries ladies pride themselves in rich gold and silver stuffs : but, on the contrary, in *Malabâr* such cloaths are worn by the meaner sort ; while the wives of the *Nayers*, and others of chief rank, wear nothing but fine white callico ; placing their fondness rather on girdles of gold, and bracelets of silver or horn. They never adorn themselves with any jewels, unless it be a ring. Both men and women have ears hanging down to their shoulders, occasioned by the weight of the pendants, sometimes exceeding two ounces, f gold chains : but these are only such who have merited that favour from the king by some remarkable action.

THEIR houses are commonly built with earth, and covered with kokoa-leaves ; it being rare *Houses and* to meet with one of brick or stone. Nor is their furniture more sumptuous, consisting only *furniture.* of some baskets, with a few earthen pots and dishes. Their cups are of the same materials : nor do their kings make use of better. As they have no chimnies in their houses, on account of the heat of the climate, their victuals are dressed without-doors, and without sauces ; consequently unsavory. When they eat, they always turn their backs to the light. At night they

^a HAMILTON, p. 514, & seq.^c DELLON, p. 92.^e Ibid. p. 97, & seqq.

(A) That this law should respect the women and not the men, as in the *English* translation of *Dellon*, appears from what follows ; which otherwise would be a contradiction.

make use of lamps supplied with kokoa-nut oil. Their beds are nothing but deal boards, a which the rich cover with tapestry, and the poor with mats¹.

Marriages of princesses;

PRINCESSES are here married to either the *Nambouri*, or *Brâmmans*; and their issue are princes, and capable of inheriting the crown in their turn: but, as there is not a sufficient number of princesses to furnish all those ecclesiastics with wives, they are allowed to marry women of the same rank, or family, with themselves; and their children are either *Nambouri*, or *Brâmmans*, according to the quality of their mothers: for all pedigree and inheritance among the *Malabârs*, runs in the female line. For this reason the princes never marry any princesses, but the daughters of *Nayers*, to whose race the children belong, and not to that of the princes. The *Nayers* are obliged to marry one of the same quality, or a woman of the next degree or family to themselves; namely, the *Minats*, or the *Sbeti*. The other tribes and families have the same liberty in wedlock; but the females must not debase themselves by marrying below their rank, on pain of death.

female polygamy:

THE *Malabâr* princes, the *Nambouri* and *Brâmmans*, as also the chief *Nayers*, commonly have only one wife; whom they endeavour, by the most obliging means, to dissuade from taking another husband: for they cannot compel them to refrain, as they are allowed by the law of the country to marry as many husbands as they please². Thus says *Dellon*. But, according to Captain *Hamilton*, every woman is stinted to twelve husbands at one time; while the men are not confined to a set number of wives. When a woman is married to her first husband, she has a house built for her; and he cohabits with her till she takes a second, or her legal number. In which case the husbands agree to live with her in their turns, for ten or more days together; each maintaining her for the time³.

how regulated.

WHAT is most surprising (and shews the force of custom), this female polygamy is not attended with the least disorder or jealousy; for if one husband sees the arms of another at the lady's doors, he is satisfied that the place is taken up; and rests contented till he finds the coast clear. It is some consolation however, to the men, under this female usurpation, that their marriage-engagements are only during pleasure: and that, whenever the parties are weary of each other, they part as freely as they meet. Nor are these marriages any great expence to them: for the usual present, which the new husband makes his wife, is a piece of linen to cover her⁴. During the time of such cohabitation, she serves the husband as purveyor and cook; and also keeps his cloaths and arms clean. When she proves with child, she declares who is the father; and after she has brought it to walk, or speak, he takes care of its education⁵.

Inheritances.

IT is from this custom of the women marrying so many husbands, and quitting them again at pleasure, that the children derive their pedigree from their mothers; it being impossible to know their true fathers: neither are the sons here considered as the next heirs, but the nephews; who besides must be the sister's sons⁶: and if she has none, then the nearest in blood from the grandmother; which custom is followed even by the *Mohammedan Malabârs*, although they keep a watchful eye over their wives⁷, and practise a different kind of polygamy.

Marry very young.

THEY marry their daughters for the most part at twelve years of age; and many have children before that time, who are generally very small; possibly because their mothers marry so young. For all this, their labour is so easy, that midwives are unknown in these parts (and indeed throughout the *Indies*); any woman, who is somewhat advanced in years, taking upon her to perform that office. The *Malabâr*, as well as *African* women, as soon as they are delivered, wash themselves; and take no farther care of their infants than to give them suck.

Burials.

IN *Malabâr* all dead bodies are interred; excepting those of their princes, the *Nambouri*, *Brâmmans*, and *Nayers*; which are burned: but the privilege of marrying so many husbands as they please, exempts the women from the cruel obligation of burning themselves⁸.

Theft rigorously punished.

JUSTICE is administered in *Malabâr* with much impartiality. Murder is seldom punished with death, nor does the law appoint any punishment for it; leaving it to the discretion of the kindred to take what satisfaction they think fit: but they are the severest people in the world in case of theft; for whoever steals but a bunch of pepper, or the value of it, pays for it with his life.

Their prisons.

THEY have no close or barricaded prisons in *Malabâr*; nor are their criminals strongly guarded. They only load them with fetters; which are never taken off till they are either discharged or executed.

Trial by ordeal.

ALL causes, both civil and military, are pleaded before the prince; where both parties produce their evidence: but if witnesses be wanting, or they do not sufficiently clear the point, the accused may purge himself in the following manner. They cause a piece of iron, not unlike a hatchet, to be made red hot before him; then laying upon his hand a leaf of the bananas-tree, at top of that they lay the hot iron; which he is not to throw on the ground, till after the

¹ DELLON, p. 106, & seq.

p. 105.

² HAMILT. p. 105.

³ DELLON, p. 106, 112.

⁴ Ibid. p. 104, & seq.

311.

⁵ HAMILT. p. 311.

⁶ DELLON, p. 105.

⁷ DELLON,

⁸ HAMILT. p. 312.

a redness is gone. This done, the superintendant of the prince's laundry wraps a napkin, dipped in rice-water, round his hand ; and having tied a cord or ribband about it, the prince puts his seal upon it. Three days after, the napkin is taken off ; and, if any mark of the hot iron appears on his hand, he is deemed perjured, and punished accordingly ^d. In other places, the accused is obliged to put his bare head into a pot of boiling oil ; and if any blister appears, the party is found guilty. Our author had been credibly informed, both by *English* and *Dutch* gentlemen, as well as natives, who had seen such trials, that the innocent person had not been in the least affected with the scalding oil (B) ; in which case, the punishment due to the crime is inflicted on the accuser ^e.

THE prince in person always pronounces sentence ; from whence there lies no appeal : and
b if the criminal be condemned to death, he is forthwith led out of the palace, and executed *Sentence and punishment.* without delay. As the *Indians* of these parts look upon it the most glorious action they can do to obey their prince without reserve, they have no occasion for common executioners ; the *Nayers* belonging to the guards being the most forward to do that office. Nay, if the crime be very heinous, it is common for the next kindred of the criminal to strive who shall give him the fatal blow ; to wipe-off, as they say, the stain which he has brought on the family. Their usual way of putting to death is by running a lance through the criminal's body : after which they cut it into quarters, and hang them upon trees ^f.

THEY have a good way of arresting people for debt. An officer is sent with a small stick *Recovery of debts.* from a judge, who is commonly a *Bramman* ; and when he finds the debtor, he draws a circle round him with that stick ; charging him, in the name of the king and judge, not to stir out of it till the creditor is satisfied, either by payment or surety : and it is no less than death for the debtor to break prison by going out of the circle.

THE *Malabârs* make no use of pens, ink, and paper ; but write on leaves of flags or reeds, *Write on leaves.* which grow in morasses. They are generally about eighteen inches long, and one and a half broad, tapering at the extremities ; having a small hole at one end for a string to pass through. This leaf is thicker than our royal paper, and very tough. They write with the point of a bodkin, or style ; holding the leaf athwart their left thumb-end, over the foremost finger. The impression does not pierce above half way through ; and on two or three of such leaves they will write as much as we can on a sheet of small paper. All their records are written in
d the same manner. After the leaves have been strung, and rolled up in a scroll, they are hung for some time in smoke, and then locked up in their cabinets. Our author saw some such smoke-dried leaves ; which they told him were above 1000 years old ^g. The *Malabâr* language is spoken not only in the country to the west of *Cape Komori*, and in the *Maldivé* islands, but also in those to the eastward of it ; viz. *Madûra*, *Tanjaor*, and *Karnâta*, as far as the mountains near *Ponganowr*, in that kingdom ; in which parts it is called the *Tamul*, or *Damul* language.

THE arms of the *Malabârs* are the lance, simeter, the bow, and musket ; at all which they *Their arms,* are exceeding dexterous. Their muskets are very light, though six feet long. In giving fire, they lay the butt-end of their piece to the cheek, not the shoulder ; and are excellent marksmen.
e Their bows are six feet long, and their arrows three, which they carry in their hands, and not in a quiver, as at *Surât* ; and are masters of it to such a degree, that *Dellon* has frequently seen them shoot one arrow into the air, and hit it with a second. Besides these arms, they have fastened to their sides, with an iron hook, a large bayonet, about six inches broad, and a foot and a half long ; which they use in close engagements. They who wear simeters, make use of *and exercise.* bucklers. All carry their arms naked, which are very bright, without scabbards, or other covers. They train their children to the bow, from the time they are able to walk ; and in each kingdom there are academies maintained at the prince's charge, where the youth are instructed at their weapons ; who often perform their exercises before the king, or others of eminent rank. Some, who have an opinion of their own skill, at certain times invite persons of quality to be
f judges of their ability, in feats of arms ; when the prize is given to such as acquit themselves best. On these occasions, being animated by a double motive, of honour and interest, they attack one another with so much vigour, that it commonly costs the lives of several young fellows.

If there happens to be a family-quarrel among the *Nayers*, they choose one or more of their meanest vassals to decide it ; who, armed with certain knives, or bayonets invented for the *Single combat.* purpose, fight naked before the king and his whole court, till one of them is slain ; which terminates the dispute.

^d DELLON, p. 100.
supr. p. 318, & seq.

^e HAMILTON, p. 315.

^f DELLON, p. 101.

^g HAMILTON, ubi

(B) That is, they supposed such to be innocent. But nothing can excuse the superstition, as well as stupidity, of this barbarous custom ; which not long since prevailed among ourselves, and still subsists in the countries of our enlightened neighbours, where confessions are forced

by torture, and witches are tried by throwing them into water, bound hand and feet. They must reform these, and many others as irrational customs, before they have a right to reproach the *Indians*.

Their wars.

THEY march without order, and fight without discipline. When they do go to war, it is barely out of a point of honour; or, at most, for a little pillage: it being a custom, generally agreed on among the *Malabâr* princes, to restore, as soon as peace is concluded, all that was taken on any side during hostilities^h.

Commerce.

VERY few of the *Malabâr Hindûs*, especially the *Nayers*, apply themselves to commerce; which is the reason that most of the commodities, either imported or exported, pass thro' the hands of strangers; that is, the *Mohammedans*. These have for many ages settled in the country for sake of trade; chiefly on the sea-coast, near the mouths of the rivers, for the convenience of foreign merchants; who are for the most part *Europeans*.

Mohammedans settled there:

THESE *Mohammedans*, living among the *Malabârs*, are obliged to accommodate themselves in all respects to their laws and customs, which are not directly opposite to their religion. They are distinguished from the *Hindûs* only by their beards, turbâns, and vests: but, according to *Dellon*, are a vile and treacherous sort of people. Besides, many of them live by piracy; and these are more ignorant and barbarous than the rest: for they attack all they meet, without any respect to religion or nation, sparing friends no more than foes. Nor have they the least regard to passes, although given by such lords or princes as they stand in awe of. Indeed piracy is looked upon as a free exercise in those parts; and the kings take no cognizance of what is transacted on the open sea; which they consider as out of their jurisdiction. The rather, as they have an interest in such robberies; those corsairs paying the tenth of what booty they take, to the prince under whom they live.

great pirates:

THEIR vessels, called *paros*, are shaped like galleys, and generally carry five or six hundred men; running with them all along the *Indian* coast, even as far as the *Red Sea* (or *Arabic gulf*). They very rarely attack *European* ships; especially if of any defence: and when they do take any, it is commonly by surprize, not force. They strip all of their goods, but seldom make slaves of *Mohammedans* or *Pagans*, unless they be persons from whom they expect an extraordinary ransom. But they detain all Christians; who are sure to die in captivity, unless they are ransomed, or turn *Mussulmans*. In this last case, they are much respected, and commonly made captains of their *paros*. At their first going abroad with one of these vessels, they resolve to sprinkle it with the blood of the first Christian they happen to take: but of all *Europeans*, the *Portugueses* are most liable to feel the marks of their cruelty. For this reason, they are declared enemies to those rovers; and when they take any, carry them generally to *Goa*, where they are chained to the oar, or sent in irons to the powder-house, from whence there is seldom any redemption: for these pirates seldom offer to redeem any but captains of their *paros*; and the *Portugueses*, to requite their cruelties, rather choose to let them die in bondage than release themⁱ. What our author relates of the cruelty of the *Mohammedans* to the *Spaniards* may possibly be strictly true: but he ought at the same time to have acquainted his readers, that the horrible cruelties exercised by the *Spaniards* upon the *Mohammedans*, especially on their first settling in the *Indies*, is the cause of it.

*cruel to Christians.**Pagodis,*

THE pagods, or temples of the *Pagans*, are without the cities; though some of the richer fort have them in their houses. They are commonly large, and very magnificent; being generally covered with copper, and sometimes with silver. Each has a basin near it, for the people to wash in, before they approach their images; and entertains a number of *Brâmmans*, according to the largeness of its revenues. Every day, a certain quantity of rice is allowed, as well for the use of the poor who live near it, as of strangers of all religions, who pass that way; and are entertained in certain barracks, without the pagod (for they must not enter it); where they may sleep, if night surprizes them in their journey. Besides the ordinary revenues, must be reckoned the daily offerings of the people; which consist usually of eatables, seldom of money. These are delivered to the *Brâmmans*, to set before their images; who devour them, in the belief of the people: but, in truth, the priests make use of them for the maintenance of their families.

and church-lands:

SOME of the richest temples have large territories belonging to them, from whence arise their revenues. These church-lands are held so sacred, that if any person happens to shed blood upon them, though under the greatest necessity, and in his own defence, he is punished with death, without regard to his merit or quality. Nay they are so rigorous in this respect, that if the offender escapes by flight, the next a-kin to him must suffer in his stead; of which our author saw an instance^k.

Objects of worship.

THE *Hindûs* not only worship many images, which have no resemblance to any thing in the world, but they adore several kinds of living creatures, and above all the sun and moon. All days are alike to them (as to worship); and the sacrifices, which they make to their gods, consist always, like their offerings, of things that are inanimate: nor are their altars ever stained with blood, the shedding of which they hold in the greatest abhorrence of all things. As at the appearance of the new moon they make great rejoicings; so, when she is eclipsed, they

^h DELLON, ubi supr. p. 112, & seqq.ⁱ Ibid. p. 115.^k Ibid. p. 52, 108, & seqq.

- a come forth of their houses, making most horrible outcries, to frighten away the dragon; who, as they say, is then endeavouring to devour her. They approach their kings with the same veneration as they do their gods; and reverence old-age in so high a degree, that the most eminent of the *Nayers* will not sit down before those who are considerably older than themselves, although their enemies.

THEY reckon their time by the moon; yet their festivals are not fixed, but depend on the will of the *Brâmmans*. These priests are very exact in their fasts; and upon any solemn day, after notice given, bring forth the image out of the temple, and carry it in procession on an elephant richly harnessed, while the people prostrate themselves before it as it passes along; and the *Nayers*, with fans at the ends of long canes, drive away the flies, which would otherwise, as the *Brâmmans* say, be troublesome to their gods, or rather themselves. Then one of the *Brâmmans*, holding a two-edged simeter, with some little bells at the handle, runs round the elephant; and after a thousand ridiculous postures, which are looked upon by the people as mysterious, wounds himself in the head, offering his blood as a sacrifice to the image. Mean time, the croud make a confused noise with divers instruments, mixed with their joyful acclamations. In short, after they have taken their appointed rounds for that day's solemnity, they carry the image back to the temple¹.

¹ DELLON, p. 52, III.

C H A P. VII.

Description of the remaining countries of the Peninsula.

S E C T. I.

Kingdom of Madûra, or Madûrey.

- a **A**T Cape Komori, commonly called *Komorin*, begins the kingdom of *Madûra*, or rather *Madûrey*. It is bounded on the east by the dominions of the king of *Tanjaor*; on the south by the *Indian* sea; west, by the country of *Malabâr* (from whence it is severed by the mountains of *Gâtti*, or *Gâte*); and north, by the territories of *Mayssûr* (or *Messûr*), and those belonging to the governor of *Jinî*. This kingdom is as large as *Portugal*, extending about three degrees and a half from south to north; and is in breadth about eighty miles, where most dilated. It is reckoned to contain seventy *Palleakarens*, who are absolute lords in their respective states; but pay a tax which the king of *Madûra* lays upon them. This prince may easily bring into the field 20,000 foot and 5000 horse. He has besides 500 elephants; which are of great service to him in war.

- b THE capital of the kingdom, which lies about two degrees more north than the cape, and bears the same name of *Madûrey*, is inclosed with a double wall; each fortified, after the antient manner, with square towers, having parapets, and well furnished with cannon. The fortress is square, surrounded with a broad and deep foss, whose scarp and counterscarp are both very strong. Instead of the glacis, one sees four handsome streets, which answer to the four sides of the fortress; whose houses are accommodated with large gardens. The inside of the fortress, which one may walk round in less than two hours, is divided into four parts; of which those to the east and south contain the king's palace; which is a labyrinth of streets, ponds, groves, halls, galleries, and colonades, intermixed with houses here and there. When the kings of *Madûra* resided there, it was filled wholly with women and eunuchs. The plan of this palace is said to have been made by an *European*; and indeed there are several ornaments of *European* architecture mixed with the *Indiân*^a.

- In the second part of the fortress stands the temple of *Shokanaden*, who is the idol adored at *Madûra*, surrounded with a triple wall; the whole magnificently built: and near one of the porticos a stately car, for parading the image on its festival day. Not far distant are three other triumphal cars: one of which is so very large, that it may require 4000 men to draw it, as they say it does; for at these times no fewer than 400 men, of different functions, are placed upon it; and there are five stages, or stories, sustained by great posts, each stage having several galleries. When this machine is covered with painted calicoes, silks of different colours, streamers, banners, festoons, and such-like ornaments, it makes a very agreeable spectacle; especially if seen in a dark night, by the light of a thousand torches. The car is drawn under

^a BOUCHET, ap. Lettr. Edif. tom. xv. p. 60, & seqq.

the sound of drums, trumpets, hautboys, and other instruments; and moves so slowly, that they are three days going round the fortrefs. a

Court removed to THE *Romish* missionaries have a church here. The river which passes by *Madûra*, and is called *Vaygbey*, is a very good one: but they have drained it considerably by canals and ponds. The city likewise has lost much of its antient splendor, since it was ruined in part by the king of *Messur*, and the latter kings transferred their court to *Trishirapâlli*; which is thus become the capital of the kingdom ^b.

Trishirapâlli city, TRISHIRAPALLI is a very populous city, and of great extent: it contains above 300,000 inhabitants; and is the largest fortrefs between *Cape Komori* and *Golkonda*. They reckon it forty leagues distant from *Madûrey* (A), on account of the way one is obliged to go about to avoid the woods; which are infested with robbers: but, to make amends, your road lies through an agreeable walk, set with trees on both sides ^c. It has been often besieged by numerous armies, without success; so that the *Hindûs* say it is impregnable. It has a double inclosure of walls; each fortified with sixty square towers, eighty or a hundred paces asunder: the second wall, which is higher than the first, is mounted with 130 pieces of cannon, and divided into two fortresses, called the fortrefs of the north and of the south. In this latter is a high mountain, which serves to discover the approach of an enemy. Towards the middle of the hill stands the arsenal, and at the foot of it the king's palace. The inside of the interior fortrefs is agreeable enough. It is a great square amphitheatre, with stairs on every side to go up to the ramparts. Besides the above-mentioned towers on the walls, there are eighteen others much larger, for laying up provisions and military stores, for which there is not room in the arsenal. The garrison consists of 6000 men, and sometimes more. c

River-Kâwêri. THE ditch, which surrounds the fortrefs, is wide and deep; is full of water, and has some crocodiles in it. The city has four large gates, which face the four cardinal points. Every night the guards go the rounds three times, and sometimes four. The river *Kâwêri*, which is a branch of the *Kolorân**, washes the fortrefs from west to east; and above *Trishirapâlli* they have cut from it a large and deep canal, which conveys the water round the city, where one sees many public squares and bazârs: among which there are two considerable ones adjoining to the two principal gates. Beyond the *Kaveri* runs another branch of the *Kolorân*; and between these two great rivers stands the pagod of *Shirangam*, the fairest which our author had ever seen. d

The king's palace. THE palace of *Trishirapâlli* is not inferior for beauty to that of *Madûrey*. Our author, who had been within it on three several occasions, says it consists in a collection of halls, galleries, and inner apartments. The divân, or court of justice, is supported by fine pillars, very high, contrary to the custom of the *Indians*. The gardens are not comparable to those of *Europe*. There are in them four or five jets of water; and at the entrance of one, a large hall, open on all sides, and surrounded with pretty deep ditches, which are filled with water when the queen goes there to take the air: on those occasions also the pillars of the hall are covered with gold-brocade, and the ceiling with festoons of flowers, and pieces of silk-damask. The *Romish* missionaries have some churches in the city; and another three leagues off, where they reside for more security. e

Fishery coast. To the kingdom of *Madûrey* belongs most of the *Fishery Coast* for pearls; which begins at *Cape Komori*, and ends at the promontory of *Koil*, in the principality of *Marava*. On this coast there are several places in the kingdom of *Madûrey*; the chief of which are two, *Manupâr* and *Tutukurîn*. The first lies about the middle of the coast, where the *Dutch* have a factory; which stands on a high ground, about a mile from the sea. It was formerly a beautiful *Romish* church; but afterwards the *Hollanders* converted it to another use. *Tutukurîn* (or *Tutekarîn*), is the principal if not only city on the *Fishery Coast*, the rest being no better than large towns and villages (B). At a distance one would take it for a place filled with magnificent houses: but, although it be well peopled, it is in nothing superior to the other cities of *India*. The *Dutch*, to whom it belongs, have built there a small fortrefs ^d. It stands at the mouth of the river *Perie Arrû*; where there is a good safe harbour, made by some islands which lie off it (C). The country produces much cotton-cloth, but none fine. This colony superintends a pearl-fishery, that lies a little to the northward, and brings the *Dutch* company 20,000 pounds yearly tribute, according to report ^e. They are bred in oysters (D), of a very large size; f

^b BOUCHET, ubi sup. p. 65, & seqq.

^c Ibid. p. 74:

Ibid. p. 69, & seqq.

^e HAMILTON, p. 336.

(A) It lies about one degree more north than *Madûrey*, and sustained several sieges in the late wars, begun in 1740. Its indigenous name is *Tiru-chira-pâlli*, or *Tiru-china-pâlli*.

* Others make the *Kolorân*, or *Kolb râm*, a branch of the *Kâwêri*, or *Kaveri*, which is a holy river, and disputes precedence with the *Ganges*.

(B) *Tutukurîn* itself is considered by some travellers

only as a village, the chief of seven others, which are sea-ports on that coast, and belonging to the *Dutch*. See *Nieuhoff & Baldeus*. Yet the Jesuit *Martin*, who was in these parts in 1700, says it has 50,000 inhabitants. See *Lettr. Edif.* tom. v. p. 81.

(C) *Nieuhoff* says, it never rains here, but 'tis pestered sometimes with sand from the mountain *Gâtû*.

(D) These oysters live six years.

a some in the flesh, which is rank, yet eaten; others in the liquor; and some fixed to the shell. They yield from five to eight; but all have not pearls in them. They are sized by sifting. Seed-pearl is found in the sand. Sea-horns, or flankos (chankos), are found on this coast; of which they make bracelets all over the *Indies*. The divers, made use of in the pearl-fishery, are the *Parias*, or *Parvas*; who by use stay a long time under water to gather the oysters.

THE coast of *Madura* is destitute of grass, herb, or plant; excepting thistles and houseleek: *The soil bad*. nor will cocoa-trees grow there; yet it abounds with hares and partridges. Here are mice as large as cats, who dare not attack them. This country was part of *Bisnâgar*, or *Narsinga*, from which the *Naik*, who was governor, revolted. The inhabitants are by some called *Badagas* (E); good soldiers, but inferior to the *Malabârs*^f.

^f NIEUHOFF'S Voy. ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. ii. p. 260.

(E) The *Badagas* are the proper inhabitants of *Karnâta*, formerly *Bisnâgar*; of which *Madura*, *Tanjaor*, and the other countries to the south of it, were a part.

S E C T. II.

Principality of Marava.

a **T**O the east of *Madûrey* lies the kingdom, or principality, of *Marava*, or the *Maravas*. *Marava*. It has to the south and east the sea, and to the north *Tanjaor*. The capital city, where the prince resides, is at *Ramanadaburam*, six or seven miles from the eastern coast, and twenty from the promontory of *Koyel*, or *Koil*, the most south-eastern part of *Marava*; which makes an oblong square, about eighty miles in length from south to north, and forty in breadth from east to west.

THE point of *Koyel* bounds the coast of the fishery eastward, and begins that of *Choromandel*. Due east about three quarters of a mile, is an isle named by some *Ramanankor*; by others *Râmana Koyel*; which signifies *the temple of Râmma*, or *Râma*. This isle is joined to the point by a bridge, not composed of arches, but of rocks, or great stones, which rise b two or three feet above the surface of the sea, which is very shallow in that place, and leave Adam's gaps for the current to pass through. They are of an enormous size. Our author measured bridge. some stones, which were eighteen feet diameter, and others more. They leave spaces between them from three to ten feet wide: and the gaps, or intervals, through which barks pass are still wider. It is not easy to imagine, that this is a work of art; for one cannot conceive from whence such enormous masses could be taken, and still less how they could be brought hither. But, supposing it to be a work of nature, it is one of the most surprising our author ever beheld. The *Hindûs* say, it was built by their gods, when they went to attack the capital of the island of *Seylan*. But this is certain, that the prince of *Marava* (F), when pursued by the kings of *Madûrey*, used to retire into the isle, by means of great beams laid upon those rocks, which are so many platforms; over which he passed his army, with all his train of cannon and c elephants^g.

THE isle of *Râmmâna Koyel* abounds with cattle; yet is not very fertile. The temple, *Râmana* or pagod, whence the island takes its name, stands near the sea-side, and is said to contain an Koyel. immense treasure. The foundation is supported by stones of a vast bigness, and break the force of the raging waves when the south winds blow. The *Teuver*, or lord of the isle, has built a strong castle facing the continent, furnished with cannon, which command a narrow passage, leading to *Manaar*, *Jafnapatnam*, and *Negapatnam*. Besides, he might at pleasure hinder the navigation, by only sinking a few stones in the chanel.

FROM this is continued a reef of rocks and sands, commonly called *Adam's Bridge*; which d extends as far as the island of *Manaar*, on the coast of *Zeloan* (or *Seylon*). This reef has so little water on it, that the smallest boats cannot pass but at *Manaar*; and there the chanel has not above six feet water on it, so that none but small vessels can pass: besides they must unlade, and pay customs to the *Dutch*; then, the vessel being hawled over the bridge, they take in their cargo again^h. *Reef of rocks.*

^g BOUCHET, ubi supr. p. 34, & seqq.
HAMILTON, ubi supr. p. 337.

^h BALDÆUS, ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 584.

(F) He has lately shook off the yoke of *Madûra*, according to *Martin* the missionary. See *Lett. Edif.* tom. v. p. 99.

S E C T. III.

Kingdom of Tanjaor.

THE kingdom of *Tanjaor* (G) lies to the north of *Marava*, and to the east of *Madûrey*, being washed on the east by the sea. The lands of this little state are the wonder of all the southern *India*, and watered by the river *Kaveri*; which, being a branch of the great *Kolorân*, divides in several arms. The prince's revenues amount to several millions. *Tanjaor*, which is the capital city, was originally no more than a pagod, or temple, as were most of the fortresses in these petty sovereignties. This fortress has a double wall, like that of *Trishirapalli*: but is not so well built. Its ditches also are shallower, and not so easily filled with water. The inner fortress is divided into north and south; in the first of which is the king's palace, with some pretty towers, but no appearance of magnificence. In the southern part is the temple of *Peria Oureyar*; to the north of which is a great pond, or *tank*, bordered with free-stone. The *Indians* excel in making these ponds, which would be admired in *Europe* itself. The country about *Tanjaor* is watered only by a small rivulet; but farther north you meet with the river *Vinarrow*; and beyond that the *Kaveri* before mentioned.

Negapatam. THE coast of *Tanjaor*, parting from that of *Marrava*, takes a sweep from south to east, for one half of its extent to *Cape Kalliamera*, or *Kallamedou*; from whence it runs north: and six leagues beyond it lies *Negapatam*, which the *Indians* call *Negapatenam*; that is, *the city of serpents*¹. It is a *Dutch* colony and fortress, taken from the *Portugueses* by the assistance of the king of *Tanjaor*. It stands on the river *Waddawarrû*, which terminates *Golkonda*, and formerly bounded the dominions of *Malabâr*; although their language was, and still is, used farther northward (H). However, the waters of this river, which is a branch of the *Kâwêri*, and washes the walls of the fort, being found very unwholesome, the town is supplied from another four leagues distant. This colony produces very little, besides tobacco and long cloth^k.

Trankebar: THE next place of note on this coast to the north is *Taranganbouri*, called by *Europeans* *Tranquebar* and *Trinquebar*. The name signifies *the city of the waves of the sea*. It is at the mouth of the *Kâwêri*. This is a colony belonging to the *Danes* since 1620. The streets are strait, and the houses handsome. The square fortress, called *Danesburgh*, appears very agreeable when viewed from the sea. A great number of *Portugueses* are settled here; and to them the *Danes* owe the preservation of the fort, when it was besieged some years ago (I) by the king of *Tanjaor*, who was constrained to retire¹. This fort is strong, the sea washing one half of its walls; but the colony is miserably poor. In 1684, they were so distressed, that they pawned three bastions of their fort to the *Dutch* for money to buy provisions: but next year they redeemed all again by an unknown fund (K). They still keep their fort, but drive an inconsiderable trade. What they live by is the hire which they freight their ships for to certain parts of the *Indies*. The product of the country is cloth, white and dyed. The *Danish* missionaries reside here^m. Half a day's journey farther north is *Kaveri Pattevam*, called by *Europeans* *Kaveri pattam*, which was formerly a great city, and very famous among the *Indians*; but at present lies almost wholly in ruins. The air is good, and the *French* have a factory thereⁿ.

^a *Danish colony.*

Kaveri pattevam.

¹ BOUCHET, ubi sup. p. 32, 74, & seqq.
ubi sup. p. 30.

^k HAMILTON, ubi sup. p. 348, 351.
^m HAMILTON, ubi sup. p. 351.

¹ BOUCHET, ubi sup. p. 32.
ⁿ BOUCHET, ubi sup. p. 32.

(G) By the *Dutch* called *Tanjower*, *Tanjouwer*, and sometimes *Teaver*, according to *Nieuboff*.

(H) Hence it is that in letters of the natives, sent from *Tranquebar* in this country, by the *Danish* missionaries, they call themselves *Malabars*, and the country *Malabâr*.

(I) This was written in 1719.

(K) It was suspected that the *English* ship *Formosa* was taken and sunk by two of their ships, which at that time cruised between *Surât* and *Cape Komori*.

S E C T. IV.

Kingdom of Karnâta.

TO the north of *Tanjaor* lies the kingdom of *Karnâta* (L), *Karnâtika*, or *Kârâtek*, as the *Mogols* call it; which was formerly a monarchy of great extent, as well as splendor, under the names of *Bisnâgar* and *Narsinga*^o. At present it is reduced to much narrower bounds

Kingdom of Karnâta:

^o See before p. 138.

(L) We are told, that it takes its name from a famous fortress called *Karnâta*, situated on a mountain three leagues from *Attipakam*, a town or village, about 27 leagues almost due west of *Pondicherri* (on the coast of

a bounds, though still of considerable dimensions; and is become a province of the *Great Mogol's* empire. It is bounded on the east by the bay of *Bengál*; on the north by the river *Krishna*, which divides it from *Golkonda*; on the west by *Visapúr*, or *Visapúr*; and on the south by the kingdoms of *Messúr* and *Tanjaor*: being in length, from south to north, about 345 miles; and 276 miles in breadth, from east to west (M).

THIS large country is for the most part champain, fertile, and populous. Towards the middle there are some mountains running northward, which seem to be branches of the *Gátti*, or *Gáte*. The inhabitants are called *Badagas*. To the east and south of those mountains, the *Tamúl*, or *Damul*, language (the same with the *Malabáric*) is spoken; and to the west and north-west of those hills, nothing is in use but the *Talank* (*Talenga*), or *Kanarín*^p; which prevails in *Visapúr*, and from *Malabár* to *Surát*, and the provinces between that city and *Golkonda*. inhabitants called Badagas :

AN account has been already given of the revolutions in this kingdom, so low as the year 1650, when the monarchy was subverted, and the kingdom over-run by the kings of *Golkonda* and *Visapúr*; who divided it between them. The descendants of the *Râjah*, who then reigned, retired to the mountains above-mentioned; and seem to have preserved some kind of sovereignty in the most southern parts: for at one time we find *Velour*^a the capital of *Karnate*; and at another time *Kanjivoram*, about forty miles east by south of the former; the *Râjab*, or king, removing his court, as pressed by those who were in possession of almost all the country. About the years 1685 and 1687, the *Mogols* seized on all which was in the hands of the two kings before-mentioned; and since then have not only reduced the whole in a manner under their power, but are advancing still southwards: with design to subdue the lands as far as *Cape Komori*, containing *Messúr*, *Madúrey*, *Tanjaor*, and *Marava*; which formerly belonged to *Bisnâgar* and *Karnâta*. possessed by the Mogols,

HOWEVER, a great number of the princes of *Karnâta*, called *Palliagarens*, still retain their possessions; either by not being conquered, or by becoming tributary to the *Mogols*, like the *Râjahs* of *Hindústân*. So that the whole may be divided into *paliagaren*, or little principalities; whose *Naiks*, or princes, are all sovereigns in their respective dominions; tho' many of them are dependant on the *Great Mogol*, as lord in effect of the whole. and certain princes.

WHAT little we know of this county in its present state is owing to the *French* Jesuits; who, in their late missions, have penetrated into the middle of it, and transmitted a map, which gives a quite different idea of that region, from what we find before from others.

KARNATA is full of large and populous cities. The first we meet with towards the south is *Jinji*, not many years since the capital of a kingdom of the same name. It stands about twelve leagues north-west of *Ponticherri*, on the coast of *Choromandel*. Chief cities

ABOUT five leagues north-west of *Jinji* is *Shettam pettou*, at present the metropolis of all *Jinji*: *Karnâta*, and seat of the *Nabob*, or viceroy of the *Great Mogol*, in the latitude of about 12 degrees 30 minutes. The capital of this country was *Kanjivoram*, or *Kanjibouram*, a noble city, four leagues distant from the river *Palamalerow*, eighteen leagues north-eastward of *Shettam pettou*, and one day's journey from *Meliapúr*. It contained within its walls more than 300,000 inhabitants, if one may believe the *Indians*; and there were to be seen, as elsewhere, towers of a very large size, temples, public halls, and very handsome tanks. But the *Mogols* having, about the beginning of this century, taken it from the *Hindús*, they laid it almost in ruins, and made the other place the chief seat of their conquest; which afterwards they removed to *Arkat*, the present capital, about thirteen leagues distant to the north by west. Shettam pettou, the capital:

PROCEEDING still northward from *Shettam pettou*, about nine leagues, you meet with *Arani*, a large city on the river *Karva*, or *Karvey*, subject to a *Palli-agars* (†); and four leagues farther *Arkat*, another, on the river *Palaru*, or *Palamalerow*, subject to the *Mogols*, under the government of a *Nabob*. Arani Arkat:

FIVE leagues west of *Arkat*, on the same river, you find *Velour*, another great city, the *Indian* capital of *Karnata* (N), before it was removed to *Kanjibouram*; but now in the hands of the *Mogols*, and seat also of a *Nabob*. It is the last place which continued in the hands of the *Marasts* (or *Maharattas*), being taken from them by the *Mogols* in 1702, after a siege of several months^a. Velour city.

ABOUT twelve leagues north-east-by-north of *Velour*, and twenty-two west-north-west of *Tiroupati* *Fort St. George*, is *Tiroupati*, *Troupadi*, or *Tripeti*, a city on a hill, with a famous pagod. mous pagod.

^p P. MAUDIT, Lett. Edif. tom. vi. p. 41. See before, p. 138, & seqq. Collect. Voy. vol. iii. p. 588.

^r BOUCHET, ubi supr. p. 78, & seqq.

^a BALLÆUS, ap. Church.

^s P. TACHARD, ap.

of *Choromandel*), near the borders of *Messúr*. See Lettr. Edif. tom. xxiv. p. 187, & seqq.

(M) *Baldæus* says, *Karnatika* is 60 *Badagarian* leagues, each equal to three *Dutch* miles, from north to south; and 40 broad from *Paliakatta* to the *Malabar* coast. *Churchill's Collect. Voy.* vol. iii. p. 588.

† *Palli-agars*, or *angurs*; whence the word *Angur* seems to be derived.

(N) It was the capital of *Karnata* about the year 1650. when it was subdued by the king of *Visapúr*. See *Tavernier's Trav.* part iii. p. 92.

Chandegri, the capital of *Karnâta*, or *Bisnâgar*, about the year 1590, was in being within a three miles to the north, or north-west, of this place, as already observed ¹.

Koralam. ABOUT twenty-five leagues west by north of *Velour* stands *Koralam*, or *Koralam*, a great city of the *Mogols*: between the two lie several others, as *Pallikonda*, *Goulialam*, *Jedudourgalow*, *Kadapanatam*, and *Moula-Vakili*, to the north, under the same masters; and to the southward *Peddanajam dourgam*, and *Venkatigbirri*, in the hands of *Palliagars*, or *Hindû* princes.

Kangondi. STILL more to the south, near the borders of *Messûr*, are *Kangondi*, *Kapiganati*, and *Ani Kallow*, *Palliagars* likewise; and farther west, *Bengoulourow*, a great city about twelve leagues south-west of *Koralam*, before-mentioned: and eleven leagues to the north-west of this last place stands *Chinnaballabaram*, another.

Shirpi. ABOUT twenty-five leagues west-north-west of *Chinnaballabaram* lies *Shirpi*, a considerable city, the most westward of *Karnâta* on that side; and not many leagues from the borders of the territories of *Ikkeri*, adjoining to *Kanâra*, on the western coast of the peninsula.

Penougonda. TWENTY leagues north-east of *Shirpi*, and as many north-north-west of *Chinnaballabaram*, is *Pennakonda*, or *Pennagonda*, on the river *Pennerow*, formerly the capital of the empire of *Bisnâgar*; whither the *Great Râjah* removed his residence, after the ruin of the capital of that name by the kings of *Visapûr* and *Golkonda*, in the year 1565. It is now in the hands of the *Mogols*.

Gummi Paleam, Kapada. TWELVE leagues north-east of *Chinnaballabaram* is *Gummi Paleam*, a very considerable city, the seat of a *Palli-agar*; and twenty-two leagues more from *Gummi Paleam*, in the same direction, occurs *Kadapa*, a great city, with a *Mogol* governor.

Gandikotta city, and strong fortrefs. THIS city lies within a few leagues of the river *Pen-arû*; which passes by *Nellarû*, and falls into the gulf of *Bengâl*, 10 miles beyond *Gangapatnam*. Higher up, on the same river, about 16 leagues north-west of *Kadapa*, stands *Gandikotta*, a considerable city and famous fortress, in the latitude of fifteen degrees. It is the seat of a Nabob, and was taken by *Amîr Jemla*, the king of *Golkonda*'s general, from the *Hindûs*, in the year 1652. *Tavernier*, who arrived there eight days after it was taken, informs us, that it is situated on the point of a high mountain; there being but one ascent, in some places not above seven or eight feet wide, cut out of the hill, which has on the right hand a most hideous precipice, at the bottom whereof runs a vast river. On the top there is a plain about half a league long and one quarter broad, sowed with rice and millet, as well as watered with many little springs. The top of the plain, on the south side, where the city is built, is encompassed with precipices; two rivers running at the bottom, which form the point (O); so that there is but one gate to enter the city from the plain; and that too fortified with three good walls of free-stone: besides moats, paved at the bottom with the same materials. Thus the *Hindûs* had only one quarter of the city, containing 500 paces, to defend. Yet they had no more than two iron guns; one, a twelve pounder, planted on the gate; the other, an eight pounder, on a kind of bastion. For all this, the Nabob could not have taken the place, but for the assistance of some *European* engineers, who mounted four pieces of cannon upon an ascent; which obliged the *Râjah*, though famous for his courage and experience, to capitulate, after a siege of three months ².

Tadimeri, Anantapouram. TWELVE leagues south-west of *Gandi Kotta*, and twenty-two almost due north of *Gummi Paleam*, you meet with *Tadimeri*, a great city, belonging to a *Palli-agar*; and eight leagues from thence, north-west by north, another, called *Anantapouram*, on a river which falls into the *Pen-arû*.

Raydourgan, Ranibeddalourou. To the west of *Anantapouram* eighteen leagues, stands *Raydourgan*, the seat of a *Palli-agar*, on a river which falls into the *Krishna*, the utmost bounds of *Karnâta* northwards; and twenty-two leagues west of *Raydourgan*, is *Ranibeddalourou*, another great city, and *Palli-agar*, on the river *Tunje-badra*, which runs north-eastward into the *Krishna*. *Gandi Kotta*, *Anantapouram*, *Raydourgan*, and *Ranibeddalourou*, lie nearly in a line from east to west, and in fifteen degrees of latitude; this last being the most western city of *Karnâta*, of any considerable note, and not far from the borders of the countries of *Ikkeri* and *Sonda*; which last borders on the territories of *Goa*, belonging to the *Portugueses*.

Bisnâgar city. LASTLY, proceeding north-eastward from *Ranibeddalourou* about twenty-two leagues, and near the same distance from the *Krishna*, lies *Bisnâgar*, the antient capital of *Karnâta*, when in its splendor, then known by the names of *Bisnâgar* and *Narsinga*, as hath been already

¹ See before, p. 136.

² TAVERNIER'S Trav. part ii. p. 98.

(O) The junction of two rivers at *Gandi Kotta* is conformable to the map of the Jesuits; but, by the same map, that fortress must stand on the north, or north-west side of the plain, not on the south side; it being washed by the *Peuerow* on the north, and another river

on the west. Neither can we reconcile its situation in the map with its distance from *Golkonda*, as given in leagues by *Tavernier*, who travelled the road. And yet we make no doubt, but *Gandi Kotta* is the same with his *Gandika*.

remarked.

a remarked, It is situated about forty leagues almost due east of *Goa*, eighteen north-west by north of *Raydourgam*, and three leagues west of the river *Tunje-badre*.

THESE are the principal inland cities of *Karnâta*, at least known to the Jesuit missionaries; but among them lie interspersed a great many others, partly in the hands of *Palli-agars*, or *Palli-agarens*, and partly in the possession of the *Mogols*. Having thus given our readers some idea of the inland parts of *Karnâta*, let us next give him a view of the sea coast, commonly called *Choromandel*; which the commerce of *Europeans* has made better known to us.

THE first place of note, which we meet with on this coast, is *Porto Novo*, so called by the *Porto Novo*. *Portugueses*, when the coast of *India* belonged to them. But when *Aureng Zib* subdued b *Golkonda*, the *Great Mogol* set a *Fouzdâr* in it, and gave it the name of *Mohammed Bander* (or *Mohammed's* (P) *Port*). The country is fertile, healthful, and pleasant. Great quantities of cotton-cloth of several sorts are made here, much of which is exported to foreign parts. The *Portugueses* are numerous here; but the bulk of the inhabitants are *Hindûs*. The *English* and *Dutch* have also some houses in this port *.

FORT ST. DAVID'S is next; a colony and fortress belonging to the *English*, who bought it Fort St. Da- from a *Moratta* (or *Mâbarâtta*) prince, in 1686, for 90,000 pagodas. The fort is pretty vid. strong, and stands close to a river; and the territories extend the distance of eight mile severly way. The country is like the former, and watered with several rivers; which are as good as walls to the colony. About 1698, the fort narrowly escaped being surprised by the free- c booters, who inhabited the neighbouring mountains, and got admittance under pretence of lodging the *Mogol's* treasure there: but they were all killed, before the ambush without could force open the gate. This colony produces store of long cloths; and without its assistance, that of *Fort St. George*, on which it depends, would make but a small figure in trade to what it does at present. The black cattle here are small, but plentiful and cheap; while the rivers and seas abound with fish *. *Kuddelôr* (or *Koudelour*, by the *Hindûs* called *Kourralour*) lies about a mile to the southward, on a river capable to receive ships of 200 tons *.

PONTICHERRI (or *Pondicherri*) is the next place of note; a colony settled by the *French*, Ponticherri. about five leagues to the north of *Fort St. David*. It is the chief establishment which they have in the *Indies*, and the head-quarters of their missionaries. The fortifications are fine, d regular, and strong; but its trade small. The city is large, and the streets strait. The houses of *Europeans* are of brick; the *Indian* of earth. About the year 1690, the *Dutch*, from *Batavia*, besieged and took it by capitulation; the *French*, at that time, being destitute of defence: but, at the conclusion of king *William's* war, they were obliged to restore it *.

AFTER *Ponticherri* follows *Konnimîr*, or *Konjimîr*, where the *English* had a factory; which Konnimîr they quitted on the purchase of *Fort St. David*. Near the town are seven pagods, famous for sanctity; and here the persecution began against *St. Thomas*, because he could draw a short tree to a great length (Q), as wire-drawers do metals; and the Pagan priests, being ignorant of such art, declared him a conjurer. Beyond *Konjimîr* is *Saderas Patam* (called also *Sadras* and *Sadrats*), a small factory of the *Dutch* for buying up cloth. It stands on the Saderas Pa- e south side of the river *Palamalerow*; and some leagues farther on lies *Kabelon* (or *Kovolam*), tam. where the *Ostenders* have settled a factory b.

THE next place northward, on the coast, is *St. Thomas*, called also *Meliapour*, or, to St. Thomas. speak like the *Indians*, *Maylabouram*, that is, the city of peacocks; because the princes, who formerly reigned in this country, had a peacock for their arms. The *Portugueses*, to secure themselves against the *Dutch*, surrendered it up to the king of *Golkonda*; but soon after (in 1672) the *French*, under M. *De la Hay*, took it: but, after two years, were obliged to surrender it for want of succours from *Europe*. That king, fearing the *French* might return and retake it, dismantled both the city and fortress. The *Portugueses*, however, still retain a part of it; which they have walled, and fortified with little bastions c.

f Two leagues off there are two hills: one is a little dry rock, called *The Little Mount*, with *Ridiculous fa-* a cave in it, where *St. Thomas* retired to hide himself from the priests his persecutors. There ble. being no water in the place, he cleft the rock with his hand, and commanded water to flow out: but when he saw the enemy, who had discovered his retreat, approaching the mount, he came down; and at the foot of it, as a testimony that he had been there, stamped with his bare foot on a very hard stone, and left the print of it. This impression is above sixteen inches long, and in proportion narrower at the heel, and broader at the toes, than the present size of feet among us. From hence he fled for his life to another large mount, about two

* HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 353. BOUCHET, ubi supr. p. 29. p. 356, and BOUCHET, p. 31.

* BOUCHET, ibid.

† HAMILT. p. 353, & seq.

‡ Ibid.

§ HAMILT. p. 357, & seq.

¶ BOUCHET, p. 21.

(P) It is called by the *Hindûs* *Pirenki Patay*.

(Q) They say that a lady, in her way to church, wanting to cross a river, which was so swollen that the

tree, which served for a bridge, did not reach from side to side, *St. Thomas* stretched it out to give her passage.

miles distant; but, being overtaken on the top of it, was run through with a lance, and there a buried (R). The *Portugueses*, when first settled there, built a church over the cave and well on *The Little Mount*; and another over his grave on *The Great Mount*, where the lance, with which it is pretended the apostle was killed, is kept as a relique. The city of *St. Thomas* was formerly the best mart-town on the *Choromandel* coast: but at present the trade is very little, and the inhabitants very few, and poor, owing to the neighbourhood of *Fort St. George*, which is but one league distant to the north; a colony and city belonging to the *English East-India* company.

Madras, or
Fort St.
George.

FORT ST. GEORGE is called also *Madrās*, and *Madraspatan*, from the city of that name, near which it is situated. The natives give it the appellation of *Jenna Pattenam*, or, as the *English* commonly pronounce it, *Chinapatam*. The town is divided into two parts, called the b *White* and *Black Towns*. In the former dwell the *Europeans*. It is walled quite round, with several bastions and bulwarks to defend it; so that it can only be attacked at the ends, the sea and river fortifying its sides. It is about 400 paces long, and 150 broad, divided into pretty regular streets, and *Fort St. George* standing in the centre. There are two churches in it; one for protestants, the other for *Romish* service. There is a good hospital, and mint for coining rupis and pagados, in the city; with a town-hall, and a prison for debtors underneath. They are a corporation, with a mayor and aldermen, formerly chosen by burghers; but, at present, by the governor and his council: which, according to our author, is the reason that every thing is carried as the governor would have it; who can annul all decisions in case of debt or otherwise, made by the court, which is properly a court of conscience d.

Bad situation. THE *Black Town* is inhabited by *Jentows*, *Mohammedans*, and *Indian Christians*; viz. *Armenians* and *Portugueses*, who have their respective churches; all religions being tolerated here. It is walled towards the land, the sides towards the sea and *White Town* being open. *Madras* is one of the most incommodious places our author ever saw. It fronts the sea, which rolls there more than in any other part on the coast of *Choromandel*. The foundation is in sand, with a salt-water river on its back, which hinders all fresh springs from coming near the town, within a mile; and, in the rainy season, causes inundations on one side, while the sea often threatens destruction on the other: again, from *April* to *September*, the sun is scorching hot; so that, but for the sea-breezes, the place could not possibly be inhabited. How so bad a situation could be chosen, when the founder had choice of two very good ones d in the neighbourhood, *Kabelon* (or *Kovolam*), above-mentioned, about six leagues to the south, and *Polikat* (or *Pallikatta*), nine to the north, seems unaccountable. However, the diamond-mines being no more than a week's journey from *Fort St. George*, these precious stones are pretty plenty here; although few large ones are brought to market, since the time that great diamond, which governor *Pitt* sent to *England*, was conveyed hither. Any one may dig at the mines, after agreeing with the *Great Mogol's* officer for a spot of ground; which is walled about, and sentinels placed round it. All stones above sixty grains weight belong to the emperor, and it is death to secret any of them.

Trade there. THE current trade of *Fort St. George* runs gradually slower; the trader meeting with great discouragements, and often oppressions (S). The colony produces very little of its own growth e or manufacture for foreign markets; which yet it supplies with foreign commodities, particularly from *China*, *Persia*, and *Mokba*; which commerce it shares with *Surāt*. The colony is well peopled, there being computed to be 80,000 inhabitants in the towns and villages; among whom may be reckoned four or five hundred *Europeans*. But, as their provisions are brought from other parts, any enemy, who is superior to them in sea forces, may easily distress them. This place was surpris'd by the *French*, in the year 1748; who first plundered, and then left it.

Palliakatti. THE next place of note to *Fort St. George* is *Palliakatta*, called also *Paleakatta* and *Polikat* by authors. This is a town belonging to the *Dutch*; who have a fort there named *Guedria*, with a few soldiers in garrison. There is another belonging to the *Mogols*. It was formerly f the principal factory which they had on the coast of *Choromandel*.

THERE are several places northward, which formerly had commerce abroad, but are now neglected. *Armagan* is one, and *Kisnipatam* another; which last has the benefit of a large

d HAMILTON's New Account of the E. Ind. vol. i. p. 358, & seqq.

e Ibid. p. 362, 370.

(R) *Tachard*, the Jesuit missionary (see *Lett. Edif.* tom. xii p. 273) adds many miracles to those mentioned by Mr. *Hamilton*. 'The effrontery of popish priests, in propagating such evidently lying wonders, would be astonishing, if the credulity of their sheep was not known to be as great as their clergy's knavery. Besides, nothing can be more absurd, than to suppose a man could work such miracles, and yet could not work one to save himself. Christ could have wrought a mi-

racle to save himself, but would not: but *Thomas*, 'tis clear, would have saved himself, if he could have wrought a miracle.

(S) Captain *Hamilton* saw a bargain of wheat taken out of a gentleman's hands, after he had bought it by auction; and says, that they who bid for goods against the governor's servants, were brow beaten and threatened; so that many trading people were removed to other parts.

- a river: so has *Karera* beyond it. Lastly *Petapoli*, or *Pettipoli*, seated at one of the mouths of the river *Krishna*, had once both *English* and *Dutch* factories settled in it; but they withdrew many years ago, to avoid the impositions of the inland Râjahs. This place is the utmost bounds of the kingdom of *Karnâta*, upon the coast^c.

^c HAMILT. p. 372, & seq.

S E C T. V.

Principality of Ikkeri.

- b **I**T remains only to give some account of the dominions of *Ikkeri* and *Mayssour*; two coun-tries formerly belonging to *Karnâta*, and still to be considered as dismembered parts of it. Among the governors in *Vidia Nâgar*, corruptly *Bisnagar*, who after the great revolution in 1567, set up for sovereigns in their respective districts, he of *Ikkeri*, named *Venktapa Nayeka*, or *Naïka*, was one. This prince had been a minister of that monarch; and, as he was a good soldier, soon enlarged his territories by subduing some of his neighbours. After a defeat which he had given the *Portugueses*, the viceroy of *Goa*, in 1623, sent an ambassador, in the king's name, to cultivate friendship with him.
- THE country of *Ikkeri* extends, in length, from south to north about 130 miles, and in breadth 50. It adjoins, on the north, to the *Sunda* Râjah's territories; on the east it has *Karnâta*; on the south *Mayssour*; and on the west the country of *Kanâra*, from whence it is separated by the mountains of *Gâtîi*, or *Gate*^e. The chief city is named *Ikkeri*; lying about three leagues east of the same mountains, and ten from *Batekâla*, on the sea-coast. It stands on a fair plain, surrounded with three inclosures; the two outermost consist of very high canes, very thick, and close planted. They are a good defence against horse and foot; being hard to cut, and not in danger from fire: besides they afford much shade, as well as verdure, from the herbs which creep upon them. The inner inclosure is a wall, but weak and inconsiderable. Each inclosure has gates, with forts and ditches. *Ikkeri* is pretty large, but the houses are thin and ill built. It is mostly taken up with broad and long streets; some of them shaded with handsome trees, growing in ponds of water; of which there are many large ones: besides fields set full of trees like groves. So that from the mixture of houses, lakes, fields, and woods, it makes a very delightful prospect. The prince's palace is in a fortress of no small extent; containing several streets, with houses and shops. The language spoken in the country of *Ikkeri* is the *Kanarî*^h.

^e DELLA VALLE'S Trav. p. 93. Engl. Transl. of his Return.

^h Ibid. ubi supr. p. 120, 121, 144.

S E C T. VI.

Kingdom of Mayssour, and the Malleams.

- e **T**HE kingdom of *Mayssour* (or *Messûr*) has to the north *Ikkeri* and *Karnâta*; to the east *Karnâta*; to the south *Madûra*; and to the west *Malabûr*. This dominion, of all those not yet subdued by the *Mogols*, is become most considerable, by the conquest of several fortresses from *Madûra*, and the other neighbouring states: insomuch that, since the year 1650, it has extended itself from the eleventh degree of latitude to the thirteenth, and beyond. The revenue of the prince is said to amount to near fifteen millions of livres; and he has on foot armies consisting of 30,000 foot, and 10,000 horse.

- THAT which has rendered the people of *Mayssour* so formidable to their neighbours, is the cruel and ignominious manner in which they treat their prisoners of war: for they cut-off their noses, and, salting them, send them to court (T). The officers and soldiers are rewarded according to the number of prisoners, whom they use in that inhuman manner.

SHIRANGAPATAM (U) is the capital of this kingdom. It stands in the northwest part of the country, on the river *Kavéri*, about fifty miles from its source, in the mountain of *Gâtîi*. The fortress resembles our antient cities, which were fortified with towers; and has a good ditch. The pagod is famous; but the king's palace has nothing remarkable.

ABOUT three leagues to the south of *Shirangapatam* is the city of *Mayssura*, which has given name to the kingdom. The country is full of towns and villages; especially along the

(T) Fryer says, they use an instrument made to seize on the noses of their enemies; which mutilations spoiling the fashion of their faces, few care to serve in a

war against this Râjah. Fryer's Travels, p. 163.

(U) Fryer calls it *Saranpatan*. See his Travels, p. 163.

river *Kavéri*: but we meet with no considerable cities besides those already mentioned, excepting two; *Darmapouri*, towards the north-east, and *Darabarou*, in the south, on the borders of *Madûra*, and in the country of the *Malleams*, which makes the southern part of *Mayffour*, or *Messûr*ⁱ.

The Malleams:

THE *Malleams* have their dwellings properly in the high rocky mountains of *Gittî*, separating *Mayffour* from *Malabâr*; at the foot of which live the Christians of *St. Thomas*. They differ from other *Malabârians* chiefly in their complexion. They are honest, good-natured, charitable, and without deceit; courageous, ingenious, and of good understanding. There is a thing unknown to them; for they live with their doors open. They inhabit neither cities nor villages; but only certain inclosures in the valleys among the rocks. Their houses are built with canes, very low, and plaistered-up with clay. Some live in woods, building their houses in trees, for security against elephants and tigers. Their lands are fertile, but they do not cultivate any great quantity. The chief settlement, which they possess, is called *Priatâ*, thirteen or fourteen leagues from the borders of *Madûra*.

form of government:

THE *Malleams* are tributary, partly to the king of *Turbula*, and partly to him of *Pagnati Perimal*: yet are otherwise intirely free, being governed by their own laws, under captains, or judges, of their own nation, named *Arley*; each of which has five or six thousand under his jurisdiction. Every inclosure likewise has its own judge, named *Pandera*; to whom they pay strict obedience. Their arms are the same with those used by the *Malabârs*. The *Malleams* have but one wife at a time; and pay great respect to the sepulchres of their ancestors. Their dress is the same with the *Malabârs*; except on festivals they wear a long gown and turbân, like the *Mohammedans*. At these solemnities, the maidens play on rush pipes, small flutes, and drums. They wear jewels in their ears and noses.

many converted.

SINCE the year 1599, a great number of the *Malleams* have embraced the *Romish* religion; and a church was erected to *St. Michael* in the village of *Priatâ*. Before they had no temples but their houses, where they worshipped domestic gods. They pretend to converse with devils, only to know future events; but not to do mischief^k.

ⁱ BOUCHET, ap. Lettr. Edif. tom. 15, p. 79, & seqq.

^k NIKUMOF, ap. Church. Collect. vol. ii. p. 243.

C H A P. VIII.

The religion of the Hindûs.

S E C T. I.

Of their sacred books, with an abstract of the Shâster.

Hindû religion treated

HAVING now gone thro' the history and description of the countries inhabited by the people who are properly called *Hindûs*, we come, at length, to treat of their religion: which we reserved for this place, in regard the peninsula of *India* being more independent than *Hindustân*, it is there where their worship appears in its full light. But although so many travellers have visited these countries, and missions have been settled in every part of them, for so many years, yet nothing can well be conceived to be more imperfect and confused, than the accounts which authors have given of it. This is doubtless owing to two causes: first, the different opinions and objects of worship, which have been introduced by the *Brâmmans* in different parts of *India*; secondly, from *Europeans* taking their memoirs from what they observe themselves, or gather from the information of the natives, instead of having recourse to their sacred books; which may be presumed to contain some uniform and consistent system, whatever variations are to be found in the popular worship. In effect, the *Hindûs*, like almost all other nations, to derive authority to their own religion, and give it preference to those professed in other countries, affirm it is of divine original, and contained in a book called the *Vedam*, or *Wedam* (A): which they say was delivered to their law-giver, *Brâmma*, by the Deity himself.

confusedly by authors.

(A) Or *Vedham*, the *dh* being pronounced like the English *th* in *this*, *that*, and the like words.—Hence the *Mogols* pronounce *Vedh*: *Europeans* write variously, *Ved*, *Bed*, *Bet*, *Beth*, and the like. *Beth*, according to

Bernier, signifies *science*; because they say all sciences are contained in the four books. *Mem. Mogol. Emp.* part iii. p. 145.

- a THIS sacred volume is divided into four parts, or books; the *Rogo Vedam*, *Iffura Vedam*, *Sama Vedam*, and *Addera Vedam* (B). Hence the *Vedam* is termed by the *Hindûs* the four books of the law^a. (1) The *Rogo Vedam* treats of the first cause, and the first matter; of angels; the soul; the reward of good men, and punishment of the wicked; of the generation of creatures, and their corruption; what sin is, and how it may be pardoned; by whom it is remitted, and upon what conditions it is done. (2) The *Iffura Vedam* treats of superiors, or governors, who are vested with the sovereign power and dominion. (3) The *Sama Vedam*, relates wholly to morality, inciting to the love of virtue, and hatred of vice and wickedness. (4) The *Addera Vedam*, treats of the ceremonies observed in the temples, in sacrifices and on festivals: but this last part has been, for a long time, lost (C). The *Brâmmans* say, that they have lost with it a great deal of their power and authority; and that if it was now in being, they would be in greater power and esteem than the kings themselves. We learn farther, with regard to this *Vedam*, or these four sacred books, that they seem to be only a collection of the superstitious practices of their ancient *Risbi*, or *Mouni*, that is, *Penitents*, and *Anchorites*; to which are joined their opinions concerning the nature of God, the soul, visible world^c, and so forth, as before-mentioned: that the first two books are followed most in the peninsula of *India*, and the two latter in the north, or *Hindûstân*^d: that they contain the theology of the *Brâmmans*^e; and are read solely by them; so that the *Weinjas* (or *Beniyâns*) must, in their prayers, make use of the words not of the *Vedam*, but of the *Shâster*; and the *Soudra*, or common people, must neither mention the *Vedam*, nor learn the *Shâster*^f.
- c AFTER all, these books are not read and explained in the pagods; not only because they contain mysteries surpassing the vulgar capacity, but also because the *Brâmmish* language cannot be translated into the *Malabâric*^g. Others say they are not understood by many of the *Brâmmans* themselves^h; and that they are scarce half understood by their ablest doctors. The reason is, that they are not written, as hath been reported, in the *Samskroutam* (or *Sanskrit*), which is the learned language known to the *Brâmmans*; but in a language still more ancient. So that the *Samskroutam* is only of use in explaining certain passages inserted in their books of theology, especially those taken from the latter books of the *Vedam*; which appears, from the difference of language and stile, to be written five centuries after the firstⁱ.
- d BESIDES the *Vedam*, there are two other sets of books; the first called *Shâster*, the second *Pûrân*; which the *Brâmmans* persuade the people came down also from heaven for their instruction^k. The *Shâster* (D) contains all the doctrines, and various ceremonies, found in the four books of the law; being properly the explanation and comment on the *Vedam*^l. We are told it was made to settle the sense of the *Vedam*, and prevent disputes^m; but do not find it has had that effect. As *Shâster*, or *Shâstrum*, signifies *Science*, we find books treating of other subjects, particularly philosophy and astronomy, under this title. It is permitted to the *Chudrers* (or *Shudrers*), priests of the *Shudderî*, or *Baniyân* sect, to read the *Shâster*; but they must not touch the *Vedam*, which is monopolized by the *Brâmmans*.
- e THE *Pûrân*, or *Powrân* (E), are the historical books of the law, and contain the explanation of the *Shâster* (F), together with the antient histories of the *Hindûs*, both sacred and profane. These are comprised in eighteen books; to which may be added, the twenty-four *Agamangol*, which are likewise historicalⁿ.

THIS is the account we have of the *Pûrân*, from the *Malabûrs* themselves. But we have grounds to believe, that they contain the history not only of their first kings, heroes, prophets,

^a ROGER MOEURS de Brammins, c. v. p. 35. ^b PHILLIPS'S Account of Malabar, p. 4. 11, 37. ^c PONS ap. Lett. Edif. tom. 26. p. 233, & seqq. ^d Ibid. ^e Ibid. ^f ROGER MOEURS des Bram. p. 36. ^g Danish Confer. p. 139. ^h CALMET, ap. Lett. Edif. tom. 21. p. 457. ⁱ Idem. ibid. tom. 24. p. 458, & seqq. ^k PHILL. Account of Malabar, p. 4. 40. ^l Ibid. p. 4. 10, 15, 40, 41, 43. ^m ROGER, ubi supr. p. 35. ⁿ PHILL. Account Malabar, p. 4. 15, 50.

(B) With *Roger* agrees *Baldæus*, another Dutch minister, both as to the order and contents of the books; but differs somewhat in the names, writing, 1. *Roggo Vedam*. 2. *Jadlara Vedam*. 3. *Sama Vedam*. 4. *Fara Wana Vedam*. This list is according to the *Bramans*; but by the *Malabars* they are named *Ikka*, *Ikkisha*, *Saman*, and *Adarwan* (1). *Pons*, a *Romish* missionary, writes *Reukeu Vedam*, called *Rek bed* in *Hindûstân*. 2. *Tajour Vedam*. 3. *Sama Vedam*. 4. *Latharwana Vedam*, or *Brâhma Vedam* (2). A *Malabarian*, in his letter to the *Danish* missionaries, places them in a different order; 1. *Sama Vedum*. 2. *Urukku Vedum*. 3. *Edirwana Vedum*. 4. *Air Vedum*. (3). Here *Urukku Vedum* is the same with the *Rogo Vedum*; and *Air Vedum* with the *Iffoure Widum*, of *Roger*; but, by some mistake, must be misplaced.

(C) *Baldæus* says, he could never be convinced that

the fourth part was lost; yet elsewhere tells us, that the first part is wanting. See *Church. Collect. Trav.* vol. iii. p. 767, and 812.

(D) So it is called by *Lord*, and *Mr. Frazer*. *Roger* calls it *Jastra*. In the account of the *Malabâr* religion, the books of which it consisteth are called *Sasteran Gol*; *Sasteran* being the plural of *Sâster*, or *Shâster*; which signifies *Science*; or, according to others, *System*.

(E) *Pûrân*, or *Porân*, signifies *Poems*: these histories being written in verse.

(F) All the doctrines and instructions contained therein are taken out of the four books of the law and the *Shâsters*. *Phill. Hist. Malab.* p. 11. There is an abridgment of these eighteen books, called *Chadda Kari raga Mandirum*, *ibid.* p. 15. *Roger* mentions these *Porâns* in his *Manners of the Brâmmans*, p. 64, 68, 102, & alibi.

(1) *Church. Collect. Trav.* vol. iii. p. 812. (2) *Lett. Edif.* tom. 26, p. 233. (3) *Phill. Account*

Malabar, p. 57. See also *Bernier Mem. of Empire Mogol*, part iii. p. 145, and others

penitents, and other eminent men : but also of their inferior gods or divinities. In short, the *Pûrân* joining both the former systems together, seems to have formed the religion of the vulgar ; by introducing the doctrine and worship of those inferior deities, whose history is in these poems displayed with monstrous fictions. The *Brâmmans* pretend that the three sets of books before-mentioned were all delivered by God to *Brâmma* : but it is obvious that they were published at different times, doubtless to serve different purposes ; and that the *Pourân* appeared long after the other two, when the present idolatry, to which it is accommodated, came to get footing in the *Indies*.

The popular
theology

AMONG the *Pûrân*, or *Powrân*, which signifies poems, are the *Harma Pourân*°, which, we are told, contain the popular theology, or most approved polytheism ; and, among the *Shâsters*, is the *Harma Shâstrum*, composed out of the *Brâmman*, and popular divinity. It signifies the holy science, or science of virtue ; and contains the practice of the different religions (or sects), with the sacred rites or ordinances, and laws for administering justice ; which treatises of the *Harma Shâstrum*, written by various authors, are multiplied *ad infinitum* P.

kept from the
laity.

THERE are, besides the before-mentioned, many other books explaining the law ; all which are kept out of the hands of the common people, or laity : yet there are a great number of books current among the *Malabârs*, which contain the exploits of their gods *Chiwens* (or *Iffuren*) and *Wishtnou* ; the history of the wars of the giants with the gods ; with their miracles, and the way of worshipping them. Among these, there are many *porân* and local histories of their gods, peculiar to some places in the country of *Malabâr* ; and this, no doubt, is the case in other parts of *India*.

Hard to be
procured.

As the *Brâmmans*, or priests, have the keeping of their sacred books, which they will not communicate to their own laity (G), much less to strangers, great sums have been offered, to no purpose, by *Europeans**, for a copy, or only a translation of the *Vedam* ; because it is written in a language (H) which is reckoned sacred on that account, and known only to the *Brâmmans*. Some, from the difficulty of coming at them, have supposed that there are no such books in being ; for the *Danish* missionaries could never get the *Brâmmans* to produce it : and one of the *Romish* tells us they, for a long time, thought it was impossible to find it ; but, at length, he got a copy of it (I), by means of a *Brâmman* convert†. And, doubtless, they might have been had long ago, if properly sought after (K) ; since the *Mohammedans* have had translations of them (L) for a long time, from whence at least a version might have been made, and Mr. Lord procured an abstract of the *Shâster* early in the last century.

Great neglect
of

THIS abstract is very short ; yet as the *Shâster* contains the substance of the *Vedam*, it may supply the place of it until a translation come to be made public : and as we find in this abstract the original of those beings, whom the *Hindûs* at present worship as gods, and of the facts on which the *Brâmmans* have grounded so many fictions, it serves as a key to open the mystery, and account for many things which otherwise would be inexplicable. Notwithstanding this, we do not find that any author has made use of it to clear up the confusion and difficulties, which he complains of, in the accounts of others, relating to the *Hindû* religion. Even *Bernier* himself, one of the most intelligent of the travellers, although he had read Mr. Lord's book, and tells us he was obliged to him for many things‡, yet takes no notice of the use that might be made of it on this occasion ; as if either he had overlooked this consideration, or thought the matters contained in it were agreeable to the present system of the *Indians*.

Romish mis-
jonaries.

ON the other hand, the missionaries, altho' seemingly diligent in search of the *Vedam*, never took the least notice of this abstract of the *Shâster* ; as if it had no relation to the religion of

° PONS. ap. Lett. Edif. tom. 26. p. 233, 239.

p. 37, 38, 53, 121, 125. Also Dan. Confer. p. 140, & seq.

p. 161 —Danish Lett. part i. p. 20, 22.

Lett. Edif. tom. 21. p. 456, and tom. 24. p. 437.
part iii. p. 157.

P Ibid. p. 34, & seq.

¶ See PHILL. Malab.

† BERNIER, Mem. Emp. Mogol, tom. 3.

‡ DAN. Confer. p. 138, & seqq.

§ CALAMET. ap.

|| BERNIER'S Memoirs of the Mogol's Empire,

(G) Only the tribe of *Kuttari*, or the *Râjabs*, are allowed to read the *Vedam* ; and that of *Shudderi*, or the merchants, are permitted only to read the *Shâster*.

(H) Our authors call it the *Samskörtam*, *Samkrou-tam*, *Sankrit*, and *Hanskrit*. But it appears, from what has been observed before, to be another language. The *Samskörtam*, which signifies *synthetic*, or *composed*, is harmonious, copious, and strong. The grammar is a wonderful contrivance, and masterpiece of art. It was formerly a living language, spoken in the north, or *Hindûjân* : as the *Grandam* was in the south *India*. The *Danish* missionaries call this latter the *Kirundum* ; and say their sacred books are written in it. Whether it

differs from the other, and in what respects, they do not tell us. See Lett. Edif. tom. 15. p. 53. tom. 21. p. 457. and tom. 26. p. 22, & seqq.

(I) Calmet was employed to procure it for the French king's library ; which he did about the year 1733.

(K) They were procured, by order of the present French king, to put in his library.—Mr. Frazer has lately brought from *India* the *Shâster* and *Pûrân*, in the *Sanskrit* language, but not the *Vedam*. See Append. to Hist. of Nadir Shâh.

(L) P. Pons tells us it is in the French king's library, in Arabic. See Lett. Edif. tom. 26. p. 233.

- a the *Brâmmans*. It is true, neither the *Shâster*, nor *Pourân*, seem to have been known to them till of late years; nor does *Lord* himself, however it happened, once mention the *Vedam*, much less that the *Shâster* is an explanation of it; on the contrary, by some mistake, he speaks of the *Shâster* as the book of the law delivered by God to *Bremaw*, or *Bramma* (M). However, if this abstract of the *Shâster* had been known to them, we have no great reason to believe that they would have made use of it; since we do not find they have made any of the *Vedam* itself, although they have been in possession of it ever since about the year 1730. Perhaps they do not think the best way to convert the *Hindûs*, is to let them see that their religion was originally free from that gross idolatry in which it is at present involved; at least that method would not answer their ends. They make use of images as well as the *Hindûs*;
- b and therefore are obliged to take a more difficult course: which is, to persuade them that the *Romish* saints and images are more holy, and fitter objects of worship, than theirs.

(M) It is true, the *Brâmmans* pretend so; and according to a lay *Malalâr*, both the *Shâsters* and *Pourâns* are reckoned divine; but yet inferior to the *Vedam*, and as derived from it.

S E C T. II.

Abstract of the Shâster.

- c **T**HE Great God being alone, and resolving to make his excellency and power manifest, by creating a world stocked with intelligent animals; he, in the first place, as the ground-work, made four elements, earth, air, fire, and water. These elements being confusedly mixed together, he next divided; and, out of them, formed the several parts of the visible world, in the manner following:

- FIRST, by some great cane, or like instrument, God blew upon the waters; which rising in a bubble of a round form, like an egg, and spreading by degrees to an immense space, made the *firmament*, which, so clear and transparent, encompasseth the world. Of the earth and moisture which remained as the sediment of the waters, the Lord framed a kind of ball, or globe; the more solid parts whereof became the *earth*, and the more liquid *the seas*. Then,
- d by a great noise, or humming sound, he placed it in the *midst* of the firmament, every way equi-distant from it, and called it the *lower world*. Next he created a sun and moon in the firmament, to distinguish the times and seasons. The four elements being thus separated, and assigned to their proper places, began to discharge their several offices: the air filled up whatever was empty; the fire nourished with his heat; and the earth, as well as seas, brought forth their respective animals; to whom the Lord conveyed a seminal virtue, that they might be fruitful in their several capacities.

- In the last place, therefore, God created man, as a being more worthy than the rest, and capable of contemplating his works. At the Lord's command he rose out of the earth, his head first appearing, and then his body, formed with all its parts. God next conveyed life into him, which, as soon as he had received, manifested itself: for colour began to redden in his lips; his eye-lids to disclose the two lights of nature; the several parts of his body put themselves in motion; and his understanding being informed, he acknowledged his maker, and rendered him worship.

- THAT this man, who was made a sociable creature, might not live alone, God gave him a woman for a companion; who resembled him no less in the qualities of his body than mind. This first man's name was *Pourous* (or *Powrows*), and the woman's *Parkouti*; who lived together as husband and wife, feeding on the fruits of the earth, without the destruction of any living creature. In process of time, these two had four sons, named *Brammon*, *Kutteri*, *Shudderi*, and *Wife*; who differed in their nature, according as the elements prevailed in them. For *Brammon* was of an earthly constitution, and therefore melancholic; being also ingenious, God appointed him to impart his precepts and laws to the people: for which office his grave and serious countenance best suited him. On this account, therefore, the Lord delivered to him a book, containing the form of divine worship, and the principles of religion.

KUTTERI (N) was of a fiery temper, and had a martial spirit; God therefore vested him with power to sway kingdoms with the sceptre, and bring men into order: for this purpose the Almighty put a sword into his hand, which is the instrument of victory and dominion.

As *Shudderi*, being of a flegmatic constitution, was mild and conversible, it was thought fit that he should be a merchant, to enrich the commonwealth by commerce, and bring home

(N) *Kutteri* signifies a *Dagger*; from whence, probably, this martial man and tribe took their name.

plenty, by means of shipping. To put him in mind of his business, a pair of scales were^a put into his hand, and a bag of weights hung at his girdle.

Wife. WISE (or *Weyz*), who was of an airy temper, was endued with invention; and being full of contrivances, was able, as first thought, to form any thing in the handicraft or mechanical way. To help him in his profession, he had delivered to him a bag, with variety of tools or instruments necessary to execute any piece of work which his fancy should devise.

Four women created, THE world being in this maiden state, the Almighty gave not *Pourous* and *Parkouti* any daughters: but that the work of generation might be free from impurity, God made four women for these four men; and, for better conveniency of dispersing, placed them at the four winds; *Sawatari* in the east; *Toddikastri* in the west; *Visagunda* in the north; and *Jejunogunda* in the south^x.

for wives to the MEAN time the sons of *Pourous* growing up, God commanded them to travel each a different way, in order to find out the four women who were to be their wives. *Brammon* travelling eastward, at length met with *Sawatari*, and married her, conformable to the rules prescribed in the book delivered to him. *Kutteri*, proceeding westward, found *Toddikastri*, and, after a terrible combat between them, which lasted three days, they came to a conjugal agreement. *Sbudderi* took his journey northwards; and, after discovering pearls and diamond mines, lighted upon *Visagunda*. Lastly, *Wife*, called also *Viskermah*, or *the hand-man*, from his skill in manual arts, after crossing seven seas in a vessel, made by him for that purpose, stopped on the coast of *Derpe*, and built him a house there. After some time, he saw *Jejunogunda* walking by the shore, and made his addresses to her: but as she treated him with scorn, *Wife* prayed to God that he would turn her heart in his favour. This request was granted, on condition that *he should erect pagods for God's worship, and adore images under green trees*; because the Almighty had under their shade manifested himself to him by vision^y.

The earth peopled. THESE things are related at large in Mr. *Lord's* abstract, with several agreeable circumstances. The four brothers, having in this manner peopled the earth, resolved to return to the place of their nativity, in order to see their parents: so leaving their sons and daughters behind them, in several different places, they began their journies back towards the middle of the earth; where, on their arrival, they found *Pourous* and *Parkouti*, who received them with banquets and rejoicings. In process of time the four brothers (and their wives) became^d parents of many new generations, who strictly conformed to their division into four tribes, without mixing; and followed the instructions of their respective founders. But, as multitude and plenty beget many evils, every thing, by degrees, fell into disorder: *Brammon* grew negligent in his piety; *Kutteri* became cruel and over-bearing; *Sbudderi* cheated his brethren with false weights; and *Wife* set exorbitant rates upon his ware, to maintain his extravagancies. And as they were evil in themselves, so they were evil one to another; for *Brammon* envied *Kutteri's* greatness; and *Kutteri*, disdaining the quiet and solitary spirit of *Brammon*, forbore to pay him the respect due to his birthright: nay, he carried his contempt so far, as to prize his own laws and government before those of God, only because they came thro' the hands of *Brammon*. On the other side, he delighted in the slaughter of those who displeased^e him, laid taxes upon *Sbudderi*, and drained the profits of *Wife's* labours; whilst they, to revenge his injurious treatment, defrauded and exacted on their brethren. *Wife* likewise, to render *Brammon* still more contemptible than he was, sought to introduce a new form of religion, concerning the worship of images, and bowing to pagods (O), with other ceremonies, which had been communicated to him in vision, as before-mentioned: but, as these were things not contained in *Brammon's* book, a great dispute arose, whether they should be received as canonical: however, upon *Wife's* swearing that he had them from God, they were admitted as part of the ceremonial law.

World destroyed. THE ill examples of the parents sowed the seeds of corruption and wickedness, which increased in their posterity: so that at length the Deity growing angry, the heavens put on^f a face of darkness and terror; thunder and lightning flashed from the poles; while the seas, swelling in a frightful manner, sent a flood upon the earth, which overwhelmed all the race of mankind: but although their bodies were destroyed, their souls were lodged in the bosom of the Almighty. And thus ended the first age of the world, named *Kurlayn*^z.

Second age. HAD things continued in this ruinous state, the design of creation would have been frustrated. God therefore determined to renew the race of mankind, and begin the second age with three persons of greater perfection and excellency than the former. In order to this, descending from heaven upon a great mountain called *Meropurbati*, he said, *Rise up, Bre-*

^x LORD'S Discovery of the Banian religion, ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. vi. p. 301, chap. 1. p. 303, & seqq. ch. 2, 3, 4, 5.

^y Ibid. p. 309, & seqq. chap. 6.

^z Ibid.

(O) By pagods, doubtless, our author means images; and uses a term different from what is here used in the *Shâster*.

- a *maw* (P), the first of living creatures in the second age: hereupon the earth brought forth *Bremaw*, who immediately worshipped his maker. In like manner, by a second and third *Three persons created.* command, *Vistney* and *Rudderi* (Q) were produced, who, with no less reverence, adored their Creator. The design of making these three persons, was that they might act as deputies to God in the work which he was about to perform: to *Bremaw* therefore he assigned the office of making the creatures; to which purpose he indued him with the power of creation and production. To *Vistney* he gave the charge of preserving the creatures: for this end he constituted him lord of the sun and moon, of the hills and vallies, of the weather and seasons: he likewise made him the conferrer of riches, health, honour, and whatever conduced to the well-being of man, and other animals. Lastly, he vested *Rudderi* with a commission to destroy his creatures, because he knew they would be wicked, and deserve a punishment at his hands: for this end he appointed him lord of death and judgment, with all the train of common evils, such as sickness, famine, war, pestilence, and whatever else might be deemed a punishment for sin; the better to enable him to be the executioner of divine justice.
- b To each of these three persons was allotted a time for remaining on earth, conformable *Time on earth.* to the nature of his office. Because the work of creation was finished in the second age, therefore *Bremaw* was to be taken up to heaven at the end of it: and as each of the following ages were peopled by some who were reserved from destruction in the preceding ages, therefore *Vistney* was kept on earth double the term of *Bremaw*, because there was longer need of him, in his preserving quality. Lastly, in regard the world was to end by a general destruction, therefore the continuance of *Rudderi* on earth was to be three times as long as theirs.
- c THESE three persons being thus created with full powers, the next business was for them to put those powers in execution. Hereupon *Bremaw* consulting with himself how to discharge *Bremaw's labour.* his commission in the best manner, was seized with such extraordinary pain in all parts of his body, as foreboded some great alteration was to follow, as in effect there did: for he fell in labour; his belly swelling to such a degree (that altho' he far exceeded the stature of common men), he felt grievous torture, till, at length, the burden forcing it way thro' both his sides, there sprung forth twins, male and female, at full growth. These two having given worship *Brings forth twins.* to God the creator, and to *Bremaw* their producer, this latter named the man *Manow*, and the woman *Seteroupa*: after which they were sent to a mountain called *Munderpurvûl*, from thence to spread their generations towards the west, north, and south. Being arrived at the place appointed, *Seteroupa* brought forth six children; three sons, *Priauretta*, *Outanapautba*, and *Sûmeraut*; the three daughters were named *Kammab*, *Sûnerettaw*, and *Sumbû*. When these *The world peopled.* persons grew in years, they were dispersed according to *Bremaw's* command: *Priauretta* and *Kammab* were sent westward, to the mountain *Segund*; *Outanapautba* and *Sûnerettaw* to the mountain *Bipola*, in the north; *Sûmeraut* and *Sumbû* to the mountain *Supars*, in the south; who all encreased (R) and multiplied.
- d THUS *Bremaw* made man and woman, and replenished the earth with other living creatures; while *Vistney*, on his part, provided all things necessary both for the support and preservation of them. On the other side, *Rudderi* dispersed calamities, sickness, death, and judgments, according as the sons of men did by their wickedness draw down those evils upon them.
- e THE Almighty knowing that there would be no good order, where there was not the establishment of his worship and fear, by proper laws, among this new race of mankind; *New book of the law,* therefore descending upon the mountain *Meropurbatî*, he called *Bremaw* to him; and telling him, out of a dusky cloud, which yet revealed some rays of his glory, that his reason for destroying the former inhabitants of the earth, was because they did not observe the instructions set forth in the book delivered to *Brammon*, put another into the hand of *Bremaw*, commanding him to acquaint the dispersed generations with the matters contained therein; which he accordingly performed.
- f THIS book, called by the *Baniyans* the *Shâster* (S), consisted of three parts: the first contained their moral law, or precepts, with the explanation of each, and its application to the tribe or tribes which it concerned: the second comprised the ceremonial law; setting forth the rites which were to be observed in worship: the third tract divided mankind into tribes or classes; and prescribed the rules which were to be observed by each. To speak more particularly with respect to each of these tracts;

* Lord's Discovery of the Banian religion, p. 311, ch. 7.

(P) He is called by others *Bramâ*, *Bramâb*, and *Brammâ*.

(Q) *Vistney* is by others written *Vishnu*, *Vishnou*, *Vishnav*, and the like. *Rudderi* is written *Ruderen*, *Rutteri*.

(R) Here brothers and sisters go together; which was not suffered in the first age, as a thing in itself evil.

S. We are much at a loss here. The chief book

of the law among the *Hindûs* is the *Vedam*, or *Wedam*; of which the *Shâster*, which signifies a *System*, is only the explanation or comment: but as our author *Lord* says this latter was delivered to *Bremaw*, and we are informed elsewhere that it is believed, as well as the other, to have come from God; therefore we must either suppose the *Vedam* was the book mentioned in the text, as delivered to *Brammon*; or else, that *Lord* has mistaken one for the other.

The moral law
how distrib-
uted

THE first tract, containing the moral law, consisteth chiefly of eight commandments. The first forbids the *killing* of any living creature whatever ; because it has a soul, as well as man. a

THE second forbids beholding, giving ear to, or speaking, what is evil ; also the drinking of wine, and eating of flesh ; with the touching of things defiled.

THE third commands the observation of times of devotion, with washings, worshipping, and prayers to God.

THE fourth forbids telling lies, with design to defraud others in dealings, bargains, or contracts.

THE fifth commands charity to the poor, in meat, drink, and money, according to his necessity, and the giver's ability. b

THE sixth forbids oppressing, injuring, or doing violence to the poor ; likewise to use one's power unjustly, to ruin another.

THE seventh commands the celebration of certain festivals, without excess : also, to set apart certain seasons for fasting ; and break off some hours of sleep for watching, in order to be fitter for devotion.

THE eighth forbids stealing any thing, how small soever, of what is committed by another to one's trust, in the way of his business or profession ; and commands being content with the hire which such person gives him : because no man has a right to what is the property of another.

among the
tribes.

IN dividing these eight commandments among the four tribes, two are appropriated to each : the first and second are assigned to the *Brammans*, who are the priests, as placing the strictest parts of religion in the preservation of living creatures from destruction, and abstinence from things forbidden. These precepts are likewise enjoined the merchant-men, who, in their way of worship, nearly agree with the *Brammans* : however, the third and fourth, which enjoin devotion, and forbid fraud in dealing, are more particularly intended for *Shudderi*. c

THE fifth and sixth commandments are ascribed to *Kutteri*, that is, to rulers and magistrates ; because those in power are most guilty of oppression, as well as most able to relieve the necessities of the poor. Lastly, the seventh and eighth are referred to *Wise*, as the handicraftsmen have need sometimes of recreation, yet are apt to squander their earnings ; and as they work in other people's houses, they are therefore restrained from theft. d

EVERY tribe is obliged to observe all the commandments in general ; but is more particularly exact in keeping those which are appropriated to their own. And as there is great conformity between *Brammon* and *Shudderi*, in their customs and religious worship, so is there a like between *Kutteri* and *Wise*. e

THE ceremonial law, or injunctions, comprised in the second tract delivered to *Bremaw*, relates to the following particulars :

Ceremonial
law.
Frequent
washing.

FIRST, They are obliged to frequent washings of their bodies in rivers, after this manner : on their entrance they besmear themselves with mud, as an emblem of man's filthiness and corruption by nature ; then, walking farther in, and turning their faces towards the sun, the *Bramman* utters this prayer ; *O Lord ! this man is foul and polluted as the mud of this river : but the water thereof can remove the defilement : do thou, in like sort, cleanse away his sin.* Then the party plungeth himself three times in the stream, whilst the *Bramman* repeats the name of that (T) and other rivers, famous for such ablutions. Being risen up, he shakes in his hand some grains of rice ; and, having received absolution (of the priest) for his past sins, is dismissed. f

Anointing.

SECONDLY, They use a kind of unction in the forehead, with red paint, and certain grains stuck in it ; which betokens that God has marked them for his people. This is done to keep them in mind of their baptism ; and, as the sign wears off, it is daily renewed by them, according to their washings : the action being accompanied with certain words, to put them in mind of being such as become God's mark.

Green-tree-
worship.

THIRDLY, They are enjoined to tender certain offerings and prayers under green trees : which practice was introduced by *Wise* (or *Weyz*) ; to whom God appeared in a vision under a tree, as before-mentioned. The *Brammans* therefore under such green trees erect temples to pagods (U), where they attend to perform religious rites and ceremonies. [The tree appropriated

^b LORD'S Discovery of the Banian religion, p. 312, & seq. chap. 8.

(T) "Wherein he washeth," saith *Lord*, "called *Tap-fer*, with those of *Ganga* (or *Ganga*), *Nerboda*, and "the like." These must be the words of *Lord*, and not those of the *Shâster* ; which he has, throughout his abstract, mixed with his own, in such a manner that often they are not to be distinguished one from the other. The *Tappi*, or *Tapti*, is the river of *Surât*, and

the other two are in its neighbourhood ; where the *Baniyâns* chiefly dwell.

(U) We observed before, that this word cannot be taken from the *Shâster* ; as a farther proof of which, our author confounds the temple with the image : for pagod is a corruption of *Pout Gheda*, a *Persian* word, signifying *the house of idols* ; and therefore used only by

a priated to this kind of worship is called by some the *Indian* fig-tree (X). From the branches stems shoot downwards, and, taking root, produce another tree, whose branches propagate in like manner: so that one tree spreads over a large tract of ground. This tree is supposed by the *Hindûs* to be so sacred, that they believe some great mischief will befall the person who hurts the least bough of it. To this tree they bring offerings: under it they receive unctions, and sprinklings of variously coloured powders. There they pay their adorations; which they number by a clapper of a little bell. There they pray for health, riches, a numerous issue, and the like. In short, there they often celebrate their festivals, with a great concourse of people. (Y).

b FOURTHLY, They are commanded to say certain prayers in their temples [not unlike those *Prayers to* used among the Christians.] This devotion consists in the repetition of certain names of God, *God.* explained and descanted on. They likewise use processions, with singing, and loud tinkling of bells; which chaunting is among their commandments (Z); with offerings to images, and such-like services (A).

FIFTHLY, They are enjoined pilgrimages to remote rivers, as the *Ganges*; there to wash *Pilgrimages.* their bodies, and pay their offerings: [so that the gold and jewels thrown into that famous river are of inestimable value.] The person likewise, whose palate, when dying, is moistened with *Ganges* water, is accounted blessed, and purified from sin.

c A SIXTH article of their worship is the invocation of saints; to whom they attribute the *Invocation of* power of assisting their votaries on many occasions. They who would be happy in marriage, *saints.* pray to *Hurmount*: they who undertake works of architecture, to *Gunnex*: such as want health, to *Vagenaut*: the soldier, going on to attack an enemy, cries *Eimobem*: the miserable call upon *Siyer*; and they who are in prosperity offer up their orisons to *Meykasser* (B).

SEVENTHLY, They are commanded by their law to worship God, upon sight of any of his *Creature wor-* creatures after sun-rise: [particularly they pay their devotion to the sun and moon, which they *ship.* call the two eyes of the Deity. Likewise to some beasts, whom they hold more clean than others, their treatment is exceeding kind; such as kine and buffalos. To these they ascribe so much innocence and goodness; on account of the souls of men entering into them, as they believe; that they besmear the floors of their houses with the dung of those cattle, and think the ground sanctified by that means.]

d THE eighth precept relates to baptizing, or naming their children; the ninth to marriages; *Other pre-* and the tenth to burials, which have been already set forth among their civil customs. *cepts.*

THE third tract of the book delivered to *Bremaw* treateth of the order and distinction proper to be observed among mankind. And, because nothing could be more commodious *Division into* than to have, as in the first age, *Brammans*, to instruct the people in matters of religion; *tribes.* *Kuttereys*, to sway the scepter, and keep men in obedience; merchants, to follow traffick and commerce, like *Shudderi*; and mechanics, to supply mankind with necessaries of their manufacture, as did *Wise*; therefore they were by this tract divided into the same tribes or classes, and obliged to confine themselves to their respective tribes, as well as the employments peculiar to each.

e WE have already given an account of the three last tribes; and, as we shall postpone that of the *Brammans*, till we come to speak more particularly of the priests among the *Hindûs*, we pass on to the other matters contained in the abstract of the *Shâster* ^d.

THE book above-mentioned, comprising the plan of religion and government which was *The law pro-* to be established in the new world, having been delivered to *Bremaw*, as before set forth; it *mulg'd.* was by him communicated to the *Brammans* of those times, and by them published among the people, who readily conformed themselves to the injunctions prescribed in it. They divided themselves into four tribes, and each tribe began to exercise the function appointed for them. The rulers kept the people in order; the priests or *Brammans* counselled them in matters of devotion; the merchants pursued traffick; and the handicraftsmen followed their

f several professions.

THUS all things had a good beginning in this second age: religion was cultivated; prayers *Men grow* were offered up to God, and the three persons, *Bremaw*, *Vistney*, and *Rudderi*; the banks *wid'd.*

^c LORD'S Discovery of the Banian religion, ap. Church. Collect. p. 317, & seq. ch. 9. p. 320, ch. 10.

^d Ibid.

by the *Mohammedans*; the name for a temple among the *Hindûs* being *Deura*, which we presume signifies the same thing. See *Owington's Voy. to Surât*, p. 195, and *Bernier's Memoirs of the Great Mogol's Empire*, tom. iii. p. 131, & passim.

(X) By the *Portugueses*, *Arbor de Reys*; by others, the *Banians* tree, and the war tree.

(Y) We have put between hooks such matters as seem to be additions of Mr. Lord, and not to be contained in the *Shâster*.

(Z) This is spoken as if the other rites were not. But where are these commandments referred to? for he has produced none in which chaunting is enjoined.

(A) Here is an omission of certain rites.

(B) Did the *Romish* church take invocation of the dead from the *Indians*, or fall into it as a natural consequence of idolatry?

of the rivers were frequented, and daily washings were not neglected. But as mankind multiplied, they became worse and worse: the *Brammans* grew full of hypocrisy and ostentation; the *Kuttereys*, swelled with pride and ambition, sought to enlarge their territories and power by unjust means; the merchants committed all sorts of fraud in their dealings; and the mechanics grew idle, setting too great a price on their labour. The Lord, provoked with the iniquity of the world, descended on mount *Meropurbati*, and acquainting *Bremaw* with what he had observed, this latter went down, and gave them notice of the impending judgment; which, for a while, wrought a reformation in their manners: but, by degrees, they returned to their old course of wickedness. Hereupon *Bremaw* interceded with God for the human race (A); but the Almighty would not be pacified: on the contrary, the time of *Bremaw*'s abode on earth being expired, the Lord took him up into his bosom, that he might not behold the evils of the time to come.

The world
destroyed.

THEN God made known his purpose of destroying mankind to *Vistney*; who, in virtue of his office, as preserver of the world, interceded likewise for them: but the Lord, resolving not to withhold his wrath, commanded *Rudderi*, whose office it was to bring judgments and destruction on sinners, to cause a wind to rise out of the bowels of the earth, and sweep the nations as dust from off the face of it. *Rudderi*, in obedience to the Almighty's order, put the winds in a violent motion; which, bursting from their subterraneous prisons, set the great body of the world a trembling. The day seemed to change colour with the night; the mountains and hills were torn from their foundations; and, as some report, the river *Ganges* was forced out of her wonted channel to take another course. In a word, this furious tempest destroyed the whole race of mortals, excepting a few, whom the Lord permitted *Vijiney* to cover with the *skirts of his preservation*; as a reserve for the propagation of mankind in the third age. And thus concluded the second age, called *Duaper* ^c.

The third age.

RUDDERI having at length restrained the stormy winds, all became calm again: but it was lamentable to behold the universal desolation which overspread the earth, especially the dead carcases of men and animals, which covered its surface; some blown from the tops of mountains, others bruised to mash, all drowned and destroyed: insomuch that the Almighty repented him of what he had done; and *Rudderi* was sorry to have been the instrument of so great fury and havock. But because the ill government of the kings and rulers was the source of all the disorders in the second age (as they had been in the first), therefore the Lord utterly rooted out all the tribe of the *Kuttereys*; those who were preserved being only some few of the other three tribes. However, as that tribe or order of men was so necessary in the world that it could not subsist without them; therefore, that it might be renewed from a more holy stock, the Lord appointed that the line of the *Râjabs* should be restored from that of the *Brammans* (B). This was performed in the person of *Ram*, youngest son of *Duserat*, chief of the *Brammans* (C), who were preserved by *Vistney*.

The Kutteris
extirpated.

Brammans
made kings.

It was presumed that this person, being religiously educated, would favour piety as well as policy; and, with holiness joined to prudence, govern men in their several tribes. Accordingly *Râm* was a patron of the *Brammans*, and exceedingly promoted religion. [This prince became so memorable for his worthy actions, that to this day his name is honoured among the *Hindûs*; who, when they meet, salute one another, saying, *Ram! Ram!* as a word importing the wishes of every thing that is good.]

A third de-
struction.

It is likely that many worthy kings succeeded him; but the world degenerating in length of time, the same wicked practices which had infected the four tribes in the two former ages, began to infect them anew; till at length, the Almighty being incensed that mankind should not be warned by so many judgments, spoke to *Rudderi*: who, by his order, caused the earth to open and swallow them up alive; reserving only some few of each tribe, as a last trial, for peopling of the world. Thus ended the third age, named *Tetrâjû*.

The present
age.

Kistney.

Last day.

AMONG those who were preserved was one *Kistney* (D), a famous ruler and pious king, the most renowned in the beginning of this fourth and last age. As he was exceeding zealous to propagate religion, virtue flourished in his reign ^f.

AT this period, *Vistney*'s time of residing on earth being expired, the Lord took him up also into heaven, as there was no farther need of his preserving care: for, when the present age is brought to a conclusion, there will be a final end of all things. [However, the *Brammans* say, that this age, name *Kolî*, will be longer than any of the former; and that

^c LORD'S Discovery of the Banian religion, ap. Church. Collect. p. 325, ch. 13.

^f Ibid. p. 326, ch. 14.

(A) This is like *Abraham*'s intercession for *Sodom*.

(B) Yet it does not appear that all the *Râjabs* are *Brammans*; for all those of *Hindûslân*, as well as many of those in the peninsula of *Indiâ*, seem to be of the *Kutteri* race.

(C) According to the vulgar tradition, *Dufferat* (or *Duserat*) was one of the *Râjabs*, who, with his wife,

had been destroyed; but both were reanimated it seems by the souls of two departed *Brammans*; and thus produced the race of *Bram-Kutteri*. So that Mr. Lord must have committed a mistake here, or the *Brammans* must have altered the tradition, in order to make the fact more agreeable to the present state of things.

(D) By others, *Kisna*, *Kishna*, *Krisna*, and *Kristna*.

a at the end thereof *Rudderi* shall be taken up into heaven, as *Bremaw* and *Vistney* have been already.]

As to the manner of this final judgment, they hold that it will be more dreadful than any of the former; and it shall be by fire: that *Rudderi* shall then summon up all the powers of destruction: that the moon shall look red, and the sun shed his purling light like flaming brimstone: that the lightning shall flash with unusual terrors; and the skies change into all sorts of colours; but that fiery redness especially shall overspread the face of heaven: that the four elements, of which the world at first was constituted, shall be at variance, till, by this last agony, she is turned into her first confusion.

b THAT the final destruction of the world shall be by fire, they infer from a supposition, *Final destruction.* that it shall be brought to its dissolution by the same principles which gave it a being: and that as it hath already been destroyed by three of the elements, it shall be ultimately destroyed by the fourth. Then (say they) shall *Rudderi* carry up with him to heaven the souls of all *No resurrection.* mankind, there to rest in the bosom of God; but their bodies shall all perish; being of substances too gross to enter into so pure a mansion.

c THIS is the intire substance of Mr. Lord's abstract of the *Shâster*, which teaches the belief and worship of one only God, called the Almighty and Supreme Being, not of many: that *Bremaw*, *Vistney*, and *Rudderi* (named also *Eswara*, or *Ishura*, and *Chivens*), who are now worshipped as so many Gods, were no more than three persons, or beings, created by the Deity as his deputies or workmen, to make the visible world, and under him govern the affairs thereof for a limited time, pursuant to certain powers delegated to them; likewise that *Ram*, and *Kistney*, or *Kristna*, who are at present adored in their pagods with so much devotion, were no other than two men, famous for their good actions in the ages wherein they lived. In short, in Lord's abstract we find nothing of those wild genealogies, and romantic adventures, told by travellers, of the *Hindû* gods; nor even so much as the famous transformations (E), of *Vishnû*, or *Wishnû*, which fill their *Pûrân* with fables, and their temples with statues. *Primitive Hindû religion.*

d THUS the primitive religion of the *Hindûs* seems to have been intirely free from idolatry: for although in the *Shâster* we find the worship of images introduced, yet it is evident, from the place itself, that it was not originally a part of the *Indian* religion; since it is expressly said there was no mention of those things in the books delivered to *Brammon*, which was the first *Hindû* bible, or revealed book of the law: nor is image-worship taught in the eight commandments inserted in the said book delivered to *Bremaw*, which is the second revealed book of the law. It may be farther observed, that images were to be worshipped under green trees, as not worthy of being placed in temples, where we find them at present: the pagods seeming at first to have been dedicated solely to the worship of the one God; and in the *Shâster* itself this image-worship is not established as a point of doctrine, but only brought-in, as it were by the by, among the ceremonies of the *Indian* religion. *Free from idolatry.*

e BESIDES this silence of the *Shâster* with respect to the present idolatry, we meet with nothing in it which in any-wise tends to authorize the extravagant notions which obtain, concerning the number of different worlds and heavens; the long duration of this world; the creation of man, and future state; with many other absurd opinions. Nay, we do not so much as find any mention of the favourite doctrine of the transmigration of souls, though as old at least as the time of *Pythagoras*. Which shews, that this, as well as all the rest, were invented by the *Brammans*; since the *Shâster* was written, and imposed on the people by means of their *Pourân*, which are properly the legends and traditions of the *Hindû* church. *and other modern extravagances.*

§ LORD'S Description of the Banian religion, ap. Church. Collect. p. 326, ch. 15.

(E) It may be objected, that Lord has possibly suppressed things of both these kinds; and the rather as he tells us, in his introduction, that he had, *for the most part, left out such prodigious fictions as seemed independent on sense and reason.* It is true, Mr. Lord has omitted many things, relating to political and other matters: but then he gives his readers notice. Neither is it probable, that if *Bremaw*, *Vistney*, and *Rudderi*, were either termed gods, or declared to be such in the *Shâster*, or had any worship assigned them, that he would have

suppressed matters of so much consequence; especially as he has not concealed the introduction of image-worship. Nor indeed do such matters come within the construction of *prodigious fictions*, to which alone his suppressions must be confined, whatever the transformations aforesaid may: yet even these are so essential a part of the present religion of the *Hindûs*, that we cannot think he would have been intirely silent about them, in case there had been any mention made of them in the *Shâster*.

S E C T. III.

An account of the present idolatry of the Hindows.

IT is not our intention to enter into a large detail of the *Hindû* religion, as at present taught and practised in the *Indies*; the account we have given of their antient principles, and objects of worship, may save us a great deal of that trouble. After having shewn from their *Cautions to be observed* sacred

sacred books what was the original of all things, as well as of those beings whom they now principally worship as gods, it will be enough to point out the chief additions which priest-craft, never satisfied with enlarging, hath farther added thereto; without collecting all which authors have written on the several subjects, or engaging ourselves far in the recital of those endless fictions and extravagant romances, invented to propagate the different superstitions, and link them together.

in reading
authors.

WITH regard to the variation which is found in the accounts of authors relating to those several particulars, and which contributes not a little to perplex the reader; it is to be ascribed in good measure to the different traditions and opinions of different countries and sects of *Brammans* dwelling in them. Thus, the *Brammans* of the western *Malabâr* seem to have one set of doctrines and legends; those of the eastern *Malabâr* another; those of *Karnâta*, a third set; and those of *Hindûstân*, or the *Mogol's* empire, a fourth. This appears from the relations of authors, particularly *Baldæus*, the *Romish* and protestant missionaries, *Abraham*, *Roger*, and *Bernier* (F); who visited different parts of *India*, and whose disagreement in most respects is owing to those local variations.

The Hindûs
believe

THAT the sacred books of the *Hindûs* establish and require the belief of one only God, is manifest from the abstract already given of the *Shâster*; and there is a particular sect of the *Brammans* who acknowledge no more than one God^b. The rest, who are engaged in supporting the popular religion, or polytheism, yet acknowledge one supreme God, who created all the rest, as his deputies or vicegerents, to create, and, under him, govern all other beings^c. To this supreme God they give infinite names, according to his various powers and attributes (G); the number of which last they make to be one thousand and eight^k. The *Brammans* of *Hindûstân* call God the Creator, *Asbar*; that is, *immoveable*, or *immutable*^l. *Tampiran* is the name of God among the *Malabârians*; who stile that being *Barabara Wastu*, or *Parabara Wastu*, that is, *the supreme being of all*; also *Saru Wesuren*, and *Dewadda Duwam*. Sometimes, more expressly, *Barabara Wastu Wagbira Saru Wesuren*; that is, *the supreme independent being, Lord of all*^m. We are told also, that the only One Divine Being is called *Isparetta*, which signifies *the Deity*, who is the cause of all things. Every sect seems to have its own names for the supreme God: and indeed to confound the inferior gods with him; which authors do not sufficiently attend to; and hence in a good measure arises this diversity of names. The *Baniyâns*, we are told, call the Deity *Mîbadew* (H), or *the great God*: but one sect of *Brammans* ascribe that name to *Ishuren*, or *Rud-diren*; another to *Wistnû*, or *Wistnum*, two of the subordinate divinities. As to the residence of this Prime Being, they place it above that of the other gods; assigning three mansions or heavens, called *Kaylasom*, *Lilaweykontam*, and *Weykontam*, for his abodeⁿ.

one supreme
God;

his attributes,

To this supreme Deity, or God of gods, they ascribe all the sublime attributes of power, wisdom, and goodness. They say, there is no government or motion but through him; and that the other gods cannot move a single straw without his permission^o: that he is incomprehensible, and without form; nor to be considered under any figure^p. Agreeably to this notion, they make no image of the Supreme Being. The *Malabârs* (both priests and laity) likewise declare, that they worship but this One Divine Being (I), who is the author or cause of all other beings^q. And yet no prayer is directly addressed to him; nor any hymn offered in his praise to the pagods^r. He is likewise considered as the author both of good and evil^s; or as the fountain from whence both proceed, seeing all things are believed to be derived from him. They likewise say, that the subaltern gods and other beings were made for his pastime: that he diverts himself with beholding the wicked as well as the good actions of mankind; and, in short, that this world is one of the sixty-four comedies with which he is entertained^t. As to his providence they tell us, that the Deity does not mind things of little moment in this world; but leaves them to his three created vicegerents: who have, for that purpose, their subordinate gods disposed in proper stations^u. However, one of the missionaries says, that he never met with so much as one atheist, or a person who denied the existence of a Sovereign Being and a future state^x.

and provi-
dence.

^b See hereafter. ^l PHILLIPS'S Account of Malabâr, p. 71, 170. Dan. Confer. p. ii. 6. 166, & seq. ^k PHIL. Malab. p. 50. ^m DAN. Lett. p. 85, 166. Dan. Confer. part i. p. 29. part ii. p. 19. ⁿ ROGER, ubi supr. p. 102. ^o PHIL. Malab. p. 42. 170. ^p Ibid. p. 13. 42. ^q DAN. Confer. part ii. p. 19. ^r PHIL. Malab. p. 171. ^s Ibid. p. 7. 313. ^t Ibid. p. 45, 173. ^u DAN. Lett. part ii. p. 20. ^x Ibid. p. 24.

(F) To these we may add the account given by *de Faria y Sousa*, in his *Portuguese Asia*; which seems to be that which *Roger*, in his preface, p. 2. says was discovered to the *Portugueses* by a *Bramman*; but never had been published that he knew of.

(G) The *Brammans* have written many books upon the existence and attributes of the Supreme Being. Dan. Confer. p. 165.

(H) The word *Deu*, or *Deu*, found in this name, in *Dewetas*, and in other words, has a great affinity with *Deus*.

(I) This those say who yet worship *Wistnou*, or *Ishuren*, as the supreme God.

- ^a THIS in general is the substance of what the *Brammans* believe and teach concerning the *subordinate* supreme God. With regard to the subaltern or inferior gods, they are divided into three *classes*. The first consists of those three created beings, *Bramma*, *Vishnou*, and *Ruddiren*. The second class comprises the wives, children, and prime friends or favourites of the first three. The third class is composed of those they call *Deutas*, or *Devetas*; who are a kind of angels, employed to govern and take care of the several parts of the universe, under the gods of the first class. To these may be added a fourth class, comprehending those they call *Ashuren*, who are giants or demons. All these gods, whose number is excessively great, have their respective offices, degrees of power and worship, their wives and children. The *Brammans* have likewise furnished them with officers and equipages suitable to their stations: among ^b the rest, they have taken particular care to provide every one of them with a *Wabannam*, or beast of carriage; which serves him instead of a horse, to carry him instantaneously from one part of the world to the other.

I.

Gods of the first class.

- ^c **T**HE three gods of this class have a great number of names assigned to them. One of *their names* them has often more than a hundred ^{divers}; for every act done by him intitles him to a new name ^a. But the appellations by which they are most generally known are those of *Bramma*, *Vishnou*, and *Ruddiren*, or *Isburen*; which yet vary according to the different languages, dialects, or humours of people, in different parts of *India* (I). Thus *Brama*, or *Bramma*, is by some pronounced *Bræma*, *Bruma*, *Brumma*, *Eiruma*, and *Ram*; *Vishnou* is named *Vishnou*, *Vishnou* or *Wishnou*, *Vishnum*, and *Beshen* or *Beshno*; *Isburen* is named *Ijuren*, *Ixora* or *Isbora*, and *Eswara* ^b. These three divinities are included under the general denomination of *Dirumurtigol* ^c; by which name their class or order is distinguished from the rest.
- ^d IT is difficult to give a clear account of the *Hindû* belief, concerning these three gods, from the writings of travellers, or even the missionaries; who either deliver the opinions and doctrines of some particular sect for those of the whole, or mix those of different sects together, without distinguishing them, and, in a manner, not to be separated; from whence chiefly arises that great disagreement and confusion which we find in their relations. *Opinions of them various;*
- ACCORDING to some authors, these are three beings created by the sovereign God, and ^{by some created} vested with the powers mentioned in the *Shaster*; *Bramma* to create, *Vishnou* to preserve, and *Ruddiren*, or *Isburen*, to destroy. From this number of three, and the offices of those beings, some would infer, that the *Hindûs* have some notion of the trinity ^d: but this does not appear from their sacred books; and Mr. *Lord* rightly observes, that there is rather a quaternity, since the supreme God will make the fourth ^e. Besides, it is probable that those books were in being long before the Christian æra. However that be, we are told by the same authors, that they ^{and subordinate} are not held for gods, but only considered as God's servants and soldiers ^f; that they are no more than God's ministers, to execute his commands; and, at best, his deputies and vicegerents (K), to govern under him ^g: that they have but borrowed beings, subject to various changes, as well as other creatures; and are vested with precarious employments, each having his fixed time of life and government, to continue only till the restitution of things ^h. For all ^{yet omnipotent} this, they are reckoned omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent, as well as most holy, just, and good: and it is upon this supposition that the *Brammans* say they direct their prayers to them, and honour their altars with burnt-offerings; alleging for so doing the strict orders of the Supreme Being ⁱ. But it is not mentioned where those orders are to be found; although ^f some *Brammans* have quoted the *Vedam* in support of this creature-worship, as appears from *Roger*.

THESE are not to be considered as the sentiments of all the *Brammans*, much less of the people; but only as the opinion of some particular sects, or private persons, who adhere more ^{Some say Vishnum,} strictly than others to the documents of the *Vedam*. For we learn elsewhere, that both the *Brammans* and people ascribe much higher prerogatives to these three beings; especially two

^y See ROGER's Mœurs de Bramins, p. 240, & seq. Malab. p. 41, 71.

^z Dan. Lett. part ii. p. 11.

^a PHILLIPS's

^b See BERNIER's Mem. Mogol, part iii. p. 150. BALDÆUS ap. Church. Coll. Trav. vol. iii. p. 766. PHIL. Malab. p. 4. 91. Dan. Confer. p. 167.

^c PHIL. Malab. p. 4. 94.

^d BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 151. BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 766.

^e LORD's Relig. of the Banians, in his

conclusion. ^f Dan. Lett. p. 57. part i.

^g Dan. Confer. p. 168.

^h Dan. Conf. Ibid.

and Dan. Lett. part ii. p. 21, & seqq.

ⁱ Dan. Confer. p. 168.

(I) The same may be said with respect to the European authors of different nations, who mention them.

(K) They are considered also as mediators, to present the petitions of the *Malabârs* to the Great Supreme Being. *Phillips's Account of Malabâr*, p. 5.

others *Ishuren*, of them, *Wistnow* and *Eswara* or *Ishuren*: some affirming the first to be not only a god, but ^a the Supreme God (L); others the second *. And between these two opinions the generality of the *Hindûs* in all parts of *India*, at least the southern, seem to be divided; each party contending zealously for the superiority of his god: whence some *Bramman* sects assume the name of *Wistnowists*, others *Ishurenists*. However, we are informed by the same author, that there are some of the first-mentioned sect, who say neither of those two is God; but that both sprung from *Chekti*, who is the Sovereign Being ⁱ. In consequence of exalting the three deputies to the rank of true gods, those sects have also given them a genealogy also, different from the *Vedam* and *Shaster*; each likewise in favour of their own god, or according to their fancy.

^b Their origin and genealogy Some tell us the *Malabârs* believe, that the *Dirumurtigol*, or three gods above-mentioned, were born of the goddess *Chaday* (or *Chatti*), who originally existed in the Supreme Being as the feminine faculty, and was afterwards separated from the masculine power ^m. According to others, the same people look for the origin of all things in the *Linga*, or privy-member of their god *Ishora* ⁿ. Some of them say the *Linga* or *Quivelinga* (which is the privities of both sexes in conjunction) sprung from an egg, into which the *Ishureita*, or *Ispareita*, transformed himself: and others, that the *Quivelinga* is the Deity himself ^o. As the *Linga* relates to *Ishuren*, who is the favourite god of the *Malabârs*, these genealogies are, doubtless, calculated to honour him, though different among themselves: and we meet with one differing from all the rest; wherein the three deities are deduced in the following series. First, we are told, that the Being of all Beings, or the Supreme God, created eternity: eternity brought forth *Chiwen* (M): by this *Chiwen* the goddess *Chadai* was created. This goddess produced *Putadi*, ^c or the elementary and visible world: by *Putadi* the sound, or ringing, was framed. The Sound's offspring was nature: Nature afterwards begat the great god *Chata Chiwen*: and this again brought forth another great god called *Maghesburn*: from *Maghesburn* sprung *Ruddiren*, or *Ispuren*; from *Ruddiren* the great god *Wistnum*; and *Wistnum* created *Brama* ^p (or *Bramma*).

^d contrary to the Vedam: In this jargon-genealogy of the three gods two things are remarkable. First, *Ruddiren*, who, according to the *Vedam* and *Shaster*, was created last, is here produced first, and made the parent of the other two. Secondly, that *Bramma* is not qualified with the title of *Mahadew*, or great god, like the other two: the reason is, that he is in no great esteem with the southern *Indians*. On this occasion it must be observed, that each of the three goods has his particular party or votaries. The *Brammans* and *Hindûs* of the *Mogol's* empire seem to adhere to *Bramma*: those of *Karnâta* prefer *Wistnou*; and the *Malabârs* exalt *Ruddiren*, or *Ishuren* (N). The interest of *Bramma* is so much declined in *Karnâta*, that they will not allow him a pagod, at least in the country about *Palliakatta*, on the coast of *Choromandel*: and although the inhabitants of that country, and *Malabâr* in general, allow him the privilege of creating (which however some divest him of), yet they say even that was delegated to him by *Wistnou* (O). But of this, and the *Linga*, more in particular when we come to speak of these gods separately.

^e how reconciled. If it be objected to those above-mentioned sects, that in making these three subordinate gods the same with the supreme God who created them, they contradict their own principles, and assert a manifest absurdity; they endeavour to defend themselves, by saying: that those deities are the same with God, as being comprehended in the divine essence; and that therefore there can be no great difference between them and the Supreme Being. For they hold that all things are parts of God, or produced out of his essence; into which at the end of the world they shall return ^q.

BUT, supposing this reasoning was admitted to be sound, the qualities and actions which their *Pourân* ascribes to these three gods do not at all correspond with the perfections which belong to the nature and character of the Divine Being. For there they are represented not only as full of imperfections, some of which have been mentioned already, but even as being guilty of the most exorbitant vices and enormous crimes, such as adultery, theft, and murder; of ^f which instances will be produced in the short history we are going to give of each of them.

* ROGER Mœures des Bram. p. 17. 22, 23.

ⁿ BALDÆUS ap Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 813. Lett. part i. p. 19, 20. 56.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 26.

^m PHIL. Malab. p. 3, & seq.

Portuguese Asia, vol. ii. p. 378.

^o Dan.

^p Ibid. part ii. p. 21.

^q PHILLIPS's Malabar, p. 141, & seq.

(L) That is, the same with the supreme God, as we apprehend, and yet derived from and produced by him; namely, out of himself.

(M) *Ishuren* is the same with *Chiwen*; or this is one of his names.

(N) Agreeable to this, *Baldæus* observes, that some

acknowledge *Wistnum* for their supreme God; but most of them *Ixora* (or *Ishuren*). See Church. Collect. Voy. vol. iii. p. 754.

(O) This is, doubtless, supposing *Wistnou* to be the supreme God.

i. Of Brâmma.

^a **A**LTHOUGH the *Vedam* and *Shâster* declare expressly, that *Brâmma* (P) rose out of *His origin*, the ground at the command of the supreme God, yet the *Brâmmans*, not fearing to contradict their sacred books, give him different origins. Some say, that when God was disposed to create the world, he caused to float on the water (which then only existed besides the Deity) the leaf of a tree, in the form of an infant with its big toe in its mouth; and that from his navel he caused to spring out the flower *Tamara* (Q), from which *Brâmma* had his existence^r. This is probably the account of the *Wistnou* sect: but others, who seem to be the votaries of *Isbûren*, derive his origin from the *Quivelinga*^s. All the remark we shall make on this occasion is, that the *Brâmmans* swerving so egregiously from the express letter of their sacred books, is a plain evidence that they do not believe them to be divine, as they pretend they are.

^b *BRAMMA* having been thus produced, the Almighty gave to him the power of creating the universe, and all the beings existing in it: that is, he himself created the several worlds, families, and tribes of people; but left to others, his deputies, to create things of small moment, such as herbs, plants, and the like; which power, however, the *Baniyans* and *Malabars* say was communicated to him by *Wistnum*^t. On the other hand, the *Brâmmans* ascribe to him the preservation of animals^u; which yet is *Wistnum*'s province, according to the *Shâster*. This shews that the sects change and contradict their sacred books at pleasure, in opposition to one another. The *Brâmmans* attribute to *Brâmma* not only the creation of the world, but the conduct and government of every thing in it. They say, that God does not meddle with those matters; but like a king, who, to avoid the trouble of minding all affairs himself, commits many things to the care of his officers. They likewise affirm, that *Brâmma* fixes the fate or fortune, good or bad, of all people, and the time they have to live: that all events are by his direction; and, in short, that nothing happens in this world but by his special order^v. To ease *Brâmma* in this troublesome employment, they assign him a reasonable number of assistants: that is, a governor to each of the eight worlds; with a governor-general over them^w, who is as it were his prime minister.

To these fictions about *Brâmma* they have added a multitude more. Among the rest, they pretend that originally he had five heads: and, whereas he is represented by his image with only four, they say, that he lost one of them in a quarrel with *Isbûren*. This is related several ways, like every thing else: according to one account, *Brâmma*, swelled with pride of his own power, having spoken contemptibly of *Isbûren*, this latter, in his anger, brought forth *Beyrewa*, who with his nail scratched or cut-off the middle head of *Brâmma*. They add, that *Brâmma*, having atoned for his fault by a copy of verses made in praise of *Isbûren*, *Isbûren* was so well pleased, that he promised the other should enjoy his four heads with satisfaction ever after; and clapped the fifth, which had been scratched-off, upon his own^x. Others give a different relation. They say, that *Isbûra* (or *Isbûren*) happening one day to drop some words, which seemed to intimate that he was the greatest being in the world, *Bramma* and *Wistnum* raised a contest about it: to decide which, *Isbûren* told them, that whoever of them could take a full view of him from head to foot, should thenceforward be accounted the greatest. *Wistnum*, after digging in the ground, in shape of a hog, to come at his feet, desisted, on meeting with a poisonous serpent, which startled him: but *Bramma*, soaring in the air, mounted on his *Wabannam*, or bird of carriage, was gotten very high; when three flowers, which met him, told him, his labour was in vain, *Isbûren*'s head reached to so vast a height. *Bramma*, discouraged at this news, changed his resolution; and, to come-off the better, desired the flowers to tell *Isbûren*, that he was prevented from proceeding any farther by a sudden giddiness in his brain. This they promised to do, and performed: but *Isbûren*, being sensible of the deceit, cut-off one of *Bramma*'s heads (R), and cursed the flowers for their pains^y. The reader has here at once a sample both of the great contrariety and extravagance which reigns through the *Indian* legends.

^r ROGER Mœures des Bram. p. 141. also the Genealogies before recited. p. 176, & BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 812. ubi supr. p. 812. ^s Idem. ibid. p. 757.

^t BALDÆUS ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 812. See ^u ROGER, ubi supr. p. 141, ch. i. & 176, ch. v. ^v Ibid. ^w ROGER, ubi supr. p. 145, & seqq. BALDÆUS, ^x ROGER, ubi supr. p. 144. ^y BALDÆUS, ubi supr.

(P) The word *Bramma*, or *Brahma*, from whence the *Brammans* derive their name, signifies *penetrating into all things*. *Bernier Mem. Mog. Emp.* part iii. p. 150. But this probably is a forced explication.

(Q) Which is common in the *Indies*, growing in their tanks, or ponds.

(R) On this occasion, we are told, that *Ruddiren* stabbed *Wistnu*, or *Vistnum*. *Danish Conferences*, p. 105.

His residence: IF it be asked where *Brâmma* has his dwelling, they tell you, that he resides in *Brâmma* a *Lokon*, or *Logum* (S); which is the highest of the eight worlds, and next to heaven, where God himself resides^a. They likewise hold, that he is to die at a certain period of time (T), and be revived again. Nay, according to some legends, he dies and comes to life again every year^b.

wives and children. THE *Hindûs* give to *Brâmma* two wives. The first *Sarasvati* (U); who, we are told, was his own daughter. Whence comes the proverb, *You must not do like Brâmma*^c (X). The second, *Quiatri*. This last was barren^(*): but by the first we find mention of a son, named *Dasba* (Y), who was the father of *Parvati*, *Ishuren*'s wife^d: and from the blood which flowed from his neck, when his fifth head was scratched or cut-off, sprung up his son *Sagatrakavashen*, who had no fewer than 500 heads and 1000 hands^e. *Brâmma* had likewise b the power given him by God of producing sons at pleasure; of which number was *Kassiope*, father of the good and bad angels; and perhaps^f another, whom we find mentioned under the name of *Wisbrukra*^g.

his temple. ALTHOUGH *Brâmma* was the first created, and consequently the eldest of the three gods, or celestial triumvirs; yet, as we have observed before, the *Wishtnouwists* have degraded him in their genealogies, to give precedence to *Wishtnou*. In those places too, where that sect prevails, there are probably no temples erected to his honour; which made the *Dutch* minister at *Palliakatta*, on the coast of *Choromandel*, who found none in that country, conclude there were none dedicated to him any-where else^h. However, that does not prove to be the case: on the contrary, he has his pagods, as well as the other two, in other parts of *India*; c and even no farther off than *Tranquebar*, only a few days journey lower on the same coastⁱ.

2. Of Vistnou, Vistnum, or Wishtnum.

Names of Vistnum: THIS name seems to be the same with *Beshen*, which *Bernier* gives to the second of the three gods of the first class, according to the *Brâmmans* of *Hindûstân*, and interprets *penetrating into all things*^k. Besides this name, and that of *Perumal*, by which too he is most generally called, he hath many others, with several surnames; among which last are those of *Naraina* and *Aquanama*, almost continually repeated by his votaries during the fast of d *Masaupasa*, celebrated in his honour^l.

origin and attributes: THIS god also, according to the *Malabârs*, draws his origin from the *Quivelinga*^m; or, according to others, from *Ruddiren*, or *Ishuren*ⁿ, who is the god most generally worshipped by those people. However, *Wishtnum* is in great esteem among them^o, being accounted the second in rank next to *Ishuren*^p; and is held by some for the Supreme God, instead of *Ishuren*^q. Thus his votaries ascribe to him infinite extension, affirming that he fills all space^r; and yet he is said to reside in the *Milk Sea*^s: of which more hereafter. They likewise give him for a bed a serpent called *Annatan*, with five heads; two whereof serve him for pillows, one for a bolster, and two for resting his hands upon. Upon this account they reverence serpents as celestial spirits, and never kill them, although often hurt by those reptiles^t.

and offices: THE votaries of *Wishtnum* are not content to ascribe to him the office of preserver of the universe, which is given to him in the *Vedam* and *Shaster*, but they strip *Brâmma* of his prerogatives, to confer on his rival: for they will have it, that he not only distinguished mankind into three sorts, as to wealth, namely, rich, poor, and middling; but that he also created the several worlds, and even *Brâmma* himself^u. e

IN consequence of this, they vest him with the power of appointing guardian spirits in several parts of the universe; of whom *Indre*, or *Devendiren* (*Brâmma*'s prime minister) is the chief^v: and also of changing and moving them at pleasure. Thus he first made *Mavalî* king of the infernal regions, and then door-keeper of paradise^x. The injuries, which the

^a ROGER, p. 148, 181. ubi supr. p. 152.

p. 798.

Mem. Mog. Emp. part iii. p. 150.

^m Ibid. ubi supr. p. 766.

supr.

755.

Asia, vol. ii. p. 384.

^b BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 813 & 755.

^c BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 758.

^h ROGER, ubi supr. p. 243.

ⁿ Danish Lettr. part. ii. p. 21.

^q Ibid. p. 754. and ROGER Mœurs des Brâm. p. 22.

^t Ibid. p. 766.

^x BALD. ubi supr. p. 777.

^e Ibid. p. 813.

^f ROGER, p. 161. 185.

ⁱ Danish Lettr. part i. p. 20.

^l BALDÆUS, ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 820.

^o Ibid. p. 22.

^r BALD. p. 744.

^v Ibid. p.

^w DE FARIA, Port.

(S) According to *Baldæus*, he resides in *Sattialogum*, or the highest place in heaven.

(T) According to the *Shaster*, he was taken out of the world, when his time for being on earth was expired.

(U) So named by *Roger*, in his *Manners of the Bramins*, p. 152. The letters of the *Malabârs* call her

Sarasvubadi (*Phill. Account of Malabar*, p. 94); and *Baldæus*, *Sarossedi*, ubi supr. p. 813.

(X) They who made the proverb were better men than either *Bramma*, or those who forged his history.

(*) *Baldæus* says both were barren.

(Y) Or *Dasba*; in *Roger*, *Dastsja*; which is pronounced alike.

a *Wishtnouwists* have done to *Brâmma*, do not end here: for, whereas the *Vedam* and *Sbaster* declare, that the prime sacred books were delivered to him by God, they affirm, that *Wistnum* found the *Vedam* inclosed in a *Chanki* shell (Z). Hence it is, that the *Vedam* and *Chanki*, as well as the *Sakkaram*, or sword, are found in the hands of his image^y.

WISTNUM, it seems, had a great number of wives; whom he took for a time to indulge his amorous inclinations, and then dismissed. There were among them only two whom he never parted with, and kept for sake of getting children by them^z. The first was called *Laetzemi*, *Leshimi*, or *Maga Leshshimi*. She was the goddess of fortune^a; others say, she was the *Indian Venus*, and sprung from the froth of the sea^b: or, according to another legend, she was found in a large rose floating on the sea of milk. It is added, that her office is to scratch her husband's head^c. She is always near him in the pagods, in a little chapel^d. The second wife is named *Siri Pagoda*, also *Pumi Divi* (A), that is, the goddess of heaven. In her lap *Wistnum* lays his feet; which she is to rub with her hands^e. Besides all these wives, he had a thousand concubines in his seraglio. For all this, we do not find that he had more than one son, called *Kashen*, or *Kushen*; whom *Chidey* bore to him. This infant, it seems, being brought to the *Risbi*, or prophet, in whose house it was born, for his benediction, while he was intent at his prayers over it, with his eyes probably turned upwards, the mother came and stole her child away. The prophet, who was no conjurer, concluding that some wild beast had carried off the infant, made a fine baby out of a log of wood; and, being endowed also with the gift of lying, would persuade *Chidey*, that it was her own. She could not but be surprised at this adventure. However, the child was brought up by her, and called *Lawen*; so that, adds the *Malabâr* (who wrote this idle story, and believed it as true as gospel), we may say *Wishnu* had two sons^f. To these may be added a third, named *Vareu*; who, we are told, proceeded from the blood, which came out of *Wishnu's* cut finger^g.

THIS is in brief the account given us by authors of *Vistnou*, or *Wishtnum*: but that which renders this god most famous in the *Indies*, is the history of his ten transformations. Under these, we are told, are hidden the chief mysteries of the Pagan religion, on both sides of the *Ganges*^h; and the *Brâmmans* are so industrious to conceal these things from strangers, that *Roger* could never prevail on one of them, who explained other matters to him, to open himself freely on this chapter. Particularly he declares, that he could never thoroughly learn the reasons of the third, fourth, sixth, ninth, and tenth, transformationsⁱ. Nay, the *Danish* missionaries, after all their enquiry, tell us, that the *Indians* don't pretend to any certainty themselves, in relation to the eighth^k; although *Roger* seems to have been better acquainted with that than any of the rest: and *Baldæus* long ago has published a copious account of it, accompanied with cuts. This last author, resolved to come at the knowledge of these mysteries, which *Roger* could not attain to, at length procured it from a *Brâmmann* who had turned Christian^l; and it is to him chiefly that the public is beholden for the discovery.

THE *Brâmmans* pretend, and the *Hindûs* believe, that this god *Wishtnum* has been already incarnated nine times, and will appear in the flesh once more. His first transformation was into a shark, called *Matja*, in order to recover the *Vedam* from a certain demon (B), who had stolen it from the *Devagol*, or *Dewetas*, and hid himself at the bottom of the sea^m.

THE second transformation of this *Indian Protæus* was into a *Kourma*, or tortoise; in whose shape he got under the world, when sinking with the weight of the mountain *Merowa* (or *Maba-Meru*), which was thrown into the sea, in order to find the *amortam* (or ambrosia). This *amortam* was to be an antidote against a certain virulent poison. But there are different accounts given of this matter by the different sectsⁿ.

THE third metamorphosis of this god was into a hog; to follow a very tall giant, who had rolled up the earth like a sheet, and carried it on his shoulders to the infernal regions, called *Padalas* (or *Patalas*): but, not being able to place it upright again, employed a little saint, who was no more than an inch high, to set it strait; which he not only did, but, the sea having laughed at him for his pigmy size, he drank it all up, and then pissed it out again; from whence comes its saltness. But the *Baniyans* and *Jentews* of *Hindûstân* give a different account of this transformation; which takes up 2700 years in the first ages, or period of time^o.

^y BALD. ubi supr. p. 768.

^z ROGER, ubi supr. p. 151, 155.

^a PHILL. Malâb. p. 95.

^b ROGER,

p. 150.

^c BALD. ubi supr. p. 766.

^d ROGER, p. 151.

^e BALD. p. 766.

^f PHILL.

Malâb. p. 95, & seqq.

^g BALD. ubi supr. p. 758.

^h Ibid p. 766.

ⁱ ROGER, ubi supr.

p. 158.

^k Danish Lett. part i. p. 24.

^l BALD. ubi supr. p. 767.

^m Ibid. p. 766. ROGER,

ubi supr. p. 159.

ⁿ BALD. ibid. p. 768, & seqq.

^o Ibid. p. 771, & seqq.

(Z) By us called the trumpet-shell, of the periwinkle kind.

(A) Elsewhere we find it written *Puma deney*; perhaps it should be *Dewey*.

(B) *Roger* names these demons *Raetsjasja*; which

we write *Râsbaja*; and *Baldæus*, *Raxiata*, according to the *English* orthography *Râsbajâ*. This last author adds, alias *Adirem*; and says he is called by the *Baniyans* *Sere Miasben* and *Sankasoor*.

4th incarnation:

VISTNUM's fourth transformation was into a monster, half man and half lion; which shape ^a he assumed to punish a giant, who, through power given him by *Bráhma*, having subdued the whole earth, would suffer no-body to be adored but himself. He was torn in pieces by the *Man-Lion*; and thus ended the first period of time¹.

5th incarnation:

His fifth transformation was into a mendicant *Brámma*n, to cheat *Mavali*, an inferior god, out of the government of the world; in order to introduce a distinction of degrees and circumstances among mankind, who were then upon a level every-where. To effect this design, he begged of *Mavali* three feet of ground only to build a hut upon; which being granted him, he re-assumed his own form, and covered the whole earth with one of his feet, and paradise with the other: then, removing it, he placed it over the infernal regions, and thus got all three into his possession. However he made *Mavali* door-keeper of paradise^b.

6th incarnation:

VISTNUM's next incarnation was in the shape of *Prassaram*, or *Paresha Rama*, a beautiful boy; who, in obedience to his father's commands, cuts-off his mother's head: but, at his request, his father restores her to life. He then devotes himself to *Vistnum* for twelve years, by sitting cross-legged on the ground without intermission. Mean time, a potent Rájah slays his father, although his brother-in-law; because he refused to give him *Kamdega*, the *white cow of plenty*, which he had borrowed of *Rájah Inder*, king of the *blest souls*, in order to entertain his relation handsomely. *Prassaram*, being informed of this by the cow, went and slew all those of the race of *Rajabs*, or *Kutteri's*, to be found on earth. However, the souls of his father and mother were sent to reanimate the bodies of *Rájah Dasserat* and his wife, by order of *Vistnum*, who had promised to exalt their posterity; as an earnest of which, they had a ^c son named *Ram*², who makes the subject of the seventh incarnation. The design of this sixth seems to be to promote the doctrine of the metempsychosis; and also to shew, conformable to the *Shaster*, how the race of *Kutteri's* were first destroyed, and then restored.

7th incarnation, Ram.

RAM, or *Rama*, called also *Siri Rama*, and *Dajerratha Rama* (D), to distinguish him from *Paresha*, or *Pareja Rama*, before-mentioned, married *Sitra*, daughter of a potent Rájah; whom he won by shooting in opposition to the giant *Rawan*. This giant, besides ten heads and twenty arms, obtained from *Isburen* the privilege to live many thousand years. Some time after, *Ram*'s brother having cut-off the ears and nose of *Rawan*'s sister, by his order, and slain several armies sent to revenge the injury; *Ravan*, in the shape of a mendicant *Brámma*n, carried-off *Sitba* to the isle of *Seylan*. *Ram* pursues, and by the assistance ^d of *Hanuman*, or *Anamonta*, and other apes (E), passed the sea (at *Ramanakoil*) into *Seylan*, over a bridge of swimming stones; and after a great many strange exploits, in which invention is stretched to the utmost, kills *Rawan*, and recovers *Sitba*. Eleven years after his return, he ascended to heaven, and thus ended the second period of time³. This is the legend, according to the followers of *Vistnum*; but the sect of *Isburen* relate matters differently: and, to exalt their god, add that *Ram* built a famous temple at *Ramanakoil*, in honour of *Isburen*. We are told also, that in all the pagods dedicated to *Isburen*, or *Eswara*, *Ram* is represented with ten heads and twenty arms, in memory of the destruction of *Rawan*⁴.

8th incarnation, Kistna:

THE eighth appearance of *Vistnum* was in the person of *Kisna* (F), and is reckoned the most ^e considerable of all the rest (G): nor can this be denied, if what is most monstrous and incredible, as well as most ridiculous and absurd, makes a thing considerable. The subject of the legend, which our author has given in great detail, is this: *Rájah Kans*, king of *Mottera* (or *Matura*), to the north of *Agra*, in *Hindústan*, finding by palmestry, that his sister *Deuki* (or *Dukki*), married to a *Brámma*n of the cow-herds, would bear a son who should deprive him both of his kingdom and life, confined her, and ordered her children, as soon as born, to be destroyed. *Kisna*, the youngest, was conveyed away by his own power and direction; and, though yet a sucking infant, slew several giants, who were sent to kill him, and flew with him into the air. During his childhood, he performed several miracles; as separating rice, milk, and herbs, after they had been mixed: and stretching his hand from the cow-field to the ^f house, to reach a milk-vessel: yet he made no scruple to tell lies; for after stealing butter from his mother, he denied it stily. When he grew up, he performed many great exploits against giants and serpents; yet left not off his childish tricks or lying. One time he stole the womens cloaths while they were bathing, that he might see them come naked out of the

reckoned most eminent:

¹ BALD. p. 772, & seqq. ubi sup. p. 781.

² Ibid. p. 775, & seqq. ³ ROGER, ubi sup. p. 166.

⁴ Ibid. p. 777, & seqq.

⁵ Ibid.

(D) Perhaps rather *Dajerrata*, from *Dajerrat*, his father.

(E) According to *Roger's* account, they were *Devetas*, or *good angels*, who assumed the form of apes on this occasion, as *Rawan* and his associates were *Rakshasas*, or *demons*. Both sorts sprung from *Kashyapa*, a *Brámma*n.

(F) Or *Kishna* and *Kishna*: Others write *Krishna* and *Krishnu*.

(G) For they say, in others, he appeared with only part of his divinity; but in this he brought with him the whole godhead.

- a water: another time meeting some milk-maids, he broke their pails; and then denied it, when taxed by his mother. *Rajah Kans*, alarmed at these miracles, sent several giants and armies against him; but he killed them all, and at length the *Rajah* himself. After this, *Kisna* did many other famous actions; restored the lame to their limbs, the dead to life, metamorphosed cottages into palaces, pulled down tyrants, and restored injured kings; punished oppressors, and succoured the distressed. Mean time, the cow-herds, who had made him their king, and were increased to five hundred and sixty millions, grew daily more wicked as they became more numerous; wherefore *Kisna* set them at variance, so that they destroyed one another. After this, having conveyed his 16,000 wives, with a few others, who remained, into heaven, he ascended thither himself. The *Hindûs* say, that if the earth was of paper, it would not contain an account of all the miracles wrought by *Kisna*, during the space of one hundred years, in the third period of time^a.

Vistnum's ninth incarnation was in the form of *Boudha*, or *Bodha*, by some called *Bhavam*, 9th incarnation: who, according to the *Baniyans*, has neither father nor mother, and is invisible: but that whenever he does appear, it is with four arms (H). He spends his whole time in praying with a dejected countenance to the great god, called *Mahadew* by the *Baniyans*; and after having continued 34,030 years without performing any miracles, his time on earth will be expired with the fourth period of the world, which is the present and last^b. This is all we learn from *Baldæus*: to which it may be proper to add, that this *Boudha* is the same with the god *Fo*^c, who is worshipped by more than one half of *Asia*; and is believed to reside at *Lassa*, in the *Great Tibet*, in a human form. It is probable, that these ten incarnations had their rise from the example of *Fo*, who often disappears; and that the drift of the forgers of this ninth in particular, was to derive the religion of *Tibet* from their own.

THE tenth and last transformation of *Vistnum* into a white winged-horse, called *Kallenkin*, 10th incarnation: is yet to come; and is to put an end to the present world. The *Baniyans* say, that this *Indian Pegasus* stands in heaven upon three feet only, holding up his right fore-leg, without intermission. They say also, that at the beginning of this metamorphosis, they shall live piously and happily; but that, by degrees, they shall degenerate into all manner of impiety and wickedness, for the space of 40,570 years. At the expiration whereof, the winged-horse shall strike or stamp on the earth with his uplifted foot, with such prodigious force, that the serpent *Signaga*, being no longer able to support the world, will creep from under it; when the tortoise, finding the whole burden laid upon his back, will run into the sea and drown the earth (I); which is to put an end to this last period or age of time; and then the first is to begin again^a.

III.

Ishuren, or Ruddiren.

- e THIS god, we are told, has no fewer names than 1008^b; but of these, three or four Names number: are chiefly in use. The name which he goes by in the *Vedam* and *Shaster*, is *Ruddiren*, or, as some pronounce, *Rutren*; yet the name by which he is commonly known in the *Indies*, at least the southern provinces, is *Ishuren*, or *Iffuren*, as it is pronounced in some parts of *East Malabâr*; or *Ispuren*, in other parts of it; *Ispara* in *West Malabâr*; and *Eswâra*, or *Esvâra*, in *Karnâta* and *Choromandel*, if the difference does not proceed from some fault in our author's spelling. This deity is, by the *Baniyans* and *Gentews* of *Hindûstân*, qualified with the title of *Mahadew*, or the *Great God*. The *Malabars* likewise give him the same name or title^c; that is, they who are of the sect which account him the chief of the three gods of the first class: and we are told, that he is the principal of all the gods of the *Malabarians*^d: yet in *Karnâta* he is only accounted the sovereign god by some^e; for there *Vistnum* seems to be most in vogue. He has likewise another name adapted to this superiority which is ascribed to him by his votaries, and that is *Chiven*, or *Chivens* (K), signifying the *True God*, or *Supreme Being*; of whom the *Vedam* and *Shaster* treat^f. This name he obtained for guarding the *Chive Linga*, whereof an account will be given presently.

THE votaries of this god ascribe to him immortality; which they say he obtained by the ashes which remained within the shell, after the *Chive Linga* was burned^g: and though, agreeable to the *Vedam* and *Shaster*, they say his office is to destroy^h, or to put a period to all

^a BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 789, & seqq.

ubi supr. p. 810.

part iii. p. 150. BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 766.

p. 22.

^b PHILLIPS'S Account of Malâb. p. 42.

^c PHIL. Malâb.

^d Ibid. p. 809.

^e Dan. Lettr. part i. p. 21.

^f BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 816.

^g Lettr. Edif.

^h BALDÆUS,

ⁱ BERNIER'S Mem. Mog. Emp.

^j ROGER, ubi supr.

^k BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 150.

(H) *Kircher* gives *Bodha* four heads also; but this, our author says, is an error.

(I) This is contrary to the *Shaster*; which says the earth shall be destroyed by fire.

(K) *De Faria* writes *Jivens*, *Port. Asia*, vol. ii. p. 379; and *Baldæus*, *Qui-ven*, p. 755.

things at last; yet they give him also the power of creating, at least, two men, named *Bira-* a
patrem and *Quatraquale*¹. They assign him for his *Wabanam*, or *beast of carriage*, a bull-
calf, called *Irisbipatan*, instead of a horse; but seem to differ as to the place of his residence.
Those of *Karnâta* say, that he resides with his wife *Parvati*, in *Kaylasom*, which is one of
the three places, or heavens, where God converses². According to the *Malabârs* he dwells
in *Kala-ja*, a silver mount, and kind of paradise, to the south of the famous mountain *Maba*
*Meru*³: again, other *Malabârs* will have it, that his abode is in *Cbiwalogum*⁴; which signi-
fies the *world of Cbiwens*.

his person,

To come to the history of *Ishuren*. They say, with respect to his person, that he is of so
vast a bigness, as to encompass all the seven heavens above, and the seven worlds (L.) beneath⁵:
but one day, boasting before some other spirits of his immense size, *Bramma* and *Vishnum* b
took it ill; whereupon a contest arose; the consequence of which was, that *Bramma* lost one
of his heads, as hath been already related in our account of him. Though *Vishnum* be black,
Ishuren is bright, and white as milk, with three eyes, one of them in his forehead; which
last they say is so full of fire, that it consumes whatever it looks upon. He has no fewer
and drags: than sixteen arms, and holds something in each hand. His apparel is a tiger's skin; his
cloak the hide of an elephant surrounded with serpents. He wears about his neck a collar
of fur, with a bell fastened to it; likewise three chains. One is intermixed with roses, and
other sweet flowers. The second is made of the heads of *Bramma*: for they say *Bramma* dies
and revives every year; and that *Ishuren*, gathering his heads as often as he dies, made this
chain of them. The third is made of the bones of *Chatti*, one of his wives, who dying like- c
wise annually, he every time that happens takes one of her bones, and adds it to the rest⁶.
He carries also the same beads as the *Brâmmans* do; his whole body being besmeared with
ashes (of cow-dung) (M), and thus rides in triumph through *Kala-ja* upon his ox *Irisbipatan*,
to whom they offer certain sacrifices.

turns mendi-
cant

THE *Brâmmans* say, that *Ishuren*, to expiate the crime of cutting-off *Brâmma*'s fifth head,
turned mendicant for twelve years; begging for alms, with the skull in his hand: for though
he received a sufficient quantity from time to time, yet it was instantly consumed by the fiery
rays which darted from his third eye. One day, as he was collecting alms among the *Mumis*,
or *Risbi*, who inhabited the woods about *Kala-ja* (the place of his residence, where they spent
their time in sacrificing), their wives came running with ladles full of blood to fill the skull; d
but they were so surprised at his flaming eye, that they not only dropp'd their ladles but their
cloaths. The *Mumis*, seeing their wives naked, fell furiously on *Ishuren*; one with an axe,
another with a serpent, a third set a tiger upon him, and a fourth a wild elephant: but he
flew all those animals, and carried off their skins as trophies. At length *Vishnum*, to deliver
Ishuren, appeared to the *Mumis* in the form of a beautiful virgin; which so surprised them,
that they fell into a trance; and thus the god escaped from the men. Towards the end of the
twelfth year, *Ishuren*, being tired of his mendicant life, had recourse to *Vishnum*; who, com-
miserating his condition, put out the fiery eye, which consumed the alms as fast as he received
them; and then wounding himself in the finger, filled the skull with the blood, which put an
end to *Ishuren*'s pilgrimage⁷; but gave birth to the order of the *Joghis* (N), who, in memory e
thereof, lead a mendicant life to this day.

for twelve
years:

outrages com-
mitted by him,

AMONG other extravagancies related of this god, we are told that, during his pilgrimage,
Jeksha Prajava (O), king of the *Peringales*, and father of his wife *Paramesseri*, or *Parvati*,
having a desire to see his daughters in their full glory, invited *Bramma* and *Vishnum*, who
were also his sons-in-law, to a magnificent feast; but neglected to do the same to *Ishuren* (P):
yet, on considering the matter, invited him at last. This, however, the mendicant god took
so heinously, that he resolved to spoil the feast. His anger was farther provoked by the treat-
ment his wife received: for having obtained leave from him to go to the banquet, he ordered
her to put on her best apparel; and, to set her off to the most advantage, lent her his serpents,
his umbrella of peacocks tails, his chain of bones, his tiger's skin, and his elephant's hide. f
Thus equipped, she mounted upon an ox; and with a large attendance of drummers, *Pudas*
and *Pishares*, came to her father's palace. Her sisters and the other guests, who met her at
the gates, seeing her in such a droll equipage, instead of bidding her welcome, burst out into

¹ BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 756, 763.

² ROGER, p. 156, 183.

³ BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 757.

⁴ PHIL. Malab. p. 25.

⁵ Danish Lettr. part i. p. 21.

⁶ BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 755.

⁷ Ibid.

p. 757, & seqq.

(L) They say, that the serpent *Batrîga*, which embraces the seven worlds and seven seas, was not long enough to serve him for a girdle. *Baldæus*, p. 755.

(M) This is the form in which he is represented in the pagods. His attendants are *Pudas*, *Pisharos*, and *Pes*. *Baldæus*, ubi supr. p. 756.

(N) Rather perhaps the *Goghis*, who are *Brâmmans*; the *Joghis* are of another tribe.

(O) Roger calls him *Dajza*, as the reader will find in the history of *Brâmma*.

(P) According to Roger, p. 155, the reason he gave for not inviting *Efcara*, or *Ishuren*, was, that as he lived by begging his bread, and had not cloaths to cover him, he was not worthy to be invited. On which his daughter *Harvati* replied, *nor I neither*; and so leaped into the fire prepared for sacrifice, and was consumed.

laughter;

a laughter; which so vexed *Paramesseri*, that, without alighting, she returned to *Kalaja*, loudly complaining of the affront which had been put upon her.

ISHUREN, thinking himself concerned in the ill-treatment given his wife, sent his sons *as Prajava's* *Quenavadi* and *Superbennia* to spoil their mirth: but *Vistnum*, knowing that the first was *fond* of cakes, and the latter of hearing stories, took care to throw those amusements in their way, so that they forgot their errand. *Ishuren* hereupon sent his daughter *Patragali*; who being likewise detained by some good-cheer she met with in the hall (for she loved her belly dearly), he resolved to go himself. As soon as *Vistnum* and *Bramma* got notice of this, they made an apology to their father-in-law, as not being, they said, able to cope with *Ishuren*; and withdrew, leaving only the *Sun* and *Moon* behind. The angry god, entering the palace
b presently after, seized *Prajava* by the hair. At the same instant there stepped forth (the offspring of his anger) a warrior armed *cap-a-pie*, called *Virapatrem*, who cut-off the king's head, with the hands of the god of fire, and beat-out the teeth of the *Sun*^p. This is the *Malabâr* legend; but that of *Karnâta*, which differs in several particulars, says, the *Moon* also had a hearty banging; whence her black spots: and that the king got a goat's head instead of his own^q.

As *Ishuren*, or *Ruddiren*, is the true, and, very likely, the original *Priapus* of antiquity, *the Indian* so many things are related of him suitable to that character: among the rest, he once forced *Priapus*: a young she-slave, who refused to comply with his lustful desires^r. He is often spoken of as shedding his semen on the ground; which always gave birth to something. As this happened
c one time just after enjoying his wife *Paramesseri*, she covered it with some earth; from whence sprung-up a palm-tree, whose liquor so well pleased *Ishuren*, that he often made use of it. His wife, observing that he always returned intoxicated from the wood, followed him one day; and, finding the juice agreeable, tasted so long of it, that she became fuddled herself^s: so frail, or rather so addicted to vice, are the *Indian* gods and goddesses. It is perhaps owing to this liquor, that *Ishuren* is, as we are told, everlastingly dancing^t.

NOR is *Ishuren* without his incarnations or appearances in human form, any more than *Vistnum*: for they say, that he appeared no fewer than sixty-four times, and acted so many
d comedies before a great many people in the city of *Madurey*, capital of the kingdom of *Madurey*, under the name of *Tsabokkenaden*. Our readers may judge of the rest by an account of one; the substance of which is, that he appeared to a widow in the above-mentioned city, and offered to be her servant, on condition that he should never want for victuals. His mistress readily agreed to the bargain, expecting a good deal of work at his hands; but she quickly found herself deceived in him; for he not only devoured as much as would satisfy several men, but in short would never give over eating; so that neither persuasions nor menaces could prevail on him to do any other business. At length, the widow complained to the king of this insatiable glutton: but, although his majesty gave the lubber such a swinging blow, that it was felt all over the universe, yet this correction could not make *Ishuren* perform his bargain: for, rather than work, he thought fit to quit the widow's service, and disappear immediately^u. Are not such comedies, or rather farces, as these, very becoming the character of a God?

As the traditions of the different sects and countries differ in other things, so they do with
e regard to the wives and children of *Ishuren*. In *Karnâta* they seem to allow him but one wife, named *Parvati*: in each of the *Malabârs* they give him two: but their names in one country are so different from those used in the other, that we cannot tell whether they be the same or not. In *East Malabâr* they are called *Ispari* and *Kenkabewanani*^x; in *West Malabâr*, *Grienga* and *Chatti*, or *Paramesseri*^y. As each has many names, the disagreement may possibly arise from thence; different names being used in different places. *Parvati* was the daughter of *Dasba*, son of *Brâmma* by *Parasvati*. She taking it ill that her father had not invited *Ishuren*, as well as *Brâmma* and *Vistnum*, to the *jagam*, or feast before-mentioned; and taking still
f worse his reason for the slight, which was that *Ishuren* begged his bread, and had not cloaths to his back, for mere vexation cast herself into the fire prepared for the sacrifice, and was consumed to ashes. *Ishuren* was so enraged at this affair, that he sweat for anger; and from his sweat sprung *Virepadra*, who, by his command, committed the outrages already related. *As for Parvati* (who by similitude of facts appears to be the same with *Paramesseri*), her soul passing into another body, became the daughter of the mountain *Kimmawontam*, who likewise bestowed her on *Eswara*, or *Ishuren*, for a wife a second time. This god became so fond of her, that he gave her half of his body, and thus became an hermaphrodite; on which occasion the *Brâmmans* call him *Ardhanari*, that is *half man and half-woman*^z, or a *man-wife*^a. This *Parvati*, otherwise called *Chatti* and *Paramesseri* (according to those of *West Malabâr*),

^p BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 765.

^q ROGER, ubi supr. p. 155.

^r Danish Confer. p. 105.

^s BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 759.

^t Danish Confer. p. 106.

^u PHILLIPS'S Account Malab. p. 45.

Danish Confer. p. 105, 171.

^x Ibid. ubi supr. p. 96.

^y BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 757.

^z ROGER,

ubi supr. p. 152, 154.

^a BALD. p. 756.

dies and revives once a year, as hath been already mentioned. His second wife is named a *Grienga*, or *the goddess of the seas*; whom he always carries in his hair-locks^b.

his children: WE find a local difference likewise as to the number and names of *Ishuren's* children. Some give him two sons, others three, and some four: but it must be observed, that they distinguish two sorts of children belonging to this god; namely, those gotten by copulation, and those who were produced by his will; of which kind there were two.

ACCORDING to the tradition of *Karnâta*, he had two sons by his wife *Parvati*; the first *Wikneswara*, or, as the eastern *Malabârs* call him, *Wikkeneshuren*; he is likewise named *Pulleiar*. Some say he was only the offspring of his father's will^c.

several sons: THE second is named *Komara-Swami*, or *Shawmi*^d; and likewise *Subbiramani*. As *Churapadbama*, who ruled over fourteen worlds, and had a thousand millions of soldiers, offered many injuries to the subordinate gods, this *Swami* was created on purpose to chastise him; which he did, riding on a peacock, by destroying him and all his race; and for that service obtained the highest degree of happiness^e.

HIS sons of volition, were *Vierepaddra*, who sprung from his anger and sweat, as before-mentioned; and *Beyretwa*, the offspring likewise of passion; being he who scratched off the fifth head of *Brâmma*, and is sovereign of the devils, or judge of hell^f.

BESIDES the two first, the *Malabârs* also give *Ishuren* two children. One called *Waiddionada Shwami*, to whom they pray for children: the other *Arrigari buddiron*; who, we are told, rose out of his semen, which he shed on the appearance of *Wishtnu*, in the form of a beautiful woman, who came to commit uncleanness with him. To this *Arrigari* they always make offerings when they begin any enterprize^g.

one son an elephant: ACCORDING to the western *Malabârs*, *Ishuren* had five sons and one daughter. Three of the sons were by his wife *Paramesseri*, or *Parvati*. The first, named *Quenavadi*, had the head of an elephant: for one day, as they were walking by a wood, *Paramesseri* saw two elephants copulate; which so raised her appetite, that she persuaded *Ishuren* to transform them both into elephants, and play the same pranks; the effect of which frolick was this young monster, to whom she durst not give suck, for fear of having her breast torn in pieces by him. He is represented with long hair, like his father's, tied about with a serpent, an half-moon on his forehead, and red pimples all over his elephant's face. He has likewise four hands, with a large belly girt with a red piece of linen. His body shines like gold, and his legs are adorned with gold rings and bells. They say, that his father caused him to be castrated; because, being once in his mother's arms, he touched her privy parts with his trunk. Others say, he actually enjoyed her; and that therefore the elephants have no testicles.

long granting petitions: THE *Hindû* mechanicks and others offer the first fruits of their labour to this *Quenavadi*. After they have devoted themselves to his worship for twelve years, he moves one of his ears to let them know, that they must serve him twelve years more; at the end of which he shakes the other ear, to let them know that he expects still more at their hands: if they hold on twelve years longer, he then opens his eyes, and grants their requests. This god is very voracious: for they say he could devour the world; nor is to be satisfied, but in the *Sugar Sea*, where he has his residence, and is attended by beautiful women, who are continually employed to lade sugar, mixed with honey, into his mouth; while the musicians divert him with their instruments^h. One night, returning late from a banquet, with his umbrella in one hand, in the other a poem, and under his arm some cakes, of which he was very fond, he ran against a post, although it was moon-light, and fell down, all his things flying about. As the cakes were his greatest concern, he laid hold of them while he lay sprawling, and took a good bite or two, before he offered either to rise, or look for his book or umbrella. The moon, who beheld this pleasant spectacle, could not forbear laughing; which *Quenavadi* perceiving, he uttered this curse, *Whoever, O Moon, shall see thee for the future on this day, shall be damnified in his privities*. Hence it is, that the *Hindûs* will not stir abroad on the fourth day after the new moon in *August*, or look into the water, for fear of seeing it; altho' they observe the *Christians*, *Jews*, and *Mohammedans*, to view that planet at the same time, with receiving any injury.

second son an ape: ISHUREN and *Paramesseri* were both celebrated dancers. She for her part was so nimble, that one time dropping an ear-jewel while she was in the height of her dance, she took it up with two of her toes, and put it in again, to the incredible surprize of the spectators (Q). Another time, while she and her spouse were dancing, before a great assembly of celestial spirits, invited for that purpose, she happened to spy two apes sporting in the adjacent wood;

^b ROGER, p. 755.

ibid.

^c PHILLIPS, ubi supr. p. 101, 141.

supr. p. 90, 96. Danish Confer. p. 105.

^d ROGER, ubi supr. p. 175. PHILLIPS, ubi supr. p. 34, 96.

^e ROGER, p. 144, 175.

^f PHILLIPS, ubi

^g BALDÆUS, p. 758, & seq.

(Q) Hence *Baldæus* supposes the custom arose among the ladies of the *Nayrs* (or *Nabers*), who when dancing

at a certain feast in honour of one of their idols, on a sudden let slip all their cloaths, and remain naked.

and,

a and, taking a fancy to do the like, prevailed on *Isburen* to transform them into apes, which the uxorious god did; and the fruit of this frolic was an ape: but when the mad fit was over, she, being ashamed of her burden, got the *Wind* to convey it into the womb of *Anbema*, one of the ladies attending on the other spirits. Thus the ape got a new father and mother, who brought him forth. He was as white as *Isburen*; and, being endowed with many peculiar virtues, performed abundance of notable exploits; some already mentioned in the history of *Siri Rama*¹, under the name of *Hanuman* (or *Anemonta*). This name was given him by *Isburen*; because he received no harm from a great knock on the pate, which he received from his father's iron rod, for endeavouring to leap up and snap at the *Sun* when he was hungry. Another time quarrelling with *Akropadia*, a white elephant, on which *Devandran*, king of the celestial spirits, was mounted, he happened to be killed. At this, his presumptive father the *Wind* was so afflicted, that he hid his face under-ground, till *Isburen*, at the request of the inhabitants of the earth, ready to perish for want of air, restored *Hanuman* to life, and recalled the *Wind* to his proper office.

THE third son of *Isburen* was called *Superbennia*, who had six faces and twelve hands; which happened on the following occasion. As *Paramesseri* was washing herself one day in a cistern, six weavers chanced to pass by, who looking upon her with very amorous desires, she became inflamed no less than they, and the same instant conceived. But, fearing her husband's anger, she spat out the embryo upon the ground; which immediately assuming the form of twelve arms and six faces, very much resembling the six weavers, they carried him with them, and gave him an accomplished education. One time *Isburen*, entering into an argument with him, was so taken with his wit, that he received him for his son, assigned him a residence at *Kala ja*, and presented him with a peacock to ride on^k.

FROM this circumstance he appears to be the same with *Subbiramania* of the eastern *Malabârs*, before-mentioned. Once upon a time, *Isburen*, desirous to try the agility of this son and *Quenavadi*, offered a very fine fig, as a reward to him who should ride round *Kala ja* with most expedition. The two brothers started together: but as *Quenavadi*, who was very heavy, and rode only upon a mouse, knew that he would lose the race; he took the opportunity, when *Superbennia* was gotten a good way before him on his peacock, to turn short and seize the fig. *Superbennia* having won the prize, and not finding it as he expected, fell with such fury upon *Quenavadi*, that he beat out one of his elephant's teeth. However, *Isburen* bestowing on him another fig, the difference was soon composed: but not knowing what to do with the tooth, he gave it to *Vistnum*, desiring him to restore it to the proprietor. The method *Vistnum* took to do this, was to put it in a fig, which he presented to his nephew; who, going to eat it, found his tooth. *Quenevadi*, instead of putting the tooth into his head again, converted it into a nice pen, which he kept to write his poetry with^l.

BESIDES these three sons, the western *Malabârs* give *Isburen* two more. One stiled *Ega Sourubum*, or the true god, is represented with an elephant's head and eleven hands. He is to be worshipped only by the *Brâmmans*, although others also sacrifice to him. The other son is named *Sbewshi*. This son had his origin from the impurities which came from the body of *Paramesseri* one day when she was washing herself in a pond. *Isburen*, perceiving a man at a distance, and imagining him to be her gallant, hastened thither, and cut-off his head; which, falling at the foot of mount *Kala ja*, became a coco-tree: and hence the *Indians* say that the figure of a human face was impressed on the coco-nut. As *Paramesseri* grieved exceedingly at her son's death, *Isburen* made an apology for his mistake; and, to comfort her, cut-off the head of a white elephant, and, fixing it on *Sbewshi*'s shoulders, restored him to life again^m.

So much for *Isburen*'s sons: but his daughter is something still more extraordinary: her production was on the following occasion. The giant *Darida* having, besides a present of a book and some bracelets, obtained from *Brâmma* the gift of being invulnerable, and appearing as if he had a great many heads, became so vain-glorious that he challenged *Isburen*. The god, knowing his strength, sent against him a female named *Sorga*, with six other women; who cut-off all his false or imaginary heads, but could do him no farther injury. On this, *Isburen* consulted *Vistnum*; who, while they were talking, sent forth from his body a certain matter, which, entering that of *Isburen*, passed out again through the eye in his forehead, and falling on the ground, in an instant became a female; whom *Isburen* acknowledged for his daughter, and distinguished by the name of *Patragali*, or *Patrakoli Pagoda*.

THIS daughter had eight faces and sixteen hands, as black as a coal, with great round eyes, and teeth like tusks of a boar. Instead of pendants, her image has two elephants in its ears, and her body is covered with serpents, instead of a garment. Her hair-locks are the tails of peacocks; and in each hand she carries some instrument; such as a sword, a trident, a china basin, a rope, an ape, and the like. This monster went immediately to revenge her father's quarrel, and fought the giant for seven days; but found, after cutting-off seven of his false

¹ See before, p. 198, & seq.^k BALDÆUS, p. 761.^l Idem ibid.^m Idem ibid.

heads, that he was not vulnerable, so long as he was possessed of the book and bracelets given to him by *Brâmma*. She therefore applies to *Sorga*; who, going to *Darida*'s wife in his absence, asked in his name for the said things; which were forthwith delivered to her. By this means *Darida*, being deprived of his strength, in the next conflict had his real head cut-off by his female antagonist.

abuses her
father :

PATRAGALI, elated with this victory, hastened to *Ishuren*; who, being undressed, leaped into a cistern to avoid being seen by her; and from thence gave her some flesh and some blood. But finding her not satisfied, he bad her hold out her basin; and, cutting-off one of his fingers, filled it with his own blood. She, far from being yet contented, threw one of her gold chains in his face; which raising many pustules in his skin, he cried out, with great surprize, *Basuri!* that is, *O you revengeful woman!* and, desiring her to desist, created two young men, named *Birapatrem* and *Quetraquele*, whom he bestowed on her; which made her easy. From this time *Basuri* signified the *small pox* among the *Malabârs*; who say it is the sword of *Patragali*, and for that reason endeavour to mitigate her wrath by sacrifices. They affirm, that her chief residence is in the pagoda of *Kranganor*, called the *temple of pilgrims*, from the vast number of zealots who flock thither. In this temple, near her statue, stands a huge man in marble; whom every day the *Brâmmans* beat on the head with hammers, to keep him from growing.

how appeased
by him :

passes to
Malabâr :

ISHUREN, to get rid effectually of *Patragali*, besides her gallants, presented her likewise with a ship of sandal wood, ordering her to take a voyage into the world, and reside there *incognito*; yet to require vows and sacrifices from the inhabitants. But while he was found asleep one morning, little dreaming of a visit from his termagant daughter, he was suddenly awaked by her overturning his bedstead: for, being attacked, as soon as she had put to sea, by some fishermen and ape-hunters, she was forced to return to *Kalaja* to crave her father's assistance; who having endowed her with new vigour, she defeated the ape-hunters, and landed safely at *Koulang*, a city of *Malabâr*; where the queen entertained her for twelve years as her own daughter. After this term she was married to the son of the lord of *Kouleta* (R); and there lived twelve years more without ever cohabiting with her husband, as boasting herself to be the daughter of *Ishuren*. Afterwards her father and mother-in-law having been robbed at sea of all their riches by the ape-hunters, she gave her gold foot-rings to her husband to dispose of. He, on the road, met with a goldsmith; who, pretending to buy them, brought him to *Pandi*, and there accused him of stealing such rings from the queen of that place, which he himself had stolen not long before. On this accusation, the stranger was imprisoned, and afterwards impaled on a palm-tree. *Patragali*, after waiting six days without hearing of her husband, set out in quest of him, asking news of him from every thing she met with; but experienced very indifferent usage from some of them. A mango-tree was so churlish as not to afford her an answer; a cow gave her a hearty kick by way of reply; a *Nairo* let her fall into a pit, which he had covered over with twigs to deceive her; and a *Nairo*'s daughter only flouted and laughed when she asked her the question. However, she gave those rude creatures her curse; and, to make her some amends, was treated with great respect by two birds, a *Jakotree*, a *Polea*, and a *Parrea*: so that, although they were not able to give her any intelligence, yet she gave them her blessing. At length she came to the fatal palm-tree; which being too high for her to reach, she obtained by her prayers that it broke, and so delivered her husband: but, although she had not power of herself to make the tree bend down to her, yet she had power, it seems, to bring the dead man to life againⁿ.

her adventures
there.

Ishuren wor-
shipped.

THUS much for the wives and children of *Ishuren*, or *Ruddiren*. Let us next see in what manner he is worshipped by the *Hindûs*. He is represented in the pagods in two different manners; one is in the form of a man, with three eyes, and sixteen hands, dressed in the way already described: the other manner of representing him is in the shape of the virile member, or rather the privy parts of both sexes in conjunction, which they call *Linga*, or *Lingam*. In the countries of east and west *Malabâr*, he is worshipped in both these forms (S); but in some parts of *Karnâta* he is represented in temples solely in the form of the *Lingam*. This at least is the case in the country about *Paliakatta*, on the coast of *Choromandel*, according to the account of *Abr. Roger*; who at the same time observes, that in processions he is carried in his proper figure; as the human form is more acceptable to the people than the *Lingam*^o.

in form of a
Priapus.

THEY seem to be hard put to it to find a reason for the *Lingam* worship: they say that a *Muniswara* (T), going to visit *Ishuren* one day, when he was in private with his wife *Parvati*, was kept waiting so long by the porter, that he grew angry, and dropped some offensive

ⁿ BALDÆUS, ubi sup. p. 762, & seqq.

^o ROGER Mœurs des Bram. p. 155, 157.

(R) A country seven leagues to the north of *Kalkut*.
(S) He is worshipped also under the form of an ox, and name of *Nandi*. Compare *Phil. Maiab.* p. 34, and *Roger*, p. 175, 242.

(T) The *Munis* are great saints; and *Muniswara* seems to be compounded of *Munis* and *Esvara*, or *Ishuren*, to denote their particular attachment to him. No doubt there are *Munis* also devoted to *Vishnum*.

- a words ; which *Ishuren* overhearing, asked the *Munifwara* why he spoke so ? the saint begged pardon, saying, he was in a fret ; and made a request, that *they who worshipped the figure of the Lingam might receive more benefit than those who worshipped his image made with hands and feet* : which request *Ishuren* granted ^p. However that be, *Ishuren* is no less famous on account of this obscene way of representing him, than *Vistnum* for his ten transformations. There are several sects particularly devoted to the worship of the *Lingam*, which figure they wear in their hair, and about their necks (U), wrapped up in linen ^q : nay, about *Goa*, and in *Kanara*, the infatuation for the *Lingam* runs so high, that brides are carried to this *Priapus* to be deflowered, before they can be enjoyed by their husbands ; who thank the bawdy God for saving them so much trouble ^r.
- b THE *Brammans* observing that all animals were produced by copulation, made a deity of *The Lingam*, the instruments of generation ; and account for its origin in this manner. They say, that 14 ^{disfid.} worlds being produced from an egg, *Ishuretta*, or the divinity, taking his place in the highest heaven, there arose on the earth the mountain *Kalaja* : that on the top of it stood a triangular substance ; and this produced a round substance, called *Chive Linga* (X) ; which they say is *Ishuretta*, or the divinity itself. This circular figure was inclosed in three distinct rinds, or shells, which were transmuted into three Gods, *Bramma*, *Vistnum*, and *Chiven* (or *Ishuren*). *Chiva Linga*, thus stripped of its shell, was burnt to ashes, and fixed in the triangle ; and being thus become without sense or motion, it was requisite that it should be guarded by somebody. This *Bramma* and *Vistnum* refusing to do, *Chiven* undertook the task, constantly attending on it with prayers and sacrifices of flowers. As by this means he deserved to be ranked before his brothers, he obtained the title of *The Great God* [*Maha Dew*] as their poets call him ^s.
- c

THIS doubtless is the legend, or tradition, of the *Lingam* sects (for all have an equal right of *Ishuren's* ^{disfid.} forging). The name of the divinity *Ishuretta* is from *Ishuren* : *Kalaja* is his place of residence ; and the name of *Chive Linga*, which is the thing in his keeping, shews it belongs to, or is a part of, himself. In effect, they make him the offspring of his own privities ; and worship them as a God, the producer of all animal created beings. It is no wonder therefore that they so much extol and magnify the penis of *Ishuren* : for although they ascribe to him such a prodigious height, as has been mentioned, yet they say it reached to his forehead ; and that being so large, he could not enjoy his wife *Chatti*, he was forced to cut it in eighteen pieces : after which he lay with her, and from this conjunction proceeded all living creatures, both rational and irrational. Hence it is, that in *Kanara*, between *Kananor* and *Mangalor*, there is a certain religious order, living constantly in the pagods, who appear in the streets stark-naked ; and on their ringing a bell, the women of all conditions, even to the queens, come running out to touch (our author might have said also, to kiss) their privy members ^t.

d

^p ROGER Mœurs des Bram. p. 155, 157.
41. ^r BALDÆUS, ubi supr. p. 754.

^q Ibid. p. 22, 23, and 157. PHILLIPS's Malab. p. 20, 34,
^s Ibid. ubi supr. p. 754. ^t Ibid. p. 813, 817.

(U) The *Jaghis* do this, and offer their best viſuals.
(X) This he explains the *members of both sexes* ; yet after, ſays, it ſignifies the *Lingam*, or member of *Qui-*

ven (rather *Chiven*, or *Chiwen*). But this ſeeming contradiction may be reconciled, on conſidering that *Chiwens*, or *Ishuren*, is ſuppoſed to be of both ſexes.

S E C T. III.

Gods of the ſecond and third claſs.

- e AS the ſons and daughters of the gods of the firſt claſs make thoſe of the ſecond, and we *Inferior gods* have already given the reader a ſufficient account of them ; there remains little more to be ſaid upon the ſubject, excepting what relates to a few *Dewetas*, or divinities of the third claſs : who, on account of the ſervices done to the gods of the firſt claſs, have obtained the privilege of being ranked among thoſe of the ſecond, and found a place in the temples of their patrons.

f AMONG the principal leſſer gods, whoſe ſtatues are ſeen within the incloſure of the great temples, which the *Wiſtnowas* build in honour of their *Wiſtnow* (or *Vistnum*), one meets with thoſe of *Garrouda* and *Annemonta*. The former had the ſhape of a red ſpar-hawk, with a white ring about his neck ; and ſprung from an egg, laid by his mother *Diti*, which was hatched after it had remained 500 years in the ovous ſtate. *Diti* having brought herſelf into ſlavery to *Kaddrowa Winneta* (or *Additi*) another wife of the *Bramman Kaſſiopa*, through a ſilly wager, which ſhe loſt by the artifice of her rival ; *Garrouda*, to free her and her offspring from that oppreſſion, conveyed herſelf to *Devendre Lokon*, where the *Amortam* was kept ; and after a deſperate conflict, forced it from the *Dewetas*, and brought it away. His mother being delivered

delivered from her bondage, by drinking of that immortal liquor, *Wistnow* afterwards took a *Garrouda* for his wahannam, or bird of carriage ^a.

Anemonta, or Hanuman, the Ape. WITH regard to *Anemonta* or *Hanuman*, an account has been already given of his exploits in the service of *Wistnow* ^x. As to his original, we are told, that at the same time *Wistnow* had commanded the *Dewetas* to transform themselves into apes, in order to fight the *Rashajas*, that is, giants or demons, there appeared a female ape, who conceived without converling with the ape her husband, and brought forth *Anemonta*; who, it seems, is properly the wind, ushered into the world in form of a monkey. For the services done to *Wistnow*, when in the shape of *Ramma*, he has been honoured with a small temple, within the inclosure of that god's fane; and while *Garrouda* attends him in heaven, *Anemonta* remains on earth, as *Wistnow*'s agent to transact his affairs here, till *Bramma*'s time is expired. After this, when *Wistnow* shall appear again in the world, *Anemonta* is to be in the place of *Bramma*; and *Bramma* is to perform the office of *Anemonta*, the wind ^y.

Attendants of Ishuren. THESE are the gods of the second class, in great esteem with the *Wistnowas*: on the other hand, the *Seyvias*, or worshippers of *Eswara*, or *Ishuren*, join to the children of that god certain other beings for the objects of their devotion; namely, *Pudas*, *Pisharos*, and *Pes*, who are the attendants of *Ishuren*, and always found in his temples. *Pudas* is represented like a thick short person, with a huge paunch, and no beard, but serpents hanging down from his head, instead of hair. He wears serpents also for bracelets on his arms and thighs, and carries a staff in his right hand. The *Pes* and *Pisharos* are represented much taller, holding lighted torches in the night time ^z. As *Roger* mentions none of these gentry, it is probable that they are not found in the pagods of *Karnâta*. However, that author, besides the sons of *Ishuren*, saw in his temples *Nandi*, otherwise called *Bafwa* and *Bafanna*, who has the figure of an ox ^a; but others say this is *Ishuren* himself ^b.

Gods of the third class. THIS is all we find relating to the gods of the second class. As for those of the third order, they consist of such as we call spirits, or angels, both good and evil. The good angels, or spirits, they call *Dewetas*; and the evil ones, *Rashajas*. These, according to the *Hindû* tradition, were not immediately created by the gods of the first class, or begotten by them, but had a human original; being the offspring of the first *Bramman* who was in the world, named *Kasshopa*. This *Bramman*, who was the son of *Bramma*, had two wives, one called *Diti*, who was the mother of the *Dewetas* (Y); the other *Aditi*, who brought forth the *Rashajas* (Z), or demons. Some of these latter have been wicked men, and therefore are condemned for their sins to wander about the world in the shape of men, and live by begging. As these devils are under the command of *Beyrewa*, the son of *Eswara* (or *Ishuren*), he takes care that they shall not do any hurt to mankind, or pluck so much as an ear of corn, without their permission. The rest of these *Rashâjas* are those to whom that name properly belongs, and are really devils; having it in their power to do mischief to mankind, and even disturb the *Dewetas*, or good angels themselves, as appears from the histories of *Rawan*, and others already related. These are met with all over the world, and even in *Surgam*, or the worlds under heaven; but not in heaven itself. These devils have stinking bodies, and very deformed shapes. As there are of them both males and females, they propagate their species, who are subject to death like other mortal beings.

place of residence: THE place of their residence is said to be in the island of *Andemân*, in the way from *Palliakatta* to *Pegu*; and they are represented as man-eaters; such as the inhabitants of *Andemân* are reported to be ^c.

of two kinds. THE *Dewetas*, or good angels, are likewise divided into two sorts; for the souls of men, who die in a happy state, and go into one of the places of bliss (A), which are under heaven, obtain also the name of *Dewetas*; and after they have been there for a certain time, according to the degree of their merits, must return to this world, and be born again: but then there are *Dewetas* who remain always in the lower heavens. Of these there are a great number, among whom are reckoned *Suria*, the sun, and *Shendra*, the moon, with all the stars; to each of whom they ascribe a soul and life; and the two great luminaries are held in high veneration by the sects devoted to *Wistnum* ^d. Besides the above-mentioned, all the governors of the several worlds and paradises, of whom *Rajab Inder*, or *Dew-endiren*, is chief, all the guardians of

Evil angels worshipped.

^a ROGER, Mœurs des Bram. p. 3, 168, & seqq. p. 172, & seqq.

^x See before, p. 198.

^y ROGER, ubi supr.

^z BALDÆUS, ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 756.

^a ROGER, ubi

supr. p. 175. ^b PHILLIPS'S Account of Malabar, p. 34.

^c ROGER, ubi supr. p. 185, & seqq.

^d Ibid. ubi supr. p. 185, & seqq. item, p. 176.

(Y) *Baldæus* calls them *Devagal*, or *Dewetas*, ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 766.

(Z) *Baldæus* calls them *Raxiaxa* [*Rashiasa* or] *Adiren*. ap. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 766.

(A) Called *Devalogum*; which signifies the place of these gods, or divinities. This word *Dew*, *Dew*, or

Diw, is prefixed to the names of some, as *Dew*, or *Devinderen*, mentioned lower down. It is the fourth of the fourteen worlds, lying between those of *Wistnu* and *Brama*; which last is the fifth, according to Mr. *Ziegenbalg*. See *La Croz. Hist. de Chrétiens des Ind.* p. 464.

a towns and provinces on earth, with the rulers of the infernal regions, and the like, are ranked amongst the gods of this third class (B). These are all worshipped by the *Hindûs*, according to their fancy; not excepting the devils; among whom *Ganga*, *Gramma*, and *Gûrnatba*, are the chief. There are temples every-where (in *Karnâta*) erected to *Ganga*, who is worshipped in the form of a head and four arms; but *Gûrnatba* is not honoured with any, excepting in one place, which, it seems, is against rule; the gods of this class being, for the general, such whose images are set up only in the fields or in houses.

THE better to comprehend this system of inferior gods, it will be proper to set forth the *System of the Indian* notion of the universe; which they say is like an egg, comprehending in it the heavens, the earth, and the abyſs. Of these the earth, or this world, which they call *Bow Lokon*, or *Lugom*, that is, *the place below*, possesses the middle place, between the upper and the lower worlds. The heavens, or upper worlds, are of three kinds; those of the first and highest sort are three in number, *Kaylason*, *Lila Weykontam*, and *Weykontam*. These are the places where God himself (or the Supreme Being) resides^c. This account needs some farther explanation. The *Brâmmans*, that is, those of the sects who make *Wistnum*, or *Ishuren*, the supreme Being, assign two sorts of places for the presence or residence of God; one where he exists as a spirit, the other corporally. And as we find that *Kaylason* (C) is of this latter kind (for there *Eswara*, or *Ishuren*, is said to reside bodily with his wife *Parvati*^d), we presume the other two are reserved for his spiritual appearance, especially *Weykontam*, where we are told God hath his abode^e. This tradition is doubtless according to the principles of the *Seyvias*, who acknowledge *Ishuren*'s supremacy: but although *Wistnum* has not his residence in any of these heavens, yet to those who are wholly devoted to his service, the privilege is granted of going immediately to *Weykontam*, which is the highest heaven of bliss; from whence souls never return into this world^f.

THE second kind of heaven is immediately under the other three, and called *Bramma Lokon*, *Second sort*, from the good *Bramma*, who resides there.

THE third sort, called by the general name of *Surgam*, or *Sorgam*, are rather so many *Third sort*, paradises or elysian fields, including the infernal regions, whither the souls of people go from this world after death. These, which are eight in number, lie between *Bramma Lokon* and *Bow Lokon*, or this earth; taking their names from the spirits who govern them. 1. *Indre Lokon*, where *Indre*, or *Dewendra*, the god of the blessed souls, governs immediately under *Bramma*, as his deputy; and the seven other chiefs under him; 2. *Akni Lokon*; 3. *Jamma* or *paradises*. *Lokon*, which is hell; 4. *Niruti Lokon*; 5. *Warowna Lokon*; 6. *Kubera Lokon*; 7. *Wajowwia Lokon*; 8. *Isanja Lokon*. Each of the last seven chiefs, besides the government of his world, or place, has also the superintendance of other affairs. *Akni* (or *Vanni* (D) takes care, or is the god, of the fire. *Jamma* (or *Padurpati* (E))—*Niruti* (or *Nirurdi*)—*Warrunna* (or *Varumna*, and *Varrinem*) rules the sea; *Wajowwia* (or *Maril*) governs the winds; *Kubera* (called also *Bassironnem*) looks after riches. As for *Isanja*, or *Ishananam*, we are told he is *Ishuren* himself^g.

THIS is the order of the celestial regions. With regard to *Bow Lokon*, or this earth, they say also that it consists of seven worlds, each separated from another by a sea, from whence it takes a name. That nearest the center is surrounded with a sea of fresh water; the next to this is inclosed with a sea of milk (F). The sea which environs the third world, consists of butter; that embracing the fourth is of *Tayer*, thick milk, or clouted cream. The fifth world is encompassed with a sea of wine; the sixth with a sea of syrup; and the last, which is this we inhabit, with a salt sea. In the middle of the *Bow Lokon* stands the mountain *Merow*, or *Meruperwât* often mentioned before; which is so high, that it reaches upwards above the eight celestial worlds, or regions, and downwards, as low as the great abyſs, called *Patalam* (or *Padalas*). Although this mountain is of gold, yet there grow upon it all sorts of fruits, which have the property of preventing the eaters from ever becoming old; but then none have the privilege to eat them, but the *Dewetas*. This mountain is as it were the axis of the heavens, round which the sun, moon, and stars, perform their revolutions; so that when the sun is behind it, it is night^h.

^c ROGER, ubi supr. p. 245, & seqq.

^d Ibid. p. 290.

Asia. vol. ii. p. 384.

^e Idem ibid.

^f Ibid. p. 182, & seq.

^g Ibid. p. 148, 181.

^h Ibid. ubi supr. p. 156.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 148, 181. Baldaeus, 772, 780. DE FARIA Portug.

(B) These contained in the fourth world, and also the (*Agni* or) prophets, are under *Dewendiren*. Zieg. ibid.

(C) It is said to be the highest of the three heavens; possibly by mistake, instead of the lowest; which doubtless it ought to be, as being the most sensual.

(D) *Brammas*, after *Dr Soufa*, gives several of these governors, or chiefs, different names, which we have included within parentheses.

(E) *Baldaeus* makes him king of the evil spirits; and *Nirurdi* king of the infernal spirits. By the evil spirits must, we presume, be understood the *Rashâjas*, or *Ad-diren*.

(F) In this sea of milk *Wistnum* is said to have his residence.

Patalam, or
purgatory.

As to *Patalam*, or the *Padalas* (G), that is, the abyſs, we are told they are ſubterranean places, like the purgatory and limbus of the *Romanists*. Theſe are ſeven in number, whoſe names are *Adela*, *Bidela*, *Sudela*, *Taladelam*, *Sadelam*, *Mahadelam*, and *Padelam*; which inferior worlds are inhabited by men, who receive no other light but what certain ſerpents, carrying very bright ſtones on their heads, afford them^m.

Ages of the
world.

WE have already mentioned the four ages, or periods of time, which are aſcribed to this world, and to each of which the *Brâmmans* allot a vaſt number of years, very incompatible with our chronology; for, according to them, the firſt period conſiſts of 1,728,000 years; the ſecond, of 1,296,000; the third, of 8,064,000 years; and the fourth, of 4,032,000 years. The three firſt are expired; and of the laſt, to this year 1752, 4852 are already paſt, according to the computation of the *Malabârians*; but 4853 according to that of the *Baniyans* of *Surât*ⁿ.

^m BALDÆUS, ubi ſupr. p. 814.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 768.

(G) Our authors ſpeak of theſe worlds, which are in number fourteen, not very diſtinctly. Mr. *Ziegenbalg*, in his account of the *Indians*, and their religion, which he left in manuſcript, ſeems to have been more exact. But M. *Le Croze* has given from thence the names of only five of thoſe fourteen worlds, in the following order; 1. *Padala Logum* (or *Locum*) or hell, whoſe king is *Emen*, the god of death. His court is compoſed of devils [or *Rasbejas*]; and here the damned ſouls are tormented. 2. *Pa Logum*, which is the earth we inhabit. 3. *Maga* [or *Maha*] *Logum*, where

Wiſhtnu and his court reſide. 4. *Deva* [or *Deva*] *Logum*, or the world of the Gods, in number 330,000, beſides 48,000 prophets, all ſubject to *Devendren*, king of this world. 5. *Chaddia Logum*, where *Birama*, or *Brama*, has his abode. M. *Le Croze* forbore giving the names of the other nine worlds, becauſe his manuſcript ſaid nothing in particular about them. But we could wiſh he had either the whole work, or a more complete extraſt than what has been publiſhed by *Le Croze*; to whom the world however is infinitely obliged for that noble abſtraſt which he has preſented them.

S E C T. IV.

Their pagods, or temples, and way of worſhip.

Pagod, their
ſtructure.

THERE are in every town of *Karnâta* at leaſt two pagods (H), one in honour of *Wiſhtnum*, the other of *Iſhuren*. Theſe are well built, and higher than thoſe appropriated to the leſſer gods; but not ſo large as *Chriſtian* churches. They are low and flat, but without windows, or any light, excepting what comes in by the doors. The pagod is divided into three parts: the firſt conſiſts of an arched iſle, ſupported by pillars, beſet with ſtatues of animals, and open for all to enter; the ſecond part is ſhut with a ſtrong gate, which is open by day, but guarded by *Brâmmans*, who ſuffer none to go in. In this diviſion are ſeen frightful images, with many heads and hands: the third part is ſecured alſo with a ſtrong door; and there the ſtatue of the god is kept to whom the temple is dedicated. Round theſe temples is a large ſpace of ground, or court, incloſed with walls; on which are built ſeveral little pagods: thoſe of *Wiſhtnum* contain the temples of his wife *Latſemi*, *Garrouda*, and *Annemonta*. The image of *Garrouda* is in the form of a man, with wings on each ſide; but *Annemonta* has the face of an ape. In the plain, or court, belonging to the pagod of *Eſwara*, or *Iſhuren*, you meet with the leſſer temples, or chapels of *Parvati*, his wife, and his ſons *Vikneſwara* (named alſo *Pullari* and *Winnaika*), *Komaraweſwara*, and *Verrepadra*; alſo that of *Nandi*, or *Baſwa*, the ox, who is the wahannam of *Iſhuren*; and of *Suria*, the ſun. As for *Sbendra*, or the moon, ſhe has no chapel; but yet ſhe does not loſe her veneration, being always placed on the head of *Iſhuren*^o (I).

Pagod wor-
ſhip;

IT does not appear that the *Brâmmans* aſſemble the people to the pagods, or that there are any days ſet apart for divine ſervice: only on certain nights, once or twice a month, the images of *Wiſhtnum* and *Iſhuren* are carried about in proceſſion through the ſtreets. The ſtatue is ſet on a wooden horſe, with his fore-feet raiſed in the air, the other two fixed to a ſquare floor of planks, which is carried on the ſhoulders of four *Mukwâs*, or fiſhermen. The rider is covered with an umbrella, and has a man with a fan to drive away the flies, while a great many lights march before. On its return to the pagod, the dancers (K), who belong to the ſame, begin their ceremony; and all the while theſe girls perform their duty, ſongs are ſung, and muſick play'd, in honour of the god.

^o ROGER, ubi ſupr. p. 204—208.

(H) From *Poat Gheda*, a *Persian* word; *Poat* ſignifying an idol, and *Gheda* a temple. *Ov. Voy. to Surat*, p. 159.

(I) The commentator of *Roger* ſuppoſes that the *Brammans* took this practice from the book of *Judges*, chap. viii. verſe 21, 26; where we are told that the heads of the kings of the *Iſhmaelites*, or *Moabites*, were

always adorned with little creſcents: but we cannot well conceive how the moon can be ſaid to be placed on the head of *Iſhuren*, who yet is ſaid to be repreſented in form of the *Lingam*.

(K) Theſe dancers are all prostitutes, though dedicated to the ſervice of the temples. See alſo *Phillips's Account of Malabâr*, p. 100, 102.

EVERY

- a EVERY one is studious to render honour to, and adorn, the image, according to his sect; *leave p. 217.* and because *Wistnum* would have his statue strewed with flowers, and cloathed with fine garments, richly adorned with precious stones, therefore his devotees spare no cost to please him: on the other hand, *Eswara* (or *Ishuren*) likes that his image should be frequently washed with water, or some perfumed liquor; and therefore his worshippers don't fail to oblige him. As a mark of respect also, they light lamps, and lay victuals before their images twice a day, ushered in with the sound of flutes and drums. This is done, in order to sanctify them for the *Brâmmans*, who eat no victuals but what have been thus offered to, or placed before, the image of their favourite god. On certain feast-days the images both of the gods and goddesses are carried about on triumphal chariots drawn by a great number of men. The people reverence them, by raising their hands on high, joined close together; but none of the lower classes dare so much as touch them. Many are so infatuated, as to lie on the way, or throw themselves under the wheels of the chariot, there to sacrifice themselves, by being crushed to death^a.

THE *Brâmmans*, when they enter the temples, leave their slippers without the door thereof, and advance with much devotion. The people likewise shew their great esteem for the pagods, by liberally contributing towards maintaining them, and those who belong to them: besides, part of the duties paid for all commodities, both foreign and domestic, are appropriated to the same uses^a.

- c DIVINE service is performed chiefly by *Brâmmans*, *Pantaren*, and *Antigol* (three sorts of *Divine* ecclesiastics). These getting up early, bathe themselves, and then prepare their drink-offering made of honey, sugar, and juice of kokoa-nut: at the same time they present flowers, and besprinkle all their offerings and images with the powder of sandal-wood (L). Next they proceed to incensing, called *Tubum*, and *Tubaradiney*, which they do with sandal and aghil (M), another odoriferous wood. After this they perform their meat offering, consisting of rice, pease, beans, butter, and kokoa-nuts; then they set it before the images, and some time after eat it among themselves; repeating, at the same time, several formularies of prayers; and read the praises of the god to whom the sacrifice is made; which sort of worship is performed daily by them^a.

- d THE women are great devotees here, as well as in *Europe*, and begin very early. When *Females* devotion a girl is seven or eight years of age, she gives herself a disciple to her parents priest; and when she is married, lists herself in the catalogue of such priest's disciples: from thenceforth she hears their discourses and documents, going into the pagods; and makes her *Shalams*, or salutations, to the images, and to the *Brâmmans*. If she be very young, she goes alone; but if marriageable, is always accompanied with two or three other women, who every now-and-then bestrew themselves with consecrated ashes, and present their offerings; in the mean time repeating the form of prayers, which they had learned of their priests. What they offer in their houses to *Pulleyar* (N) they give to the poor: they likewise observe fastings, vows, and (if of good understanding) the ceremonial purifications. Some frequent the pagods much; others pay their devotions to the images in the streets, when carried about on festivals; when every one at his doors, with uplift hands, makes a profound *Sha'am*. The women carry their censer with them, to make their offering, and are very charitable. When the priest comes to their houses, they first hear his instructions, and then set before him victuals, and all sorts of fruit^a.

- f As the *Brâmmans* have no communication with the class of common people, consisting of husbandmen, mechanics, and the lower populace, these *Hindûs* choose a priest from among themselves, and likewise a god, commonly of the two lower classes; whose image they set up in their houses. The whole process of their worship consists in the following particulars: on *Friday* they boil rice with milk; kill he-goats, swine, hens, and peacocks: then taking *Suri* for drink, and some new linen, never before used, present them all to their image; at the same time desiring that they may be kindly accepted at his hand; and that whatever they pray for may be granted them. When they have performed all their usual ceremonies, they take away the dishes of meat-offerings, and feed on them; distributing part of them among their friends and acquaintance, who are of the same sect. If any one of them falls sick, they pray the image for his health, in these words; *O god, restore health, and I vow to give thee ten gilders, which shall be spent in meat-offering; or I will kill a he-goat, or boil rice, for thy use; or else I will make thee an image, &c.* Besides this, says our *Malabâr* author (who was of the class of merchants) the populace have no other religion but their belly^a.

^a ROGER, ubi supr. p. 217—225.
p. 43.

^a Ibid. p. 236, & seqq.

^a Ibid. p. 207, & seqq.

^a PHILLIPS'S Account of Malabar,

^a Ibid. p. 60. & seqq.

(L) This is the service, doubtless, which is performed in temples of *Ishuren*.

(M) Or Eagle-wood.

(N) *Pullayar*, or *Wikk n Ishuren*, one of *Ishuren's* sons.

Images for the
vulgar only.

AFTER all, the *Malabarians* pretend, that wise and understanding men among them perform their worship without images; these being designed (say they, like the *Romanists*) for children only, and the duller sort of people, who know not what ideas to form of the celestial beings^a. And, in reality, we shall find that some even of the *Brâmmans* themselves renounce the use of images; and for that reason do not even frequent the pagods. Many confess the impotency of their images, and acknowledge that the whole system of their divinity is nothing but a perplexed jargon of incomprehensible notions, inconsistent with, and destructive one of another.

^a Danish Letters, p. 20.

S E C T. V.

Religious ceremonies.

Holy ashes.

Pilgrimages.

Penances

for sins.

Purgatory.

Exorcisms.

Several opinions

THE religious worship of the *Hindûs* is attended with a great number of ceremonies; b such as observing festivals and fasts, of which they have several in the course of the year. Their washings and purifications, in which sprinkling with holy water, and holy ashes, made of cow-dung, are reckoned of no small efficacy. These ashes are made and consecrated by the priests of different sects, and are strewed upon the images of their gods, as well as the bodies of the people, particularly on their foreheads; as a preservative against misfortunes, and charm against evil spirits, in which last capacity beads are also used. Pilgrimages likewise are no less frequent in the *Indies* than in *Europe*; and besides the places of particular resort, several of which are to be found in every country of the *Hindûs*, there are also places of general resort: such as, *Kâsi* or *Banârres*, on the *Ganges*; *Matura*, near *Agra*; *Kanjevoram*, in *Karnâta*; and *Devaraka* (or *Dawarka*) near *Surât*, with two or three more; to which they flock from c all parts of *Hindûstân* and the hither peninsula^a.

THIS is reckoned a very meritorious act, and serves as a means to expiate sins. For this end likewise they have penances of several kinds; the most easy of which seems to surpass the most rigid practised by the clergy and laity of the church of *Rome*. Some will sit, others stand, in the same posture for years together. Some carry vast loads; others drag most weighty chains. Some expose themselves to the scorching sun; others are seen hanging before a fire with their heads downwards. In short, the acts which they perform of this nature, are astonishing, and almost incredible, were they not so unanimously attested by travellers^x. By such severities inflicted on the body, by good works, and a hearty repentance, the *Hindûs* hope to obtain forgiveness of their sins, and work out their salvation. They have no notion d of a remission through God's free grace, nor of any redeemer but God alone. They say, no man can release another from sin; not even God's son, who they say, is not without sin^y. For all this, they believe their sins may be remitted at a much easier rate; as saying a few prayers, and the *Vedamantiram*, or prayer of five words, in great veneration with the *Brâmmans*; who also pretend to transfer the sins of the people upon cows. But this imposition costs the people dear; for, on that occasion, they are obliged to provide no fewer than 200 cows, which the *Brâmmans* take for their trouble^z.

THE *Hindûs* believe a future state, with rewards and punishments. They hold also a purgatory, as hath been observed before. They entertain the same notions of the devil, witches, and apparitions, as prevail in *Europe*. They say, that evil spirits do much mischief in this world; that they kill some men and women, and possess others. In this latter case they are carried to the pagods, where meat-offerings are made to the god intreated to deliver the demoniac. Then they strike the person with a cudgel, to frighten the devil; who, not liking such treatment, marches-off in anger, complaining loudly of the injustice done him to be dislodged. However, among the gang of devils, there are, it seems, three so very obstinate, that they will not go out of the possessed, even though conjured in the name of the One only God, the Supreme Being^a. e

As for the soul of man, they entertain many different opinions about it. Some hold God to be the soul; others hold it to be a part of God. A third sort will have it, that, at the creation, God created all those souls at once, which were designed for the race of mankind. Others again say, that the soul is begotten by the parents; and a fifth sort believe it to be the product of the five elements (A). The greater number believe all souls to be eternal as well f

^a ROGER, p. 263, & seqq. BALD. p. 815, & seq. PHILLIPS, p. 6. 63, 105.

BALD. p. 817. PHILLIPS, p. 27, 57.

BALD. p. 117.

^a Ibid. p. 85, 143, & seq.

^x ROGER, p. 258.

^y PHILLIPS, *ibid.* p. 155, 156, 163.

^z Ibid. p. 100.

(A) To earth, water, fire, and air, they add the wind, according to *Roger*, and the heavens, according to *Balieu*. Perhaps instead of the heaven, we may place the æther, or æthærial matter.

- a as immortal. Of these some affirm them to be contained in the essence of God ; others say they existed out of God, and slept before the world was created. Those who hold they were not from eternity, say they were created before the world, and lodged in the essence of the Deity. Most *Indians* believe, that every person has two souls, a good one and a bad one^b ; or rather they are thus distinguished : one is called the supreme soul, which is no other than God himself ; the second is the animal soul, which is in man the sensitive principle of pleasure and pain, love, hatred, and other affections. Some will have it to be spiritual, others material ; which latter make it the eleventh sense in man : for they distinguish the active from the passive organs, or those of sensation ; and they reckon ten senses, instead of five^c. Lastly, the *Hindûs* hold the souls both of men and other animals to be the same.
- b As to the difference which appears to be between them, they say, it is not in the soul itself, but is owing to the different structure and organization of the several bodies, which give greater advantages to creatures of different species, as well as of the same species : and hence it is that some have more understanding than others ; that some reason well, and others reason ill^d.

THE doctrine of transmigration is generally held by all the *Hindû* nations ; and indeed has spread itself over the greater part of *Asia*. It is hard to say when it first appeared in the world, or to what cause it owes its origin. Some suppose it took its rise from *Wistnum's* tenfold incarnation ; others think the prohibition to eat animal food is derived from thence : but, as there is no express command for the belief of the transmigration, nor even mention of it in the *Shaster*, at least in *Lord's* abstract of it, it seems rather to owe its rise to that prohibition, by way of accounting for it ; as the alternate destruction and renovation of things seems to have sprung from the transmigration, in conjunction with the notion of the world's being eternal. This state of the soul is a kind of purgatory, and designed as a punishment, not a felicity : for those souls only which are pure go immediately into heaven ; the impure transigrate or pass into several bodies successively, in order to obtain a perfect purification, which requires many regenerations. Sometimes this passage is from a better body or state to a worse : sometimes from a worse to a better. But the souls of very impure persons migrate into venomous (or servile) beasts (as post-horses), or are born in a very abject condition^e.

^b Danish. Lett. part ii. p. 23. ROGER, p. 192, & seq.

& seq. ^d ROGER, p. 190, & seq.

^c P. PONS. ap. Lett. Ediff. tom. xxvi. p. 244.

^e Danish Lett. p. 22. & seq.

S E C T. VI.

Of the Hindû priests, and their several sects.

- d THERE are among the *Hindûs* three sorts of clergy ; the first by birth, who are the *Brâmmans* ; the second by adoption, who are of the tribe of *Shuâderis*, or the merchants, admitted by the *Brâmmans* ; and the third by nomination or election, being those chosen by the other tribes to perform the office of priests among them.

WE have already given an account of the *Brâmmans*, as one of the four tribes into which the *Hindûs* are divided : we shall now consider them in respect of their office ; on which occasion it must be observed, that they are a sacerdotal tribe, like that of *Levi* among the *Jews* : like them also, they have been at certain times, and are still in some places, both chiefs and priests. They came originally from the country between the river *Jemni* and the mountain *Hima* or *Imaus*, to the north of *Patna*^f. They pretend to be descended from the god *Brâmma*, or *Brûmma* ; and, in virtue of this original, assume to be perfectly pure, and free from sin^g. Hence it is also that they are esteemed the prime nobility, and enjoy many privileges ; and, among the rest, do not prostrate themselves before kings, as other subjects do, but sit in their presence^h. The belief of their divine original makes them excessively proud, and look upon the other tribes with contempt : not will they touch, converse with, or even administer the priestly offices to, the class of the people whom they hold unclean ; and yet will receive their alms in money, when purified by water.

- It is certain, that the *Brâmmans* are by the other tribes treated with a profound respect, on account of their pretended descent, and the privileges granted to them by the *Vedam*, or their sacred books. These are first to celebrate the feast called *Jagam* : at what time they do two things, which on other occasions they are forbidden, and to which they seem to have the greatest abhorrence ; namely, taking away the life of animals, and eating flesh. For at this feast they sacrifice a beast ; but, to avoid shedding its blood, they strangle or stifle it : then, cutting it to pieces, they eat part of the heart, with other *Brâmmans* present ; after which they
- f things, which on other occasions they are forbidden, and to which they seem to have the greatest abhorrence ; namely, taking away the life of animals, and eating flesh. For at this feast they sacrifice a beast ; but, to avoid shedding its blood, they strangle or stifle it : then, cutting it to pieces, they eat part of the heart, with other *Brâmmans* present ; after which they

^f P. PONS. ap. Lett. Ediff. tom. xxvi. p. 220. Church. Collect. Trav. vol. iii. p. 812.

^g Danish Lett. part i. p. 20. 22.

^h BALD. ap.

burn the rest. Their second privilege is to teach the *Settreas* (or *Kutteris*) (B) the manner of celebrating the *Jagam*; but they are not allowed to do the same to the other two tribes. The third is to read the *Vedam*; and the fourth privilege is to teach it to their own tribe and that of the *Sattreas*; to which they are confined. Lastly, they are allowed the privilege to demand but not to give alms; while the other tribes may give but not demand themⁱ. Thus they have the impious policy to free themselves from the obligation of charity by a divine commission.

never put to death.

WE must not omit another great privilege which belongs to the *Brâmmans*, and that is, never to be punished with death, for any crime whatever committed by them. Instead of that, they only put out their eyes; it being reckoned one of the five mortal sins to kill a *Brâmmân*. In this case the *Vedam* has ordained, that the offender shall perform a twelve-years pilgrimage, begging alms, with the *Brâmmân's* skull in his hand; and that he shall eat and drink out of it whatever is given to him. At the expiration of the twelve years he is to bestow a great deal of alms himself, and build a pagod in honour of *Eswara* (or *Iskuren*). But in case a *Brâmmân* goes to the war, with an intention to kill others, the crime of killing him is not so great, and may be expiated by building a temple only^k.

Their office,

THE office of the *Brâmmans* is purely to teach others, not only to write, read, and cast accounts, but also to instruct them thoroughly in the principles of their religion: and this is their principal business, which they are obliged to discharge without any reward for their trouble: but, in case they are poor, they may then receive gratuities from their disciples, not to enrich themselves, but barely to maintain them decently. Indeed the kings (or *Rajabs*) are under an obligation to prevent their being beholden for a maintenance to those they teach, by providing for them, and assigning the revenues of certain villages for the support of them and their families: but as their number is so great that the kings cannot provide for them all, therefore the inhabitants of the respective countries are obliged to contribute to their subsistence; and the people say, that although the *Brâmmans* receive more than one third part of the revenue of the land, yet there are still a great number of them so poor that they are forced to beg. Necessity likewise obliges them often to make use of other means, besides teaching, to get a livelihood; as following merchandize, practising physic, and the like. However, they must not put their hands to tillage, painting, or any handicraft trade; neither must they do any servile office for any person, even the king; as to wash his feet, serve him with *betel*, or the like. For such an offence he would be degraded, and expelled his tribe: but they may officiate as secretaries, ambassadors, or counsellors; and indeed few besides them obtain these employments^l. However, they often take-up with those of a meaner kind, and even serve as guides to conduct travellers.

and maintenance:

born brought up.

THE *Brâmmans* hold their children and their house to be unclean for the first ten days after their birth, when great ceremony is used to purify both. On the twelfth they make a fire, called *Homan*, into which they throw incense, and other things, accounting it holy; and when it is consumed, give the infant its name. After this they bore their ears, not to hang jewels in, but to signify their being devoted to *Wisnum* or *Isburen*; on which occasion they wish the child much holiness. The next thing they do is to invest them with the little cord called *Dsandhem*, which is hung on the left shoulder, and descends low on the right side. This is done when the child is five years old: but as it is attended with some little expence, therefore if the parents be poor, it is deferred till the tenth year. When this cord is put on, they are called *Brâmma Saris* (or the children of *Brâmmans*); nor are they till then considered as such. They bear this name so long as they remain unmarried; nor can they, during that time, either lie with a woman, or chew *betel*, which they say excites venery. They likewise are to eat but once a day, and to beg for the victuals they eat. These rules are enjoined by the *Vedam*, but not exactly observed^m.

The cord.

THE little cord above-mentioned is of fine thread, and consists of three small strings, made by *Brâmmans*. He never puts this cord off, rising up or lying down; and if it breaks, he cannot eat till he gets another; nor is reckoned of the tribe so long as he is without it. For this reason they renew this cord every *August*; at which time they give it to children. As this cord is not a badge, as some imagine, by which the *Brâmmans* are distinguished; those of the other tribes may and do wear it often, in imitation of their ancestors, and to shew their zeal. When their children are fit to learn, they teach them themselves, unless hindered by other occupations; in which case they either take a tutor into their house, or send them to the *Brâmmans*, who keep school: for none but *Brâmmans* must teach *Brâmmans*. And the other tribes, in imitation of them, will not suffer their children to be instructed by those of an inferior family: but masters of superior tribes will teach those of inferior tribes, excepting the

ⁱ ROGER, Mœurs des Bram. p. 32. P. 43, & seq.

^k Ibid. p. 3, & seq.

^l Ibid. p. 33, & seq.

^m Ibid.

(B) That is, those of the tribe of *Rajabs* and *Rajpûts*.

a children of *Perrcas*; who, being esteemed vile, those of the fourth and lowest tribe begrudge to teach them^a.

In marrying thir sons, the *Brâmmans* take care not to chuse a maiden of their own tribe, *Their mar-* who has not had her monthly visitations. They are no less careful to provide husbands for *riages.* their daughters before that time; otherwise no person can marry them: but ways are found to get over this difficulty, by concealing their age. In visiting the family where they propose to chuse a wife for their son, they are careful to observe every frivolous matter, which they reckon an ill sign; and if they meet any such three times running, they drop the pursuit. When they break the affair to the girl's father, he usually asks to see the young man; and in case he likes him, as well as the portion, which he is to receive, the youth has then liberty to
b visit the family and see his mistress. The ceremonies observed at the marriages of *Brâmmans* are much the same with those used by the laity of other tribes. When the match is concluded on, and the father has given his daughter's hand to her intended spouse, the latter takes the *tali*, which is a little girdle, with a golden head of some god fastened to it, and ties it about the neck of his bride, which makes the marriage sure. But it sometimes happens, that when the bridegroom is going to perform that ceremony, and does not give the dowry which the bride's father expects; one of those present steps in, and offering to give what is demanded, carries off the lady, with her father's consent. When the husband dies, the *tali* is buried *Odd custom.* with him; except the widow burns herself, and then it is burned along with her. The marriage is concluded by erecting a *Pandal*, and making a procession through the city, in the
c same manner as is done by those of other tribes. When the children of *Brâmmans* are married, they are no longer called *Brâmmasaris*, but *Grabastas*; and then receive the second little cord, which is like the first; and usually they add a third cord, which serves for an upper garment: for, as the *Brâmmans* are forbidden to go with their breast bare, yet commonly do, if they have their cord on, they think their breast is covered. Every ten years they are obliged by their *Vedam* to add another string to the former: but they do not all follow its injunctions^c.

When the young *Brâmmans* are grown more in years, they often take wives out of the other tribes; and even that of *Soudra* (or *Weyz*), which is the lowest, and held in contempt *Polygamy al-* by the upper classes. But the *Brâmmans* themselves censure this practice, thinking it a great *lowed them:* sin to leave children by such a woman; and believe, that the father of them will be excluded heaven, so long as they, or any of their descendants, remain on earth. However, the *Brâmmans* are careful not to marry their children to those who are near of kin to them; for they have an abhorrence to incest, which is one of the five mortal sins, scarce ever to be pardoned. In this case the *Vedam* ordains, that the offender shall be castrated, and left to die with his genitals in his hand. Our author was told of a *Brâmmann*, then living, who having, by mistake, lain with his mother, whom he found in his bed; instead of his wife, inflicted that punishment on himself, and would have drowned himself, had he not been hindered. Polygamy is carried to great excess often by the *Brâmmans*, as well as the other *practised to* tribes. *Barthrouberri*, renowned for his proverbs, and other works, had no fewer than three *excess.* hundred, though his father had only four. The graver sort condemn this custom; but say it is not sinful, because the *Vedam* has not forbidden it. However, they look on it to be a very bad action for one of their tribe who has many wives to keep a concubine. There is no punishment indeed either for this vice or for adultery: yet when a *Brâmmann's* wife is inconstant, he sometimes locks her up in a close place, and gives her victuals while she lives: but, in case he loves her much, and finds the other *Brâmmans* avoid going to his house as before, he makes a feast, and, inviting several of his tribe to it, his wife serves at table; and as the guests receive the victuals from her hand, she is thenceforth looked upon as an honest woman^d.

The diet of the *Brâmmans* is exceedingly temperate; their victuals consist solely of rice, *Their diet tem-* fruits, roots, and herbs. Nor is their drink less simple, being nothing but water; except at *perate.* meals they sometimes take a draught of milk; for which purpose they usually keep a cow. They never make use of any liquor which either hath an agreeable taste (C), or is apt to intoxicate; for they abhor drunkenness, which is one of their mortal sins. This tribe, thro' pride, will never go to the house of those of other tribes to eat or drink, excepting *Tayer*, or cream; which they believe to be of the same nature with the *Amortam*, or *Neſtar*, of the gods, often mentioned before. But nothing will prevail with one of them to eat in such a person's house, or in the house of a *Brâmmann* of a different sect. Nay, if his wife is of another tribe, she must not eat with her husband; and, as none are permitted, not even the king,

^a ROGER, Mœurs des Bram. p. 47. & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 56—52.

^d Ibid. p. 64—67.

(C) That is, for their own private drinking, and in *Karrâta*; but in *East Malabar* they make their drink-offering of honey, sugar, and the juice of ka-koa nut.

which offering, doubtless, they afterwards drink themselves.

to see a *Brâmmān* eat, the wife also is subject to the same law: so that should the husband, through fondness, permit her that liberty, the other *Brâmmāns* would neither eat with him, nor in his house⁹.

Dispute about As two of the four tribes, namely, the *Brâmmāns* and *Baniyans*, eat nothing but vegetables; and the other two, which are the *Settreas* (or *Kutteris*), and the *Soudras* (or *Wise*), feed upon fish and flesh, there is no small dispute among them on this account. The *Brâmmāns* allege, that those two tribes commit a great sin in killing animals: on the other hand, the *Kutteri* or *Râjab* tribe maintain, that in so doing they act better than the *Brâmmāns*: because, say they, to support a great many people, there is no need to kill more than one beast; and in so doing no more than one soul is dislodged from its body: whereas the *Brâmmāns*, to nourish themselves, are obliged to dislodge many souls from their bodies, by plucking-up roots and plants. For they believe that all vegetables have souls, as well as beasts; and that the souls of men pass into them equally alike.

dislodging souls. To this the *Brâmmāns* are able only to make the following lame reply; that they do not commit so great a sin as the *Kutteri* in killing a buck; since the souls which are in roots and herbs are in the most abject of all bodies; and that in being dislodged they change their state for the better, as they pass into the bodies of men or beasts. However, they are so gruelled on this chapter, that they acknowledge they would refrain from eating vegetables, could they subsist without it: and some are so troubled in mind on this occasion, that they content themselves with plucking leaves and fruit, without pulling up any thing by the roots, in order to avoid dislodging souls¹.

Ecclesiastical hierarchy. THE *Brâmmāns* are as priests both secular and regular: they have likewise a hierarchy among them: but their several orders are not well, if at all, distinguished by authors (D). We have already seen the form of their ecclesiastical degrees, though confusedly and imperfectly, among the west *Malabârs*. In the country between that and *Surât*, we are told they are distinguished into two sorts, *Buts* and *Sinâis*: from which two roots spring the other branches. The difference was occasioned by a famine in the low lands, where the *Sinâis* resided, which obliged them to eat fish, to prevent perishing. For this reason they are greatly despised by the purer *Buts*, who did not violate their law under such pressing circumstances. These latter apply themselves wholly to study, and teaching the mysteries of their religion: they also lead an exact regular life, abstracted from all worldly employments, excepting such as contribute to preserve life (E); the chief and most skilful physicians being of this class of *Brâmmāns*. These are masters of all their ceremonies, or doctors of their canon law, and instruct the other tribes therein.

THE *Sinâis* are more biassed to secular offices, and out of them are made their fighting bishops (F); *Desîs*, or farmers of the king's revenues; *Pundits*, who are governors of towns and provinces; physicians, accountants, scrivans or secretaries, and interpreters².

Kuru or priests. Kinds. THE learned part of the *Brâmmāns* [who are those called *Buts* in some parts of *India*] are of two kinds. The first called *Kûru* (or *Gourou*), who are of the priesthood; and the second termed *Sastiriar* (or *Shastiriar*), who are professors of the different systems in divinity. Of the first kind there are (in *Eastern Malabâr*) three distinct orders, the *Wayrawenada Kûrû*, the *Pancharsha Kûrû*, and *Mabulley Kûrû*. Their office is to prepare the offerings for religious worship. Of the second kind, or *Shastiriar*, there are four classes; the *Chesha Sastiriar*, *Minalstri Sastiriar*, the *Chidambara Sastiriar*, and *Mogarambara Sastiriar*. These explain severally the different systems of their divine law, and receive the youth into their schools, in order to make trial of their faith: for if in the end they are not found disposed firmly to believe all the mysteries of their religion, their study will be deemed to no purpose. Besides the two kinds of learned *Brâmmāns* before-mentioned, there are many others, not much inferior to them in wisdom and erudition; whose business chiefly it is to instruct youth in those points which relate to the ceremonies used in public worship, and solemn festivals, as they are taught in the glossaries called *Sastirangol*³.

Tribes or families: THE *Bramens*, or *Brâmmāns*, are divided into eighty-two tribes (or, more properly, families), assuming the names of their respective founders; who were so many wise men or scholars famed among them for learning, and called *Augurs*, or diviners, of certain towns

⁹ ROGER, Mœurs des Bram. p. 110. 114.

¹ Ibid. p. 108, & seq.

² FRYER's Trav. p. 190.

³ PHILLIPS's Account of Malabâr, p. 9, & seq.

(D) The *Brâmmāns*, called also *Nambouri* in *Malabâr*, are there distinguished into nine classes or kinds. Those of the first four classes wholly devote themselves to the ministry: the five others apply themselves also to merchandize. The first of the nine orders are like bishops. Vinc. Mariu Viagg, p. 264.

(E) Among these then we must reckon astrology, in which we are told they are skilled; foretelling many things to come. Hamilton's new account of India, vol. i.

p. 276. In short, these *Buts* must be the *Pendets*, or doctors (in divinity), as they are called in the *Mogol's* empire, who cultivate the sciences studied in the *Indies*. See Bernier's *Memoirs of the Mogol's empire*, tom. iv. p. 144.

(F) Some go to the wars, and take the command of armies; as *Romish* bishops have often done in these parts of the world.

a where they resided. Thus the *Augur* (G) of *Visalnagra*; the second *Vulnagran-aughor*, or the *Augur of Vulnagra*; and so of the rest; the disciples of each being termed *Brâmmans* of such an *Augur*.

THE ministerial function of the *Brâmmans* consists in praying with the people, and reading their law. In performing which offices they are to observe the following injunctions. 1. To put their bodies into several droll postures, the better to draw the attention of their auditors. 2. To pray with both hands open to heaven, as ready to receive the things they petition for. 3. To pray with their eyes cast downwards, and knees doubled under them, in token of awe and reverence. 4. Never to read out of the book delivered to *Bremaw*, but with a kind of singing and quavering voice: which, they say (H), was not only practised by *Bremaw*,
b when it was first published, but also enjoined by God, that they might make his law a matter of rejoicing.

IT belongs also to the *Brâmmans* to educate and instruct the youths of the same tribe, who gradually advance to the priesthood, in the following manner. First, about the seventh year of their age, they are admitted to discipline, being clean washed, to intimate the purity of the tribe which they belong to: then they are received naked, to shew that they have stripped off all other cares, to apply themselves to study. Next, their heads are shaven; only a lock of hair is left behind, to denote that they must not forsake their study; if they do, by that lock they shall be drawn back again. They are likewise bound to a *Pythagorean* silence and attention: they are forbidden to talk, spit, or cough: they are obliged also to wear about their waist a girdle of antelope-skin, and a thong of the same about their neck, descending under the left arm. This may be called their initiation or noviceship.
c

ABOUT the age of fourteen (if capable) they are admitted to be *Brâmmans*, and exchange those leather-thongs for four sealing threads, which pass over the right shoulder, and under the left arm. These they never put off, even when they go to bed; but wear, as the badge of their profession, in honour of God, and the three persons, *Bremaw*, *Vistney*, and *Rudderi*. At the time of this kind of ordination, they are enjoined; 1. Not to change their tribe. 2. To observe all things contained in the law of the *Brâmmans*. 3. Not to communicate the mysteries of their religion to any of a different persuasion. These are most of the principal duties observed by the true *Brâmmans*.
Form of ordination.

d THE *Brâmmans*, pursuant to the precepts contained in the *Sastirangol*, get-up an hour or two before sun-rise, to perform their daily duty. They first ease nature, and then cleanse themselves carefully. After this, they wash their mouths, and perform that exercise called *Ashamen Kirigbey*; which is one of the many parts of their outward worship. Their next business is to lift up their minds to God, and read that part of the law which treats of washing and purification; at the same time washing themselves with water. They read their form of prayer, or liturgy, with all its ceremonies; after which they repeat their *Kiaddiri* (I), humbly beseeching the *Dirumurtigol* (K) to present all their performances to the great Supreme Being, in the place where his majesty dwelleth. Then they give honour and worship to their images, bringing their offerings before them. Lastly, they address themselves to the Supreme Being, as if he was there visibly present. These ceremonies are so tedious in their practice, that sometimes the greater part of the day is taken-up with this kind of exercise (L): for every part must be regularly and completely performed, and by no means either abridged or interrupted; not even by the presence of the king.
e Daily duty.

DIVINE service, we are told, is performed in *Malabâr* by *Brâmmans*, *Pantaren*, and *Antigol*.
Service-priests. Whence it should seem, that the two latter orders are not *Brâmmans*; yet none of the missionaries, either protestant or popish, inform us of what tribe they are, though so frequently mentioned by them. Their neglect in this and other matters makes it very difficult to deliver any thing certain, or complete, concerning the several orders and kinds of clergy amongst the *Hindûs*. However, from the very faint lights which they afford us, we shall endeavour to give our readers the best satisfaction we are able.
f

THE second kind of clergy are those made *Brâmmans* by adoption. These are by the *Baniyans* called *Varteas*, or *Verteai*, and by the *Mohammedans* *Sevrabs*. They are some of *Brâmmans*: the tribe of *Shudderi*, or the merchants, who for devotion take this condition on them; but Adopted

^a LORD'S Account of the Banians, chap. 10. sup. p. 43.

^x PHIL. ubi sup. p. 5. 43.

^y PHIL. ubi

(G) Here we find, perhaps, the origin of the word *Augur*; and *Palliagar* may be a compound of the same term.

(H) One would be apt from hence to think, that this remark is not taken from the *Shastar*: and indeed Mr. Lord so frequently mixes things of his own with the text, that it is difficult often to tell what is to be found in the *Shastar*, and what not: so that he is to be read with very great caution. And this confounding things

together, without any distinction, as well as his omissions, makes a new translation or abstract of the *Shastar* absolutely necessary.

(I) A form of prayer.

(K) The three inferior gods of the first class; *Brâmma*, *Wistnum*, and *Ruddiren*, or *Ishuren*.

(L) You have the whole process of it at length in *Roger*, p. 94; where it appears to be extremely laborious, and even a perfect penance.

they are only a few, in comparison of the true *Brâmmans*. The *Vertea*, for his habit, wears a white woollen garment, which reaches to the middle of his thigh; the lower parts being left naked. His head is always uncovered, to testify his perpetual reverence for God above. They shave neither the head nor beard; but pluck out the hairs by the roots, leaving only a lock on the crown.

several classes: THIS sort of *Brâmmans* is divided likewise into several classes or families; one is called *Sankas*; and these go not to church, but perform divine service at home. Another is named *Tuppas*; these go to church to pray. A third order are the *Kurtburs*; who pray alone without assistants. A fourth is denominated *Onkeleaus*; and these reject images. A fifth called *Pusbaleaus*, who are the most strict of them all. These *Verteas* have a festival, which is kept once every month, and holds for five days; but betwixt every two days they keep a fast. This feast is solemnized at the houses of the richer people; and commonly at those times a pension is given to prevent the death of cattle and other living creatures.

their rules strict. THESE nominal *Brâmmans* are in many respects more strict than the real. They are forbidden marriage, and are more abstemious in diet: for, of the above-mentioned feasts, they eat nothing but what is given them, and reserve nothing for another meal. They are more careful for the preservation of animals; for they will not so much as drink water till it is boiled; that so the vapour, which they believe to be the life of water, may go out of it: nay, they disperse their very ordure with a broom, lest it should generate worms, which are subject to destruction. They likewise keep hospitals for maimed birds and fowl; which they redeem from slaughter, and endeavour to cure. They have all things in common; and place no faith in outward washings, but rather embrace a life of nastiness.

Chudderers. WE meet with a class of priests named *Chudderers* (or *Shudderers*) in *East Malabâr*. These, from the name, must be priests belonging to the *Shudderis*, or merchants tribe, commonly called *Baniyans*; but whether they are real, or only adopted *Brâmmans*, does not appear from our authors. All we find is, that they are an ecclesiastical order; and have licence only to read the six systems (M) (or *Shasterangol*). They are allowed also to wear the *Lingam*, and carry the *Panchuchoram*, or five letters, composing the words *Nama Chiaya*; that is, *praise the true God*.

Elected priests. THE third sort of *Hindû* priests are those belonging to the fourth tribe, consisting of the mechanics and commonalty. As the *Brâmmans* will not converse or have any correspondence with these people, they therefore chuse priests from among themselves, as well as gods to worship.

The Vallouvers. NOR are those outcasts, the *Parreas*, who are elected even by the common people, without their priests; for among them is a sacerdotal family named *Vallouvers*: nay we are told, that these *Vallouvers* (N) pretend that they were formerly in the *Indies*, the same which the *Brâmmans* are at present. Whence it is conjectured, that the *Parreas* were the antient inhabitants of the southern *India*. However that be, they still apply themselves to the study of astronomy and astrology. There are likewise extant some books of theirs containing moral precepts, which are held in great esteem. Perhaps these *Vallouvers* are the descendants of those fishermen of *Malabâr*, who are said, in the *Purân*, to have been constituted *Brâmmans* by *Wistnum*, in the shape of *Pareshi Rama*. These used to wear the thread of a fishing-net about their necks, when performing their sacrifices; and hence perhaps it is, that *De Faria* affirms, the *Brâmmans* took their string of three threads from a fishing-net. Let us now return to the *Brâmmans*.

^y LORD, ubi supr. cap. 10.

^z PHILIPS'S Account of Malabâr, p. 14. 20.

^a Ibid. p. 61.

^b P. PONS. ap. Lettr. Edif. tom. xxvi. p. 219; & seq.

^c BALDÆUS, ap. Church's Coll. Trav. vol. iii.

p. 780.

^d DE FARIA'S Port. Asia, v. l. ii. p. 385.

(M) The *Shudderis*, or *Baniyans*, are not allowed to read the *Vedam*, or have it explained to them.

or *Shammanin*. of whom M. La Croix, p. 474 & 491, gives an account from *Ziegenbalg*.

(N) These seem to be the same with the *Shamman*,

S E C T. VII.

Sects of Brâmmans.

Sects regarding faith. THE *Brâmmans* may be farther distinguished into several sects or orders, both as to their profession and way of living: but of these, authors have treated so very confusedly, as well as imperfectly, that for the general it is very difficult to ascertain which class they belong to. Mr. Roger is almost the only one who has taken care to range them in order, and bring those of each kind together. According to this laborious and judicious writer, with regard to profession, the *Brâmmans* are divided into six sects. The first is named *Weistnouwa*, from their attachment to *Wistnum*; whom they hold to be the Sovereign God.

- a God. When those of the *Soudra* (or *Wife*), which is the tribe of commonalty, agree in sentiments with the *Weistnouwa*, they are called *Dacheri* (A), that is, *Obligeants*; which the *Brâmmans* say implies being servants to their tribe, which they will have to be an honour to the *Soudras*.

THE sect of *Weistnouwa* is subdivided into two others; one called *Tadwadi*, which signifies *The Tadwadi*, *disputers*; valuing themselves on discoursing profoundly concerning God. They are likewise named *Madwa Weistnouwa*, from one *Madwa Acharia*, the author of their sect. These are marked with a white line from the nose to the forehead; also on the temples, on the place where the arms join the shoulders, and on the breasts, with a circle as large as a half-crown. They say, this is the mark of *Wistnum*; and so strong a charm or defence, that while they wear it, neither the devil, nor *Jamma*, judge of hell, dare lay a finger on them. These *Tadwadi* have a chief, who lives at *Kombekonne*, near *Pallickatta*, on the coast of *Choromandel*. This chief wears no strings about his neck, like the other *Brâmmans*, nor has any wives; but when he marries he must quit his order. He commonly carries a *Bambou* stick in his hand^a.

- b THE second branch is termed *Ramanowya Wistnouwa*. These mark their forehead with a figure like the Greek *Ipsilon*; beginning at the nose, and carrying it upward. This is done with a kind of white chalk. They likewise make another mark with a hot iron, at the joining of the arms with the shoulders. They say, that when once they have devoted themselves sincerely to *Wistnum*, he will not punish them altho' they commit sin, which none can avoid; like a father, who does not put his child to death for committing a fault. They differ in many other points from the *Tadwadi*. They go bare-headed; and have their hair shaved-off, excepting a lock on the crown, which hangs behind. As the head of this sect is a person of consideration, he resides at *Kanjewaram*, a famous city of *Karnâtika* (or *Karnâta*). He has the privilege to wear a piece of linen on his head, when he speaks to any-body. The *Ramanowya* say, their sect is better than that of the *Tadwadi*, because they never trade, nor enter bawdy-houses; being withheld by rigorous punishments, which are not inflicted on the others.

- c THE second sect of *Brâmmans* is called *Seivia*, and also *Aradbeya*. They hold *Eswara*, or *Isburen*, to be the sovereign God, and all the rest, even *Wistnum*, to be inferior to him. Those of the family of *Soudra*, who are of the same opinion, are named *Tangam*. This sect mark their foreheads with two or three streaks of cow-dung ashes; and some wear a stone *Lingam* about their necks; others in their hair. They make their children wear it when eight years old, covered with wax, and tied to their arms. This badge is to shew their inviolable attachment to *Isburen*, and that they acknowledge no other god. The *Soudras*, who wear the *Lingam*, must abstain from fish, and all other animal food, like the *Brâmmans*.

- d THE third sect is termed *Smarta*. These affirm, that *Wistnum* and *Isburen*, although adored under different images, are yet the same being; and have an aversion to their competition for the sovereign godhead. Few of the *Soudra*, or common people, follow this sect, as the doctrine is above their capacity. Besides, the *Brâmmans* make a great mystery of it. One *Sankra Acharia* was the author of this sect; and the *Brâmmans*, from whom *Abr. Roger* had all his information, was a member of it.

e THE fourth sect of *Brâmmans* by profession is called *Sbarwakka*. These are of the *Epi-* *euræan* sentiments; denying the immortality of the soul, or any future state or life after this: and, when others argue with them on that point, they require positive and visible proof of their position. For all this they live very exemplary lives.

- f THE fifth sect is named *Pasenda*. These say, that the *Hindû* law is not true; and mind nothing but their belly. Like the former sect, they believe not in a future state; and ask how it is possible, that a man who is burnt to ashes should come to life again? Our author's *Brâmmans* accused them with acting like beasts, for that they made no distinction between father and mother, brother and sister; because likewise they will eat with any-body and lie with any-body; saying, that they lay with their own wife, when they lay with another woman. Those of the *Smarta* sect attribute this impiety to their expecting no other life but the present; and disregarding the good opinion of mankind: at the same time they suppose, that the desire of being applauded induces the *Sbarwakka* to lead virtuous lives, although they believe in a future state no more than the *Pasenda*. However this be, both sects are afraid publicly to declare their opinion, to avoid the furious zeal of the other sects; who, in times past, have made several massacres of those who held that opinion.

^a ROGER, ubi supr. p. 17, & seqq.

(A) In the original *Dactferi*.

6th sect,
Chektea.

THE sixth sect is called *Chektea*. These maintain, that neither *Wistnum* nor *Ishuren* is the Supreme God; but one *Chekti*, from whom, they say, those gods and *Brâmma* had their origin: that they exist solely by his power; as does also this world, and every thing in it. This sect also resembles the two former, in that they will not submit to the *Vedam*; and expect that every thing which they are to believe should be made evident to their senses. These three last sects are held as heretics by the *Hindûs*, and have but very few followers ^b.

The Ishuren
sects.

WITH regard to the sects acknowledging *Ishuren* and *Wistnum* for the Supreme Being, we have another account from the *Malabarians*; among whom, we are told, there are several sects of each kind; but principally three attached to the former, and four to the latter. The three sects devoted to *Ishuren*, and who all carry the *Lingam* about them, are, first, that of *Chiwawedum*, the followers of which are called *Chayver* and *Chiwawedakkarer*. This sect is subdivided into many others; who only worship *Ishuren* and his family. The second sect is named *Wiruchaywam*, and followed by the *Wiruchaywer*: these make a *Lingam* of stone, or chrystal, called *Biran Lingam*; which they wear about them, and to which they perform their devotions. It is buried with them; for the bodies of these sectaries are not burned. The third sect is called *Cbilamadum*; and its followers, *Cbilamadakarrers*. They also carry a crystal *Lingam*, and are buried in a sitting posture, with their hands lifted up, as if at prayers, called *Chimadu*. These likewise dig a well in their houses, where neither sun nor moon can penetrate; whose water only they make use of both in their ceremonial washings and dressing their victuals. These three sects are comprised under the general term of *Cbiwamadum*, or *Cbiwakalam*.

Four Wistnum
sects.

THE four sects devoted to *Wistnu* (or *Wistnum*) are, first, the *Wistnuwedum*, whose adherents are named *Wistnuwedakkarer*, or *Wistnupaddikarer*. These always carry on their foreheads, or arms, the name of *Wistnum*, and worship *Perumal*, which is one of that god's appellations. The second sect is *Tadduwadimadum*, and its followers *Tadduwadikarer*. These sprinkle themselves with sandal powder, and worship *Wistnum* under the name of *Rishtnen* (B). The third sect, *Nama Perumalwedum*, do also carry on their foreheads, or arms, the *Dirunamum* (C), and worship *Rishtnen* (or *Kishtna*). The fourth sect, *Chainermadum*, or that followed by the *Chainer*, observe the same way of worship with the former, and eat off a brass-plate ^c.

Sects, as to
living.

WE come now to the *Brâmmans* sects of the second kind; that is, those distinguished by their course of living. These are denominated *Jagbîs* when *Brâmmans*: but when they are of the *Soudra*, or fourth tribe, they are called *Joghîs*; which the generality of travellers seem to have confounded together.

1. The Wana-
prastas.

THESE *Jagbîs* and *Joghîs*, so separated from the rest by their manner of life, are of three sorts or sects; *Wanaprastas*, *Sanjassî*, and *Avadoutas*. The *Wanaprastas* retire into the woods with their wives and children; living on such herbs and fruits as they can find there, without working. Some of these are so scrupulous, that they will not pluck up the least root from the ground, for fear of dislodging some soul from its body; and they are reckoned very holy on account of this retired way of living.

2. The San-
jassî.

THE *Sanjassî* (E) renounce all kinds of worldly pleasures, and are more austere than the former sect. These cannot marry, nor take food above once a day; nor must they eat or drink out of copper, but earthen, vessels. They are obliged to live on alms; and wear a red habit, carrying a *Bambû* wand or stick in their hand. They must not even touch money, or have any fixed abode. They must not so much as lodge more than one night in a place; but must continually shift their quarters; excepting for two months in the year, they are at liberty to abide in one place. On this occasion they chuse out a place which is reckoned holy, and on that account may remain there during life, if they think fit. These *Sanjassî* must conquer six enemies; concupiscence, anger, avarice, pride, love of the world, and revenge; in order to fit them for the contemplation of things divine. The term *Sanjassî* belongs only to those who are *Brâmmans*; when they are of the tribe either of the *Kutterîs*, or the *Banîyans*, they are named *Perma amfa* (F); if of the *Soudra*, or tribe of commonalty, they are called *Joghîs*: but these last take more liberty in their way of living than the true *Sanjassî*.

3. The Ava-
doutas.

THE *Avadoutas* are still more rigid than the *Sanjassî*. They not only abandon their wives and children, but their earthen vessels for eating out of, the *Bambû* stick to rest on, and their cloaths; retaining nothing but a piece of cloth to cover their privities: nay some lay even that

^b ROGER, ubi supr. p. 21, & seqq.

^c PHILLIPS'S Account of Malabâr, p. 34, & seqq.

(B) A mistake, doubtless, of the press for *Kishtnen*, or *Krishnen*; by others called *Kishtna*, or *Krishna*; whose shape *Wistnum* had assumed in his eighth incarnation.

(C) Or ashes of cow dung, prepared by the *Brâmmans* and other priests.

(D) The name *Jogbî* comes from *Yogam*, or *Jog*,

which signifies union. *P. Pons, Lett. Edif.* tom. xxvi. p. 245.

(E) Called by others *Sannassî*, and *Sanias*. *P. Pons* says these were certainly the ancient *Gymnosophists*. *Lett. Edif.* tom. xxvi. p. 221.

(F) These seem to be the same called *Tirimimfi*, by *Baldæus*, ap. *Church. Coll. Trav.* vol. iii. p. 756.

- a aside, and go stark-naked, besmearing their bodies with cow-dung. These, when hungry, go into houses, and, without speaking, hold out their hand. Whatever is given them they eat on the spot. Others will not take so much pains for their bread; but retire to the side of holy rivers, and there expect the peasants to bring them victuals; which they accordingly do in abundance, believing it to be a very meritorious act. The *Avadutas* are reckoned very holy by the *Hindûs*, especially those who go naked; being, for that reason, supposed to have attained the highest degree of perfection. However, there are but few who expose themselves in that beastly manner to public view; for natural shame restrains the major part of them^d. These *Avadutas* seem to be the same with those whom the *Baniyans* call *Gogbi*^e; that is, when they are of their tribe.
- b ALL these three sects must be considered as penitents, whom we meet with in *East Mala-* *Avadutas*
bar under different names; such as *Pantaren*, *Antigol*^f, *Guanigol*, and the like. These last, *rigid penitents*,
we are told, are more rigid than the *Jogbigol* (or *Joghis*). They are a kind of anchorites,
living in mountains and caves. They have no possessions, and never speak to women. As
they surpass all the other sects in austerity, so do they likewise in point of wisdom; renouncing
the plurality of gods (G), and all the pagod ceremonies^g.
- To one of the three sects above-described may be referred those *Vartias*, or adopted *Brâm-* *The Vartias:*
mans, who are monastics. Mr. *De Thevenot*, speaking of a convent of these religious *Hindûs*
at *Labiir*, in the *Mogol's* empire, gives the following account of them. They have their ge-
neral, provincial, and other superiors. They vow obedience, chastity, and poverty; which
c injunction they strictly observe; and say their order has been founded above 2000 years. They
live on alms, and have lay-brothers appointed to beg for them. They eat but once a day,
and change their house every three months. They have no fixed time for their noviciate,
which some perform in two; while others are three or four years about it, if the superior
thinks fit. The main point of their institution is to avoid doing to others what they would
not have others do to themselves. This precept they observe so strictly, that, if any-body
beats them, they do not return the blows; and if they be reviled, they take it patiently.
They are very obedient to their superiors. They are forbidden to look a woman, or maiden,
in the face.
- THEY wear nothing on their bodies, but a cloth to cover their privities; which they bring *habit and*
d up to their heads to make a kind of coif, like that of a woman. They can possess no *diet:*
money, nor must reserve any part of what they feed on to-day for to-morrow: they patiently
wait till their purveyors bring them the alms given by those of their tribe. These lay-
brothers, to avoid being troublesome, take but a little from every house; as about a hand-
ful of rice, or other eatables: which must be dressed to their hands; for they have no fire
in the convent, for fear some insect might be destroyed by it. When the purveyors have gotten
provisions enough, they return to the house; and there mingling the rice, lentils, milk,
cheese, and the like, all together, an officer distributes the same equally among the *Vartias*;
who eat their portions, cold or hot, as they are given them, drinking therewith nothing but
water. They make their meal about noon, and must neither eat nor drink afterwards, till the
e same time next day.
- THE rest of the day they spend in prayer and reading, till sun-set; and then go to sleep, *strict chastity:*
never lighting a candle. They all lie in the same chamber, and have no other bed but the
bare ground. They cannot leave the order, after they have once taken the vows: but if they
violate any of them, especially that of chastity, they are expelled not only the order, but also
their tribe. The general, provincial, and all the other officers, change their convent every
four months: but their respective offices are for life; and when any of them dies, he names
to the religious him whom he thinks most fit to succeed, and they follow his choice. These *their numerous*
Vartias have above 10,000 monasteries in the *Indies*; and some of them are more austere than *monasteries*,
others: nay, there are some among them who think it enough to worship God in spirit; and
f these do not make use of images, nor will have any pagods near them. There are also
religious nuns in some places, who live with a great deal of strictness and regularity^h.

^d ROGER, ubi supr. p. 27, & seqq.
p. 19, 69, 105.

^e Ibid. p. 26.

^f Ibid. p. 29, note.

^g PHILL. Account of Malabâr,
^h THEVENOT's Trav. part iii. p. 61, & seqq.

(G) These *Guanigol*, according to *Ziegenbalg*, are the
sages, or philosophers and saints, of the *Indies*. They
hold the images and ceremonies of the temples in ab-
horrence; having, for the sole object of their adoration,

the infinitely perfect Being; of whom they have the
most sublime and just ideas. Instances whereof are
produced by *La Croz. Hist. Christ. Ind.* p. 451, & seqq.
also p. 457.

BOOK XV.

Description of the countries contained in the farther peninsula of India.

CHAP. I.

General description and history of this peninsula.

*Farther penin-
sula, its
bounds.*

THE farther peninsula of *India*, properly speaking, is bounded northward by a line, drawn from about the eastern mouth of *Ganges*, to the bay of *Tong-king*, in twenty degrees of latitude. But as some of the principal kingdoms belonging to it lie partly without those limits, and uniformity requires that we should give the description of each country intire, and in one place, without dividing it; we shall therefore consider this peninsula in a more extended sense, so as to comprise the whole of those dominions, with its limits. In this large acceptation it will be bounded on the north by part of *Tibet*, and *China*; on the east by *Tong-king*, and the gulf of *Kochin-china*; on the south by the gulf of *Siam*, and straits of the *Sund*; and on the west by the bay of *Bengál*, and the river called the *Great Bramaputren*; which, according to our ideas, rises in the mountain bounding *Tibet*, and, running southward, separates the countries included in this peninsula from *Hindústán*, and the territories of certain *Râjabs*.

*Extent and
situation.*

THE bounds and dimensions of this peninsula are pretty well ascertained on all sides but this to the west: for, on the north, they are determined in consequence of the situation given those of *Tibet* and *China*, which have been, of late years, accurately surveyed by the Jesuit missionaries; and the sea-coasts by the draughts and observations of skilful navigators. Its situation likewise, with respect to the heavens, is no less accurately fixed, by the astronomical observations made at *Siam* and *Malakka*, as well as those in its neighbourhood, at *Kanton* in *China*, and in *Bengál*. So that although the interior parts of it are not so well known as those of the hither peninsula, yet its coasts and borders may be said to be more exactly settled than those of most countries of *Asia*, excepting *China*.

Soil in general.

THESE things being premised, we may, on good grounds, advance, that this peninsula lies between the first and twenty-seventh degrees of latitude, and the 107th and 127th degrees of longitude (†): so that it is about 1000 miles long, from south to north; and 900 in breadth from west to east, where broadest; but in some parts, especially the peninsula of *Malakka*, very narrow, not exceeding 150, 100, or even 50 miles, in one or two places. THIS vast region is, in general, a very plentiful country, for fruits, silks, elephants, metals, drugs, corn, rice, pepper, and oil. Besides this, it is rich in gold and precious stones, such as diamonds, rubies, topazes, amethysts, and other kinds, with which a great trade is driven there. *Tong-king*, it is true, has neither corn nor wine of its own: but, to make amends, it enjoys a very good and temperate air; while most of the other countries suffer under the excessive heats.

*Countries con-
tained in it,*

THIS peninsula, according to some early travellers, was formerly divided into a great number of kingdoms, some of a vast extent, governed by mighty emperors. But either they were imposed on by the informations of the *Indians*; or, imagining the country extended northward from the coasts of *Bengál* and *Pegu*, as far as *Tartary*, they formed imaginary dominions there, to fill up the vacant space. The truth seems to be, as will appear in the course of our history, that this north part of the peninsula was divided among a great number

(†) Reckoning alway. from the isle of *Ferro*, about 20° west of *Paris*, and 17° 35' west of *London*.

a of petty kings, or *Rājahs*; who, at length, going to war, the weaker were subdued by the stronger. So that, at present, the dominions comprised within this third part of *India* may be reduced to the following nine; viz. those of *Aſſam*, *Tipra*, *Arrakan*, *Pegu*, *Ava*, *Laos*, *Siam*, *Kamboja*, and *Kochin-china*; to which we may add *Tong king* (by some included within the peninsula), in order to give it a place in our history.

THE inland countries, which are *Azem*, *Tipra*, *Ava*, and the *Laos*, as well as the inland parts of the rest, are very little known to us at present. The best memoirs relating to them being those left us by the early travellers; who, invited by the flourishing state of them, particularly *Pegu*, went thither for sake of commerce, in the sixteenth century; of which number were *Edoardo Barbosa*, *Cæſar Frederick*, *Gaspar Balbi*, and our *Ralf Fitch*. We must, however, except *Siam*, whose interior parts the *French*, by their embassies and relations, brought us acquainted with, towards the end of the last century. However, all this information does not amount to much; nor are the maritime parts of those countries better known to us: for although they have been visited by merchants, as well as missionaries, yet their relations respect chiefly the inhabitants, and give very little light into either the geography or history of those countries. The truth is, that, after trying the dispositions of the people, both in a religious and mercantile way, there hath been found but little encouragement either for conversions or commerce; and therefore those coasts are not much frequented at present, by either merchants or divines. Hence it is, that, although revolutions happen very often in those countries, we are yet almost intire strangers to them: and that we find more materials for political history in the ancient voyagers than in the modern. The best, if not only good ones among the latter, relating to the parts in question, being those of *Dampier*, and Captain *Hamilton*, who, in his *New account of the East Indies*, has given us the present state of all the countries and islands lying between the *Cape of Good Hope* and *Japan*.

AFTER what has been said, our readers cannot reasonably expect any-thing like a complete history of the countries within this farther peninsula: but if they consider the great imperfections of our materials, and the difficulty of connecting the scattered and discordant scraps, when brought together, in order to form something of a consistent history, they will, we presume, be very well pleased to find it is no worse.

THE same may be alleged in behalf of the geography; which, however defective, may yet be said to be the only thing tolerable of the kind that hath hitherto appeared. The early geographers, not excepting the *Sanſons*, have exhibited the countries in question very erroneously, and in great confusion: they have extended them northward, vastly beyond their bounds; introduced imaginary kingdoms; and, relying on imposing authors, such as *Mendez Pinto* and *Le Blanc*, have derived all the great rivers from an imaginary lake, called *Chiamay*, *Singapamor*, and *Kunehetee* by the first of these authors. Mr. *De l'isle*, it is true, in his maps, published the beginning of the present century, corrected those errors, by the help of later informations; but fell into others, for want of farther assistances. In particular, by relying too much on *Loubiere's* map of *Siam*, he has placed the northern borders of that kingdom four degrees, as we conceive, too high: in consequence of which, by making it almost contiguous to *China*, he has left no room for exhibiting the spacious countries which lie between; and has likewise over-much contracted the dominions of *Ava* and the *Laos*, especially the latter. He has likewise been at a loss as to the parts where the great rivers rise, which pass through this peninsula, from north to south; and the places where they entered the several countries which they water. But these mistakes we have been able to rectify, chiefly by means of the above-mentioned surveys of the Jesuits; which not only exhibit the course of all the rivers of any note, which pass out of *China* and *Tibet* into this peninsula, according to their due situations and distances; but also mark the places where the frontiers of the countries contiguous to *China*, which are *Tong-king*, *Laos*, *Pegu*, and *Ava*, begin and end: so that we are able, with more certainty, to assign those kingdoms their proper limits, as well as judge to what southern rivers the northern belong.

THUS much we judged necessary, in our defence, to be premised to the following collections. But before we enter upon a particular description of the countries within this peninsula, it will be proper to mention something in general with regard to the inhabitants. According to the histories of *China*, this empire, among the other kingdoms and states included within its wide dominion, numbered those, at present found in the farther peninsula of *India*, as *Tong-king*, *Kochin-china*, *Siam*, &c. (A). Nor is this authority to be suspected, since travellers discover very evident proofs of the footing which the *Chineſes* have had in all those countries. *Metbold* observes, that the inhabitants of *Arrakan*, *Pegu*, *Tenasserri*, and

(A) The *Chineſes* say, that *Shi wang ti*, about the year 236 before *Christ*, sent out his fleets, which conquered the maritime countries, as far as *Bengâl*; and,

at the same time, marched an army by land, which reduced all *India*, as far as *Kamboja*. See *Martini*, hist. Sinic. p. 223.

Siam, resemble the *Chineses* in features, as well as agree with them in customs and religion^a. *a*
De Faria says the same, with regard to the people of *Lao* (B); *Lanjang*, *Jangoma*, *Bimir*,
Ava, and *Kamboja*^b.

and their reli-
 gion.

HOWEVER, this conformity does not extend so far as to exclude certain variations, which almost inevitably arise from accidents and other causes. Thus, with regard to religion, though at bottom the same through the whole peninsula, yet one nation differs from another in their ceremonies, in their images, their saints, and even the founders of their respective laws; which are to be considered as so many different sects of the same faith. Nor are our readers, on account of the great agreement which appears in the external form and objects of worship, used by the inhabitants of the farther peninsula of the *Indies*, compared with those found among the people of the hither peninsula, to suppose that the religion is the same in both regions: for the idolatry of the *Malabars*, &c. consists in tritheism, or the adoration of three inferior gods, directed by the Supreme Being to make and govern the universe. Whereas that of the *Peguers*, *Siameses*, &c. comes originally from *Tibet*; and has for its founder, as well as prime object of worship, a person, who, about one thousand years before the Christian æra, broached his false religion in that country.

Its origin, and
 design.

IN forming his plan, he seems to have had a view not only to establish a new religion, but also to contrive one fraught with such high characters, as should give it the superiority of all others, especially that of the *Indians*, which was then perhaps in highest reputation. Thus, whereas the *Bramman* theology proposed three gods for the prime objects of worship, subordinate to, and created by, the Supreme Being; this impostor declared himself to be the Supreme Being, who had assumed a human nature. Secondly, whereas the *Indian* deities were invisible to their worshippers, he proposed to reside corporally among his votaries, and receive their adorations in person. Lastly, to give his followers a more convincing proof of the transformations of their god, as well as the doctrine of the metempsychosis, than the *Indians* had, he gave out that he would, from time to time, ascend to heaven, and return again in a different body.

Its extent
 of it.

ACCORDINGLY, if you will believe the people of *Tibet*, he hath resided among them ever since, excepting in the intervals when he thought fit to disappear. This sect, for a long time, had gotten footing in the hither peninsula of the *Indies*; but the *Brammans* never rested till they had excited the *Râjabs* against them, who rooted them out with fire and sword. It may likewise be presumed, that, to take down the high pretensions of this *Tibetian* deity, and make him inferior to their own gods, in point of origin as well as antiquity, they have invented the ninth transformation, or incarnation, of *Wishnú*, in the form of *Budda*, or *Luiha*; which is the name given by the western *Indians* to this pretended deity; who, in other parts, has different appellations. In *China* he is called *Fo* and *She kya*; in *Japan*, *Sbakka*; in *Tongking*, *Tikka*; and in *Tibet*, *La*. We shall only add, that the idolatry of *Tibet* is six times more extended than that of the *Brammans*; being spread over *Great Tartary*, from west to east, *China*, *Japan*, and the oriental islands, besides the country contained in the farther peninsula of the *Indies*.

^a METU. ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. v. p. 1005.

^b DE Faria, Port. Asia, vol. ii. p. 12.

(B) *Kampfer* confirms this of the *Laos*, with respect to their persons. Hist. *Japan*, vol. i. p. 26.

C H A P. II.

Account of the kingdoms of Affam and Tipra.

S E C T. I.

The kingdom of Affam.

Affam reg-
 ion.

OF these two countries we have a knowledge but little more than their names. The first lies so much out of the way of travellers, that, if it had not been for the expedition of the famous Amír *Jemla*, made into that *Indian* state about the middle of the last century, in order to annex it to the crown of *Hindústán*, it is possible that we might never have heard of it. As an account has been already given of that expedition^a, and almost all the geo-

^a See before.

a geography, as well as history, we have relating to *Assam*, is comprised therein; we shall only here say a few things touching the situation, the country, and the two or three places whose names we meet with in that account.

ASSAM, called also *Asbam*, and *Azem*, has on the north the mountains of *Tibet*, in that part called *Lassa*, or *Barantola*; on the south *Tipra* and *Arrakan*. It is uncertain whether it be bounded on the east with the great *Tjanpa*, which passes through *Arrakan*, or a river more to the west; and its western limit seems to be the gr. at *Bramaputren* before-mentioned. This river is called *Barremporter* in a survey made of the mouths of the *Ganges* (A), by order of the *English East-India* company; and this, in all probability, is the river up which the Amír conveyed his army in boats: for it enters the *Ganges* by one of its branches, six leagues to the east of *Dakka*, capital of *Bengál*, agreeably to the above mentioned account of the expedition^b. But that account says nothing with respect either to its spring or course, farther than that the army shaped their course north-eastward, as far as the fortress of *Azo*, 100 leagues from *Dakka*. The above-mentioned survey exhibits its course for near 80 leagues above the place where it enters the *Ganges*, to be almost due north and south; and from thence, a few leagues farther, where the survey begins about north west and south-east. Which-ever of the two is right, it may be presumed, that it hath its source in the mountains of *Tibet*, to the north or north-east of *Azo*; but at what distance is uncertain, unless we knew more precisely the situation of that fortress.

Azo, or *Azoo*, we are told, belonged properly to *Bengál*, from which country it had been dismembered by the *Rájab*, or king, of *Asbam*. This is all *Bernier* says concerning it; excepting that it was retaken in fourteen days by Amír *Jemla*. But *Tavernier* relates something more remarkable about it. According to him, the tombs of the kings of *Assem*, or *Asbam*, and all the royal family, were in this city. He adds, that, for many ages past, the kings had built chapels in the great pagod for their sepulture; and laid up in vaults, made there for the purpose, great quantities of gold and silver, with other rich effects. It was customary also to bury, with the deceased prince, whatever thing of value he most esteemed in his life-time, that it might be of service to him in the other world; and this, he says, was the reason why Amír *Jemla* found so much wealth in *Azoo*^c. But if this was a city newly conquered from *Bengál*, how could the tombs of the ancient kings of *Assem* be found there?

d THE first place in the kingdom of *Assem*, according to *Bernier*, was *Chamdara* (B), twenty-six days journey from *Azo*; whence it may be inferred, that the country between the two cities was conquered lands. Four days journey (C) from *Chamdara* is *Guerguon*, the metropolis of *Assem*, which *Jemla* pillaged; the *Rájab* having abandoned it on that general's approach, and fled to the mountains, doubtless of *Tibet*: from whence he sent down people to carry away all the provisions in the country^d, which shews that city was not far distant.

TAVERNIER mentions neither *Chamdara* nor *Guerguon*; but says, *Kenneroof*, or *Kemmeroof*, is the capital city, where the king of *Assem* keeps his court. He adds, that it is twenty five or thirty days journey from the ancient capital (D), which bore the name of the kingdom^e.

e THIS imperfect, and in some measure contradictory, account is all we have from authors concerning the geography of *Assem*; which yet they represent to be of so great extent. But we must observe, that this extent is to be understood only with regard to its length, from west to east; for its breadth, from the mountains of *Tibet* southward, cannot be more than two or three days journey.

f WITH regard to the soil and inhabitants of *Assem*, *Tavernier* has communicated several particulars. According to this author, it is one of the best countries in *Asia*, producing all the necessities of life; and, instead of wanting a supply from other countries, is able to furnish them with several metals: for here are mines of gold, silver, steel, iron, and lead; besides great store of silk, but coarse. There is one kind spun by animals, like our silk-worms, but rounder, which live all the year under trees. The silks made of it have a fine gloss, but fret presently. They wash them in a lie, made of the ashes of the leaves of *Adam's* fig-tree, which makes them white as snow. Here is also store of gum lak, of two sorts. One sort grows under the trees, and is of a red colour, with whose expressed juice they paint their linen: the remaining substance serves to varnish cabine.s, and make wax; for which uses it is

^b BERNIER'S Hist. Mogol, part ii. p. 111. TAVERN. Trav. part ii. p. 187.

^c TAVERN. ubi supra.

^d BERNIER, ubi supra.

^e TAVERN. ubi supr.

(A) To be found in *Thornton's English* pilot; but the scale of latitude seems not to be well adjusted to it.

(B) So *Bernier* writes it: but whether according to the *Portuguese* or *French* idiom, that is, whether it is to be *Chamdara* in *English*, or *Shamdara*, we cannot determine.

(C) It is said, in the translation, to be only four hours distant: but as it is related that *Jemla*, pursuing the *Rá-*

jah closely from *Chamdara*, arrived before *Guerguon* in five days, we conclude the four hours is a mistake for four days.

(D) This we judge to be the city called *Asferam*, in *Sheldon's* account of *Arrakan*; where all that is said relating to it is, that it lay on the north part of that kingdom, and was the capital of another kingdom subject thereto. See *Ovington's Voyage to Surát*, p. 564.

the best in all the east. As for their gold, they neither send it abroad, nor coin it into money; but make it all into ingots, which pass in trade among the inhabitants. However, the silver is coined by the king into small pieces, to the value of ten sous each ^f.

THE king requires no taxes of his people; but reserves to himself all the mines in his kingdom; in which, to ease his subjects, none but slaves are employed to work.

The inhabitants.

THE inhabitants are generally well complexioned: only they who live southerly are more swarthy than the rest; neither are they so well featured: and the women are somewhat flat-nosed. However, to make amends, they are not so subject to wens, or swellings in their throats, as those who dwell more to the north, occasioned by the bad water. These southern people go quite naked, only they cover their privities, and wear on their heads a blue cap or bonnet, hung about with boars teeth. They pierce holes in their ears, which are an inch wide, and hang in them pieces of gold and silver. They are very fond of bracelets made of coral and amber for the rich; while the meaner sort take up with those of tortoise, and other large shells, sawed into rings.

Polygamy.

As the inhabitants of *Assem* pay no taxes, they live at their ease, with each his house, and commonly an elephant to carry his wives: for they marry four; and assign to every one her peculiar office or business in the family. Although provisions are so very plenty with them, yet they prefer dogs-flesh to all others. They have plenty of excellent vines, but dry the grapes to make brandy instead of wine. They have no salt but what is artificial, made from two sorts of ashes: the first are those of the green stuff that swims on stagnant waters, and is the food of ducks and frogs. This they dry and burn; and the ashes, being boiled in a cloth, become very good salt. The other kind of ashes are those of the leaves of *Adam's* fig-tree; but the salt of them is so extremely tart, that, to render it fit for the mouth, they take the following method: they put the ashes in water; and having stirred them for ten or twelve hours together, strain out the substance through linen: then they boil it till all the moisture evaporates; and what remains at the bottom of the vessel proves a very good white salt.

Burials.

WHEN any man is buried in this country, all his friends and relations must appear at his funeral; and, in laying the body in the ground, they all take off their bracelets and throw them into the grave: for they are taught to believe, that they who are bad livers here want all things in the other life, while the good have plenty; and that therefore it is necessary to bury with them wherewithal to supply their occasions.

Invention of cannon,

and gunpowder.

IT is thought that the people of *Assem* were long ago the inventors of cannon and gunpowder; that from them the use of those instruments of destruction passed to the inhabitants of *Pegu*, and from thence to the *Chinese*; to whom that invention has been commonly ascribed. This however, we are told, is certain, that *Amir Jemla* brought from *Assem* several pieces of artillery, all of iron, and store of excellent powder; both made in the same country. The powder is round and small, like ours, and very strong ^g. The inhabitants being so well provided with arms, it may seem strange that they should have continued in peace, as it is said, for above 500 years, when the *Amir* invaded them ^h: for that advantage, at the same time it secured their own dominions, must, one would think, have prompted them to invade those of their neighbours.

^f TAVERN. ubi supr. p. 181, & seqq.

^g Ibid. p. 187, & seqq.

^h Vide ibid.

S E C T. II.

The kingdom of Tipra.

Its bounds.

THIS kingdom, whose name is written also *Tppora* and *Tippera* (A), lies on the north of *Arrakan*, and, as it should seem, on the south of *Assem*. Its eastern boundary may be the river passing through *Arrakan*, or one which falls into it; and its western, either that of *Arrakan*, or the river *Bramaputren* before-mentioned: for it has varied its bounds from time to time. *Tavernier* says, it had, in his time, *Arrakan* on the west and south, with part of *Pegu* to the south-west; and that, to travel from thence to *Dakka*, the merchants were obliged to pass through *Arrakan* ^a. About the year 1586, it extended as far as the *Bramaputren* and *Ganges*, since the city of *Chatigan*, we are told, belonged to it ^b: and, in the survey of the *Ganges*, often before quoted, it is placed to the east of the first of those two great rivers ^c. As

^a T. VERNIER, part 2. p. 186. pilot, p. 48.

^b FITCH ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1736.

^c See Engl.

(A) *Fitch* calls it *Tippera*, or *Porto Grande*; perhaps from *Chatigan*, which was then by the *Portugueses* called *Porto Grande*. See *Purchas's* pilgrim. vol. ii. p. 1736.

^a to its extent, we are told that it is fifteen days journey to cross it: but all the dimensions given by travellers of these countries seem to be greatly exaggerated.

This kingdom was formerly of no inconsiderable strength, when *Chatigan* aforesaid belonged *Subject to* to it. But, as it was inferior in forces to *Arrakan*, then growing in power, that city often *Arrakan.* changed masters with the latter, which at length subdued the whole country of *Tipra*, with its capital city of the same name. However, about the middle of the last century, it seems to have been independent, for *Tavernier* says nothing to the contrary^d; but not long after we find it in subjection to *Arrakan*^e, in which state it probably has continued ever since.

The country of *Tipra* has nothing fit to invite foreign merchants. There is indeed a gold *Commodities.* mine, but the metal is very coarse; likewise a sort of very coarse silk: both of these commodities are sent to *China*, from whence, in return, is brought silver.

The inhabitants of *Tipra* are no less subject to wens in their throats than those of *Assam* and *Boutan*, or *Tibet*: the women have them commonly so long that they hang down to the middle of their breasts. *Tavernier* saw two or three *Tipra* merchants in *Bengál*, who were men of very few words, but so fond of strong liquors, that they never refused any; and sighed for more when they had drank what was given them. They cast accounts with small stones like agate; and their scales for weighing were like a stilliard. *The inhabi-*

The common carriage of the country were horses and oxen; the king, and men of quality, *Money.* rode in *pallekis*, and on their elephants of war. His whole revenue arose out of the silk and gold found in his dominions; which, being exchanged in *China* for silver, this latter was coined into pieces, the value of ten sous each. There are likewise current thin pieces of gold, like the aspers of *Turkey*, of which there are two sorts; four of one sort make a crown, and twelve of the other^f. This, in effect, is all we know concerning *Tipra*.

^d TAVERN. p. 48.^e See OVING. p. 564.^f TAVERN. ubi supra.

C H A P. III.

Kingdom of Arrakan, or Rakan.

S E C T. I.

Geographical description.

^d THIS country is variously dénominated by authors; some call it *Arakan*, or *Arrakan*; *The name.* others, *Orrakan*; and some, as *Bernier*, *Rakan*. Some terminate it with an *m* instead of an *n*, according to the *Portuguese* orthography. *Fitch* calls it the kingdom of *Rakam* and *Rame*^a, as if two monarchies had been united in one. *Bernier* likewise styles it *Rakan*, or *May*^b; which last, probably, is an abbreviation of *Rame*. *Tossi* sometimes names it the empire of *Mogo*, or *Mogbi*, which was a title then newly assumed by the king, on account, as that author supposes, of his conquests over the emperor of *Pegu*, to whom he had before been tributary^c. But this must be a mistake; for *Fitch*, who was at *Pegu* in 1586, says, the people were named *Mogores* (A), or *Mogben*^d; so that this title was taken from his subjects, and not his conquest, or rather seizure, of *Pegu*; which did not happen till the year 1600.

^e *ARRAKAN* is situate to the south of *Tipra*, and has on the east the kingdoms of *Ava* and *Pegu*; *Scite and* on the west it is bounded by *Bengál*, from which it is separated by the river of *Chatigan* and *extent:* gulf of *Bengál*. It extends from 16 degrees 30 minutes to 24 degrees of latitude; that is, about 510 geographical, or 586 *English* miles, whereof 380 are sea-coast, reaching from cape *Negrais* in the south, to *Chatigan* in the north. Its breadth northwards is about 210 miles: but, from *Chatigan* southward, it decreases gradually to cape *Negrais*; where a very few miles measure it from west to east. Formerly the bounds of *Arrakan* were more extensive, as having com-

^a FITCH apud Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1736. & 582.^d FITCH, ubi supra.^b Tom. i. p. 245.^c See OVING. voy. p. 553.

(A) *Fitch* seems to confound the *Mogores*, or *Mogols*, with the *Mogben*, from the similitude of names: for he places the *Great Mogor* in *Hindustán*.

prised not only the kingdoms of *Affaram*, (B), *Tipra*, and *Cbakomas* ^c (C), on the north; but also that of *Pegu* on the south.

The sea-coast.

THE sea-coast, though of great extent, is inhabited but in a few places, where they are able to defend the products of the ground from the ravages of wild elephants, or buffalos; and their cattle from the claws of numerous tigers, who would soon lay all waste, should the people attempt to settle in that part. However, the islands being out of their reach, some of them are inhabited by poor miserable fishers; who lead a wretched life, though with liberty. There are abundance of islands on the *Arrakan* coast, which all lie close to the shore, excepting the *Buffalo* isles: these lie about four leagues off, and have good navigable chanel between. There are two islands of the name of *Negraïs*, the greater and lesser; this last, which makes the point called the cape, is small and low, barren and rocky: it is often named *Diamond Isle* (D), because its shape is a rhombus. Both of them are environed with dangerous rocks; and three leagues to the south of *Diamond Isle* is a reef of sunk rocks, called the *Legarti*, or *Lizards*, a league long, but discoverable by the breaking of the sea. The tides along this coast are remarkably strong and high ^f. They rise twelve or fifteen feet in the rivers, and to eighteen or twenty during the spring-tides: at which time, by the rapidity of the currents in the ebb and flow, ships perform great voyages in a short time; and both go and return in the same day ^g.

Country and soil.

THE air of *Arrakan* is very good; the inhabitants are not troubled with pestilential diseases. The country abounds with meadows and pasture-lands, well watered with rivers and brooks: the plains are exceedingly fertile, and the mountains green. The number of orchards and pleasure-gardens is infinite: they are also green and pleasant all the year round; although, during the winter, which holds from *August* to *October*, you have almost continually moist and rainy weather, accompanied with storms. To make amends, the summer which succeeds is charming; and then they gather in their harvest. They have all the vegetable necessaries of life in abundance, excepting wheat and rye. Instead of bread they boil rice, till the water disappears, and it becomes a solid mass. As to the air; though the country lies in so warm a latitude, yet it sometimes freezes to such a degree when the north-east wind blows, as it did in *January* 1661, that they were forced to cut all sorts of oils with a knife ^h.

Animals.

ALTHOUGH there are variety of tame as well as wild beasts in *Arrakan*, yet horses are so scarce, that *Schouten* saw but one all the while he was in the country: instead of them they make use of buffalos for ploughing, and other services. These animals are very large and strong, with desperate horns, wherewith they presently gore to death those whom they attack: as they do strangers, who pass along the roads, near which they commonly feed; especially if they wear any thing which is red, a colour that enrages them. They are so subtle as to let a man pass them quietly, and then, running at him full-drive, toss him with their horns. For all this, they are tamely obedient to the blacks who keep them; and, at the sound of a horn, assemble about them; let them get on their backs; and, at their command, will carry them safely over the most rapid river, or rugged ways; the rest following one the other. Among other animals there are infinite numbers of goats, and a great quantity of game. There is likewise plenty of geese, ducks, and fowl, together with excellent fish ⁱ.

Provinces.

THE kingdom of *Arrakan*, or empire of *Mogo*, is said to comprise twelve lesser kingdoms, which are always governed by crowned heads (or those who have the title of kings), and twenty-four provinces (E): but of these we find not the names in authors ^k. This too must be understood of *Arrakan*, when in its most powerful state, under its conquering sovereigns. The cities, towns, and villages, of this country are very numerous and populous. But scarce any of them are known to *Europeans*, excepting such as lie near the coasts.

Arrakan city.

THE capital of *Arrakan* gives name to the kingdom. It is nearly of the same bigness with *Amsterdam*: but much more populous. It is surrounded with suburbs, which extend some leagues in length ^l. This is *Schouten's* account, who was there in 1661. By others we are farther informed, that it stands in a valley, and contains no less than fifteen miles in compass; being quite environed with a ridge of steep and craggy hills, which serve it instead of walls: and appear as such to one who is in the city, being artificially cut to resemble a strong fortification. The outlets, which serve for gates, are hewn through the rocks, and, being defended by bulwarks, render the place impregnable. Besides these out-works, it is defended by a castle, of such incredible strength, that the king of *Brama*, with an army of three hundred thousand men and forty thousand elephants, was forced to raise the siege with disgrace.

^c OVIINGT. p. 564.

ap. Recueil. voy. Holl. tom. vi. p. 242.

^k OVIING. voy. Surat, p. 560, 568.

^f HAMILTON, new acc. East Ind. vol. ii. p. 29, & seq.

^h Ibid. p. 223, 228, 230.

ⁱ SCHOUTEN, ubi supr. p. 229, & seq.

^g SCHOUTEN

^l Ibid. p. 240, & seqq.

(B) By *Affaram*, probably, is to be understood *Affam*, or *Affem*.

(C) By *Chakomas*, is, probably, to be understood *Jangoma*, which *Floris* calls *Jagomay*, or *Jagoman*.

(D) This seems to be a mistake: for *Diamond Island* is another, about seven leagues south of *Little Negraïs*.

(E) *Edoardo Barbosa*, who wrote about 1515, says, the king had twelve palaces, one in each province.

- a THROUGH the valley runs a large river (F), which, dividing into several rivulets or streams, *The river.* conveys merchandizes and provisions to all the streets of *Arrakan*. Having past through the city, which is forty-five or fifty miles distant from the sea, they unite again, above half-way down, in two chanel; one of which falls northward into the gulf of *Bengál* at *Orietan*, the other southward, at *Dobazi*, or *Duabakam*: both which places are much frequented by merchants; only the ebbings and flowings of the sea are so violent, especially about the time of the full moon, that ships can hardly ride safe in the ports^m. This is a noble spacious river, its mouth both wide and deep, having no less than six fathoms water at the entrance, and above twenty in some places farther in; where it makes an harbour large enough to hold all the ships in *Europe*ⁿ.
- b THIS river we take to be the river, which in the Jesuits map of *Tibet*, is named the *Great Rise and course*. *Tsanpu*. It rises in the west parts of that vast country, near the springs of the *Ganges*, and runs quite through it eastward, passing near *Lassa*, the residence of the *Great Lâma*: till, crawling near the frontiers of *China*, it takes a vast sweep to the southward, and turns south-west, along the borders of *Assam* and *Tipra*, into *Arrakan*; which it passes through on the eastern side of it, from north to south, and at length falls into the gulf of *Bengál*, as before set forth. As travellers have not communicated the name given to this river in the country, it is called by our geographers the river of *Arrakan*.
- c SCHOUTEN never saw a city where the buildings were so thick, or the streets so crouded *The houses.* with people (G): but most of the houses are so low that they look more like huts, and do not answer to the vanity of the nation; for the same author never observed them higher than four, five, or six feet at most. They stand at a distance from the ground on pillars; because, almost every night, there arises a fog which covers the surface of the earth, and continues till dissipated by the morning sun. The houses are built with the branches of palm-trees, bambû canes, and koko-leaves; they have many little windows, and are very airy. Those of the better and middling sort have handsome apartments, which communicate one with another, and are very well contrived. They have neither garrets, cellars, nor fire-places; and the kitchens are without-doors, commonly under little penthouses near the entrance, where the women dress their meat in earthen pots. They sleep on carpets and mats, covering themselves with pieces of linen or cotton to keep them warm^o. But although the buildings are for the
- d general mean, yet one meets with several spacious piazzas, where trade is carried on. The princes and nobility employ a different kind of timber in their houses, and are profuse in adorning their apartments with exquisite carvings and gildings; nor are the inferior sort destitute of embellishments. They reckon no fewer than six hundred pagods in this metropolis.
- e THE king's palace is vastly large; but not so beautiful for its structure: it is supported by *The king's* large and tall pillars, made of whole trees, and covered over with gold. The apartments above *palace.* are built with red and white *sandal*, a sort of eagle-wood, and other odoriferous timber. In the middle of the palace is a great hall, called the *golden house*, because the inside is entirely overlaid with gold; and over a raised place is fixed a canopy, hung round with above a hundred *kombalengbe*, or large wedges of the same metal, in the shape of sugar-loaves, each weighing
- f above forty pounds. He likewise are to be seen seven idols, each the height of a man, cast in *Great metal.* gold two inches thick; and adorned with rubies, emeralds, sapphires, and diamonds of an extraordinary size, on their foreheads, breasts, arms, and about their middles. In the center of this hall stands a square stool, of three hands-breadth, supporting a cabinet, both of pure gold, and studded with precious stones; wherein are kept the two *kanekas*, or famous pendants, made in the form of pyramids, of two rubies, each of the length of a man's little finger, and broad at the base as an hen's egg. These jewels have been the source of most bloody wars among the neighbouring potentates; not so much on account of their value, as that the prince who possesses them is supposed to have a right of dominion over the rest. This king, however, never wears them but on the day of his coronation^p.
- f IN another apartment of the palace stands the statue of the king of *Barma* (commonly called *Fine statue.* *Brama*), murdered by his subjects; which is made with so great skill as to rise admiration in the beholders, who are very numerous; because that prince was reckoned a great saint (H), and famed for curing diseases, especially the bloody-flux; on which account they resort to his statue.

^m OVIINGT. ubi supra, p. 554, & seqq.
map of *India*, for the company, 1752.
ubi supr. p. 556, & seqq.

ⁿ HAMILTON, ubi supra, p. 28, & seq. See also *D'Anville's*
• SCHOUTEN, ubi supra, p. 229, & seqq. ^p OVIINGT.

(F) Called *Khaboris*, by *Maginus*.

(G) Yet the inhabitants were computed at but one hundred and sixty thousand, excepting the merchants, and (other) strangers. *Ovington*, p. 559.

(H) What king this was is hard to say; there were but three *Barma* kings of *Pegu*: the first and last were butchered; but far from being saints, unless their being cruel and tyrannical made them so.

Great lake.

Not far from the palace is a great lake, full of little isles, inhabited by their priests, with a boats plying on it. But it has no communication with the city, being hindered by a bank; so contrived, that, in case the place was forced by an enemy, they might be all drowned, by cutting a passage for the water through the bank.

Orietan.

THE most northern maritime city (I) is *Orietan*, to which, from the capital, there is a delightful passage by water: the banks of the river being set with tall trees, whose inclining heads make a continued shade to defend the traveller from the sun; who is diverted with the apes and peacocks which frequent them. The city is much resorted to by merchants from all parts of *India*, and even *China* and *Japan*. It is the capital of one of the twelve provinces, whose governor receives a crown from the king at his coronation, and always enjoys the same title. Not far from the city stands the mountain *Mawm*, with a lake of the same name at the foot of it. Hither are banished state offenders: and although the mountain is so craggy, and infested with wild beasts, that it is almost impassable; yet the king not only causes those exiles to be strictly guarded, but farther, to prevent their flight, cuts off their heels^a.

Peeroem city.

FROM the mountain *Mawm*, you cross the gulf to *Peeroem*, another city; which, being near the sea, with a good harbour, is a place of great trade. The governor exercises absolute authority within his jurisdiction, and keeps a court answerable to the majesty of a king.

Ramu city.

SOME days journey distant is *Ramu*, a considerable city like the preceding; but the way between them is very dangerous, whether you go by land or water, the sea being subject to sudden storms; and the road by land, lying across the mountain of *Pre*, which separates *Arrakan* from *Pegu*, is infested with wild beasts. There is in this part of the country a mountain called *Pora*, that is, God; from an idol on the top of it, sitting cross-legged, and much resorted to by the devout *Indians*. By this place (K) runs a large river, from which some engineers would have persuaded the king to cut a canal as far as *Arrakan*: but he rejected that project, for fear of exposing his capital to the incursions of the *Mogols*, who might easily convey their forces down such a passage.

Dianga city.

THE next place of note on this tempestuous coast is *Dianga*, or *Diango*, which some assign to *Bengál*; but in *Schouten's* time it was a frontier city of *Arrakan*. Indeed this city, as well as *Chatigan* (which was undoubtedly once an emporium of this kingdom, and commonly governed by the king's second son), has frequently shared the fate of frontier towns, in changing its masters. The greater part of its inhabitants are *Portuguese* fugitives (or the descendants of them); who enjoy great privileges by grant of the king (L), and have a church here belonging to the *Augustin* friars.

Sundiva island.

THERE are other places along this coast subject to the king of *Arrakan*, as *Koromoria*, *Sedoa*, *Zara*, and port of *Magaeni*: to which may be added the island of *Sundiva*, already mentioned, abounding with salt; about 100 miles in compass, and 20 from the coast of *Bengál*, to which it properly belongs. The *Portuguese*, looking on it as a fit place for a retreat, being naturally well fortified, in 1602 took it from the *Mogols*, who sometime before had forced it out of the hands of its own prince: this latter gave up to them likewise all his right and title thereto. But the king of *Arrakan*, fearing the growth of their power, compelled them (M) the next year to retire from thence to *Bakala*, and other places of *Bengál*.

Dobazi city.

DESCENDING the southern stream of the river from the city of *Arrakan*, you come to *Dobazi* (or *Duabakem*), a city and port of great traffick. From thence, following the coast, you arrive at *Cbudabe*; which, having a commodious port, is likewise much frequented by

Cape Negrais.

foreign merchants. Not far hence lies cape *Negrais*; and near it, according to *Tossi*, the island of *Munay* (N), famous for its many temples, and being the residence of the chief *Raulin*, or pope of *Arrakan*. At this cape *Arrakan* ends; although *Tossi* extends it along the south coast as far as *Sirian*, which properly belongs to *Pegu*; and others make cape *Negrais*, with all the coast northwards to beyond 18 degrees of latitude, to belong to *Ava*.

^a OVINGT. ubi supra, p. 588, & seqq.^b Ibid. p. 561, & seqq.^c Ibid. p. 565, & seqq.(I) In the time of *Edoardo Barbosa*, about 1515: *Arrakan* had no sea-ports.(K) It is not said whether the mountain *Pora*, or city *Ramu*.

(L) There was a massacre of them here about the year 1607. See the following history.

(M) See the subsequent history.

(N) But *Mendez Pinto*, p. 252, places the island *Munay*, where the chief *Raulin* resides, one league and a half from the city of *Martavan*. There is a cape of the same name, turning into the river, or port, of *Martavan*, on the south side thereof.

S E C T. II.

Account of the inhabitants.

^a **T**HE people of *Arrakan* esteem a broad flat forehead; which they give their children, *Their persons.* by binding hard on that part a plate of lead as soon as they are born, letting it lie on till the effect be produced. Their nostrils are large and open; their eyes small but quick; their ears reach down to their shoulders, like those of the *Malabárs*; and they are very fond of a dark purple colour¹.

THE *Sikkés* (O), counsellors of state, nobility, and all people of condition, wear a vest, or *Dress of the* shirt, of fine white calico, which fits close to the body and arms. Over it they have a long *men.* gown of the same kind, which buttons round the arms, and is tied close upon the breast with ribbands. Besides this they have an apron, which covers the belly and thighs before, with another piece of white calico like a bag, which, gathered in many folds, covers the parts ^b behind, and is tied round the waist, from whence it hangs; so that they look as if they carried a large bundle of cloth about them. They let their hair grow long, tying it in tresses behind the head, like the women in *Holland*, and adorn it with fine cloth, made up in knots. The women are tolerably fair.

THE women wear a kind of flowered gauze, which is transparent, and covering the bosom, *Of the women.* passes over the shoulders. They likewise fasten about their waist an apron of fine calico, which goes three or four times round them, and reaches to their feet. They who are rich wear a silk scarf over one of their arms. Their hair is not tied, but done into buckles, in an agreeable manner. They stretch their ears by boring them when very young, and putting in the holes rolls of parchment, or the like, which they enlarge from time to time: they wear in them ^c rings of glass, silver, or other materials, which make a jingling against the neck as they go along. Sometimes they have bracelets all the way up their arms to the elbows, and from the ankles to the calves of their legs. But the genteeler sort content themselves with a few japaned ones.

THE people, in general, are very ostentatious, and usually make an appearance beyond their ability; it being common for a person to be attended by several servants, who is not able to maintain above one or two².

IN their entertainments they have plenty of provisions: but then they are such as are neither *Their diet* pleasing to the eye nor taste. They mix with their choicest dishes the flesh of rats, mice, *loathsome.* serpents, and other loathsome animals. They never eat fish till it is in a state of corruption, ^d thinking it has the best relish when it stinks the most. They take of this putrid fish, after it has been dried in the sun, and, beating it into a consistency, make a kind of mustard of it, which they call *sídol*; and this they strew over all their victuals. The better sort make use of the flesh of crabs, mixt with other ingredients; which, not being so rotten as the other fish, is somewhat less intolerable. They serve up their meat in small dishes, one hundred or two at a time, that every body may meet with what he likes. Instead of bread they use rice, both parched and bruised, or otherwise ordered in the flour³. Their usual drink is water, or a liquor called *auze*, which is the juice of a tree much like the palm; and taken from it by incision, in the same manner as in the other peninsula of *India*⁴.

THE people of *Arrakan* have an aversion to getting a woman's maidenhead, which they look *Their marri-* on as a low kind of drudgery; and therefore hire the *Dutch* sailors, or any strangers, to ease them *ages.* of that trouble. The virgins who have been thus deflowered are in most reputation; and the men who are inclined to marry, that they may not be deceived, chuse to take those to wife who are big with child. The courtship begins by little presents and interviews; and when matters are concluded, the parties confirm their engagements before the idol, in presence of their parents; the *Talipoin* (or priest), of whose sect they are, performing certain ceremonies besides. On these occasions there are presents made of precious stones to the bride: fire-works are play'd off, and feasts prepared, accompanied with music and dancing. The men are allowed several wives; they may likewise keep concubines, and make use of the public dancers⁵.

WHEN any fall sick, the physician is sent for; but the *Raulin*, or priest, is the person on *Sick how* whom they most depend for a cure. They first blow their breath on them, repeating certain *treat.d.* prayers; and if this does not do, they tell the patient that he must offer a sacrifice to *Chaor Baos*, that is the god of the four winds, who, they say, is the author of all distempers. This sacrifice, called *Kalouko*, consists of fowls, hogs, and other animals; and must be repeated

¹ OVINGT. p. 569.

² SCHOUTEN, ubi supr. p. 233.

³ OVINGT. ubi supr. p. 569.

⁴ SCHOUTEN,

p. 231. ⁵ Ibid. p. 336, & seq.

(O) The *Sikkés* are the prime men of the kingdom, or chief ministers, who compose the king's council, according to *Schouten*, p. 156.

four times, to every wind distinctly, in case he does not recover time enough to prevent the expence. On these sacrifices the priests feast themselves. But if, after this, the distemper proves obstinate, then the wife, or nearest relation, must make a vow to perform another piece of priestcraft, called a *Talagno*. To this purpose a chamber must be hanged with rich tapestry, and an idol placed upon an altar raised at one end of it: when all things are made ready, on the day appointed, the priests, with the sick person's relations, repair thither, and are feasted for eight days together.

*Dancing
physick.*

To complete the farce, the person who makes the vow is obliged to dance as long as he is able to stand; and when his legs will support him no longer, he must take hold of a piece of cloth fastened to a beam, and continue dancing till he has quite exhausted his spirits, and drops down on the spot. Then the music is redoubled, and the spectators, who are as great fools as the vow-maker, envy his happiness; supposing him all the while he lies in this condition to converse with the idol. This exercise he is obliged to repeat every day as long as the feasting lasts; but if he has not strength to go through it, some near relation is to dance in his place. In case, after the *Talagno* is completed, the patient happens to recover, he is carried to the pagods, where he is anointed with perfumed oils from head to foot: but if, on the contrary, he dies, the priest tells his relations, that the sacrifices were well accepted by the gods; and that the reason why they did not grant him a longer life was, because they designed him a greater favour, by taking him to themselves.

Their funerals.

THEIR funerals are no less superstitious, and, consequently ridiculous: for the corpse being brought into the middle of the house, the *Raulin* walks round it, and says over it certain prayers, whilst others perfume the place with incense; and the family beat upon a broad piece of brass, keeping strict watch at the same time, lest a *black cat* should pass over him: for in that case he would be constrained to return to life again with ignominy, and be deprived of bliss. Before the body is carried out of the house, they invite to a banquet a sort of people called *Graii*, whose refusal causes dreadful lamentation among his relations; as taking it for an infallible sign that his soul is condemned to *the house of smoke*, so they call hell. The coffin is adorned according to the ability of the people: and, as they hold the *metempsychosis*, they paint on it the figures of horses, elephants, eagles, cows, lions, and the like noble animals, as it were to direct the departed soul to the best lodging; unless, out of humility, the deceased had ordered rats, frogs, and the most contemptible creatures, to be drawn in their stead, as more suitable receptacles for his polluted soul. After this, the body is carried into the field, and burnt to ashes. The *Raulin* kindles the fire, which the relations attend, clad in white; which is their mourning colour, only they wear a black band round their head^a.

The sick exposed.

AT their funerals they have always hired mourners, who attend sometimes all night as well as day, and pretend much sorrow. They who cannot afford wood to burn the corpse; for it is very dear in this country; carry it to the river at low water, and leave it for the next tide to carry it off: but as the dead carcases often remain in the river, either sunk or floating, it gives an ill taste, to the water. This also fills the country with ravens, kites, and other birds of prey, which not only feed on these corpses, but attack the buffaloes, and other horned cattle; fixing on their backs, and tearing off the flesh to the very bones, in spite of all their efforts to shake them off. The natives not only carry the dead bodies to the rivers, but also expose the living in the same manner, when afflicted with grievous diseases, which they judge to be incurable; so that if the water does not carry them away, they are sure to be drowned. This they call humanity, charity, and compassion for the sick person; who, by this means, they say, is delivered from a most miserable state here, and sent to enjoy great happiness in heaven^b.

*No foreign
commerce.*

THE people of *Arrakan* trade very little by sea. All their navigation extends no farther than *Bengál* and *Pegu*; whither, upon occasion, they send their *Jeliasses* of war. For they neither covet subduing the possessions of other nations, nor of sending colonies into other parts; much less do they delight in foreign commerce. What trade they have is brought home to them by the merchants of distant countries^c. As the country produces timber for building, some lead, tin, stick-lack, and elephants teeth, there are some of the *Great Mogol's* subjects who trade hither: and sometimes they meet with bargains of diamonds, rubies, other precious stones, and gold rupis; which, says our author, are to be supposed some of *Soltán Sujab's* treasure, pilfered by the avaritious priests^d: of which more will be spoken hereafter.

Mohammedans.

WHATEVER foreign commerce there is in *Arrakan*, it is carried on by the *Mohammedâns*, who are settled here in great numbers; particularly at *Bandel*. Some trade in elephants, which they send to *Orisha* (or *Orixa*), the coast of *Choromandel*, *Golkonda*, and *Persia*: in return for which, and other goods, they carry back calicoes, silks, spiceries, and the like. Very few are natives of *Arrakan*; but come from other parts of *India* to settle there, and dress as they do elsewhere.

^a OVIINGT. ubi supr. p. 570, & seqq. ubi supr. p. 29.

^b SCHOUT. ubi supr. p. 337.

^c Ibid. p. 228.

^d HAMILT.

- a THE inhabitants of *Arrakan* are idolaters: on which account, says *Schouten*, they are called *Moges* (Q); worshipping devoutly their images, made of clay, baked in the sun^c. They are ^{Religion of Arrakan} very superstitious, and look on the barking of a dog, or the like, as the presage of some remarkable event. On every such frivolous occasion the priests are sent for; who know how to make their advantage of the people's folly. The idols in their temples are so numerous, that one of them is reported to contain no fewer than 20,000. They are built in the form of pyramids or spires. Besides the temple-idols, they have their domestic ones. To both sorts they offer victuals every day; and both are clothed by them in winter, that they might not catch cold. They wear the mark of their household god branded on their arms, sides or shoulders. On their anniversary festival, in commemoration of the dead, they carry in procession one of their idols, *Quiay Poragray* (R); which is carried in a heavy chariot, with ^{like the Indian.} ninety of the priests, clothed in yellow sattin. Many throw themselves under the wheels; others hang themselves on hooks, fastened for the purpose, and sprinkle them with their blood. These martyrs to folly are in such veneration with the people, that he thinks himself happy on whom one drop of their blood happens to light. Nay, the hooks are taken down by the priests, as sacred relicks, and carefully preserved in their temples. From these instances our readers may perceive, that the religion of *Arrakan* tallies with that of the *Hindis*, in the hither parts of *India*; and their priests impose upon them no less by subtil artifices.
- THEIR priests, called *Raulin*, or *Raulini*, are divided into three orders, distinguished by ^{Their hierarchy.} the names *Pungrini*, *Panjani*, and *Sbosshom*; something resembling the orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, in the Christian hierarchy. The chief of their priests is called *Sbosshom Pungrin*; which title imports as much among them as that of *Pope* does at *Rome*. On him depend all ecclesiastical causes; and he is had in so great veneration even by the king, that his majesty places him on his right hand, and never speaks to him without a profound reverence. The place of his residence, or see, is in the island of *Munay*, as hath been already mentioned. All the priesthood are clothed in yellow (S), and have their heads shaven. All go uncovered, excepting the *Pungrini*, or those of the first order, who wear a yellow mitre, with the point turned and falling backward. They are obliged by vow to live single; and, in case of disobedience, are degraded: by which means they are reduced to the condition of laics, and are taxed as such^f.
- d THEY live partly in houses of their own, and on their estates; partly in cloisters, which are ^{Monks and hermits.} founded by their king, or great men (T), and generally very sumptuous: but they are all subject to one spiritual head, as before-mentioned. By them the children, both of the nobility and gentry, are educated in the knowledge of their religion and laws; and they are said to be exceeding hospitable to strangers. They have among them many hermits, like the *Joghis* of the western part of *India*; who are distinguished into three kinds or orders, named *Grepin*, *Manigrepin*, and *Taligrepin* (U). These inflict on themselves very rigorous penances; for which they are held in great esteem among the people^g.
- THE government of *Arrakan* is chiefly in the hands of the twelve princes before-mentioned; ^{Government.} who are honoured with the title of kings, residing in the principal cities, in twelve royal palaces, with each a great seraglio, as well for their women, as those they educate for the king of all the rest, who keeps his court in the city of *Arrakan*.
- e THIS monarch affects as lofty titles as any of his neighbours; styling himself *Emperor of Arrakan*, *possessor of the white elephant* (X), *with the two Kenekas*, and, by virtue of them, *rightful heir of Pegu and Brama*. *Lord of the twelve Boyoni of Bengâl*; and of the twelve kings (meaning those in *Arrakan*), *who lay the highest hair of their heads under the soles of his feet*. His usual residence is in the city of *Arrakan*: but it is customary with him in summer to spend two months in a kind of progress by water to *Orietan*. In which he is attended by ^{and places of residence.} his nobility, in boats so artfully contrived and disposed, that they appear rather like a floating palace or city, than what they are. In this progress he does not omit to administer justice; f but hears causes as regularly as when at land. One pretence for this maritime journey is to

^c SCHOUT. p. 235, 239.^f OVINGTON. p. 575, & seqq.^g Ibid. p. 577, & seq.

(Q) Or *Moghes*. If this be so, we then learn what *Ovington* tell us, p. 582, he could never find, whence the king derives the appellation of *Moghi*, which he assumes.

(R) He is their supreme deity. See p. 580 of *Ovington*. Captain *Hamilton* says, the name of the titular god of the kingdom is *Dagon*. Vol. ii. p. 28.

(S) *Schouten* says, they wear black; which is the colour of modesty, as well as mourning, in *Arrakan*. Voy. vol. i. p. 335.

(T) *Schouten*, p. 335, says, their houses are either near the pagods, on rocks, or on little hills; where

they live like hermits, sequestered from the world. Although their air and gate is modest, yet one may discover pride in it.

(U) These names seem to be taken from *Mendez Pinto*. Other authors call them in general *Talipoi*, or *Talipains*.

(X) This famous white elephant was wrested from the king of *Siam*, by him of *Pegu*, in 1567. It was taken by the king of *Tangu*, at the surrender of *Pegu* city, in 1599, and delivered to the king of *Arrakan* soon after.

visit the pagod of *Quiay Poragray*, their supreme deity; to whom he daily sends a sumptuous dinner. a

*Superstition
and cruelty.*

THIS, among many instances, shews the kings of *Arrakan* to be very superstitious; and this superstition frequently leads them into acts of the greatest barbarity. *Tosi* relates of one of them, that, being told he could not long survive his coronation, which is performed with the greatest pomp, he put it off, although the high priest was already setting the crown on his head; nor would admit that ceremony for the space of twelve years: but, being pressed to it by his lords, and not able to defer it any longer, he consulted a *Mohammedan*, to know whether there was any way to avert the omen. The *Musulman*, with an intent, it is said, to destroy those whom he reckoned enemies of his religion, told the king, that an electuary made of hearts, wherein were to be 6000 belonging to his subjects, 4000 of white cows, and 2000 of white doves, would protect him from the threatened danger. The king, relying upon this false information, built a house; the foundations whereof, to render it still more auspicious, were laid upon women great with child: and, on that occasion, sacrificed no fewer than 18,000 innocent persons, with a view to preserve his own life^b.

*Merry their
sisters.*

WE meet with no account of the descent of the kings of *Arrakan*; but we learn from authors, that, to preserve the blood unmixed, they are obliged to marry their eldest sisters^c. This monarch scarce ever goes out of his palace above once in five years (†), when he does it with great solemnity; but passes his life there with his queen, and a great number of concubines. Every year the *Sikkes* (Y), who are his favourites, cause twelve of the loveliest maidens to be sought for through the realm, and dressed in fine white linen. After this, they are exposed for six hours to the most violent heat of the sun, that they may sweat as much as possible. This done, other habits are brought them to put on, and their sweaty ones examined by persons appointed, who make their report; and the young ladies, whose sweat has no disagreeable smell, are presented to the king, and placed among his concubines. The rest are disposed of, with portions, to his courtiers. All the females are taught music and dancing, with whatever else may help to render them agreeable, in hopes of arriving to that dignity. It is said, that they who have obtained it, form themselves also to the exercise of arms; after which they are distributed into the principal apartments of the king, and serve him for guards^k.

*Concubines
how chosen.*

*The king's
power.*

THE kings of *Arrakan* were formerly almost continually at war with the great *Mogol*; but never came to a set battle; for they do not care to hazard their troops much^d. These monarchs, however, for the vastness of their treasure and military strength, are as considerable as most eastern princes. About 150 years ago they became famous by their wars, and much enlarged their dominions by the conquests they made both in *Bengal* and *Pegu*. However, it is observed, that they were generally unsuccessful in their wars against the *Portugueses*; who, in 1605, defeated the king's fleet, consisting of no fewer than 540 sail (or barks); and, not long after, he was forced three times to retire from before *Siriam* (now belonging to *Pegu*), though he attacked it with a fleet of 1200 sail, and an army of 30,000 men, accompanied with 3500 great and small cannon^m. However, the king of *Rakan* (or *Arrakan*) by degrees humbled them, as will be related hereafter.

^b Ovingt. p. 579, & seq.
^k Schout. ubi supr. p. 233.

^c Tosi ap. Ovingt. p. 582. Methold ap. Purch. Pilgr. vol. 5. p. 1005.
^d Ibid. p. 228. ^m Jarric. ap. Ovingt. p. 578.

(†) Except we suppose in his progress, as aforesaid.
(Y) According to Ovington, p. 579, the twelve governors, styled kings, are obliged to pick out twelve girls every year, within their provinces, and educate

them, at the king's charge, in their seraglios, till they are twelve years old; at which age they are carried to court, and chosen by the smell of their sweaty garments. *Escardo Parlysa* relates to the same purpose.

S E C T. III.

The History of Arrakan.

*Kingdom of
Arrakan,*

THE first account we meet with of the affairs of *Arrakan* is about the year 1569; at which time the king of *Pegu* (of the *Barma* or *Brama* race), growing very powerful, fought, by all manner of ways, to subdue that kingdom. But he was not able to compass his design: for, first, he had no fleet to transport an army by sea; whereas the king of *Arrakan* could arm 200 gallies in his defence: and, in case he should invade that country by land, the inhabitants were ready, by means of sluices, to lay the same all under water, and either drown their enemies, or impede their march. However, at that time, the *Portugueses* of *Chatigan* having slain the governor of that city, which belonged to *Bengal*; and it being made an article of the accommodation which soon after took effect, that the chief commander of the *Portugueses*, who had then eighteen ships in the port, should depart the place with his vessel; the king of *Arrakan*, to strengthen himself against his neighbours, invited the captain to come f

a into his dominions^a. By this means the *Portugueses* first found an introduction into *Arrakan*; where, by degrees, they gained a considerable footing; which they lost again, at length, by their insolence and crimes.

THESE *Portugueses*, however, proved of great service to the king of *Arrakan*; for, in 1581, the king of *Pegu*, having at length procured a fleet of 1300 sail, resolved to conquer that country. With this view he sent that numerous armament, under the command of the prince his son, towards the *Arrakan* coast. The prince being informed, in his passage, that two *Portuguese* galliots had taken a ship of *Pegu*, richly laden, he detached sixteen of his best sailors to attack them. The galliots received them bravely, and disabled several of them: till seeing the whole fleet coming down upon them, they made the best of their way into the bay of *Arrakan*^b, which prevented the prince from making a descent.

AFTER this, *Arrakan* seems to have been freed from any attempts on the side of *Pegu*, Shilimi Shâh whole arms were turned against other neighbouring nations. Nor did the king of *Arrakan* take that opportunity to attack his most dangerous enemy, for fear of drawing back his resentment upon him. But at length the power of *Pegu* having been greatly exhausted by long wars, particularly with *Siam*, several of the bordering kings, taking advantage of *Branjinoko*'s distress, entered into a league against him. Among the rest *Shilimi Shâh* (A), king of *Arrakan*, was one. This prince, in the year 1598, laid siege to the city of *Pegu*, and was joined soon after by the king of *Tangu*. But being called away for a while about some other affairs, he left the continuance of the siege to the king of *Tangu*: who made so good use of his time, that, before the king returned, he had gotten *Branjinoko*, with all the royal family, into his hands, and carried off almost the whole treasure of the captive prince, amounting to an immense value; leaving behind above three millions in silver, and other metals, which he thought not worth while to take with him.

SHILIMI SHAH, coming back to *Pegu*, took the kingdom into his possession, with the silver which the king of *Tangu* had left for him: but not brooking to be so tricked by his good ally, who had agreed to divide the spoil, he sent to demand a farther share, with the white elephant, and the captive king's daughter; he likewise required that the king himself should either be sent to him, or slain; threatening otherwise to invade *Tangu*. To avoid this visit, his demands were complied with; the king's brother, and two of his sons, sent also; and the dethroned tyrant was put to death.

How long the king of *Arrakan* kept possession thereof, or whether he abandoned it of his own accord, or was forced to quit it by the king of *Ava*, does not appear from travellers. We meet with no account of what he did in *Pegu*, excepting so far as relates to the affair of *Sirian*^c.

As the king of *Arrakan* was not acknowledged by the *Peguers*, who had hidden themselves, or abandoned the country, to avoid the miseries which the late king brought upon it; he delivered to *Philip de Brito*, and *Nicote*, the port of *Sirian*, in order to receive under his protection such fugitives as should be minded to return: he likewise designed thereby to reward the military services of *De Brito*, for whom he had a great esteem. But this upstart, who had acquired prodigious wealth, requited that prince's favours with the utmost ingratitude^d. He fortified *Sirian* against the donor; and, in the end, set up for emperor of *Pegu* himself, as will be set forth in the history of that country, to which we shall refer our readers, and return to matters which more immediately concern the kingdom of *Arrakan*: where we shall meet with another *Portuguese*, no less remarkable for his sudden rise and treachery to that prince, than *De Brito* himself.

THIS last, elated with his new dignity, aiming to extend his power, thought it would be for his advantage to be possessed of *Dianga*, a port of *Arrakan*; and although he knew how ill that potentate bore his retaining *Sirian*, though in another dominion, yet he had the presumption to think he would bestow *Dianga* upon him. With this hope, in the beginning of the year 1607, he fitted out some vessels, and sent in them his son, as ambassador, to beg that port of the king. But some *Portugueses* having persuaded his majesty of *Arrakan* that *De Brito*'s design, by that request, was to deprive him of his kingdom; he ordered the son, with his officers, to be assassinated in his court, and the men to be served in the same manner on board the vessels. Not content with this, he, at the same time, sent a private mandate to slay all the *Portugueses* who were settled at *Dianga*. On which occasion, above 600 of them, living quietly as good subjects, under his protection, and suspecting no danger, lost their lives. Some few escaped into the woods; and nine or ten vessels got out to sea^e.

^a CÆSAR FREDERIC ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1720. & seq.

^c FERNANDEZ ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1744. supr. vol. iii. p. 154.

^b DE FARIA Portug. Asia, vol. ii. p. 369.

^d Ibid.

^e DE FARIA, ubi

(A) Called afterwards, *Shilimika*, which seems the more natural name of the two.

Rise of Tibao.

WHETHER the king who gave these sanguine orders was *Shilimi Shâb*, or his successor, we cannot determine; our author *De Faria* having neglected to inform us (B). However that be, much about this time we find a new king in *Arrakan*, and soon after a revolution in that country, as will appear from what we are going to relate. Among the few who escaped by sea from the above-mentioned massacre at *Dianga*, was one *Sebastian Gonfales Tibao*, who had just then entered the harbour, with a vessel laden with salt. He was a man of obscure extraction, born in the village of *St. Anthony del Tojal*, near *Lisbon*: in 1605 he embarked for *India*; and lifting himself a soldier in *Bengâl*, fell to dealing in salt, which is a great merchandize there. By this trade he soon gained as much as purchased a *Jaleu*, a sort of small vessel; and by this purchase was enabled to carry his salt to foreign markets. This man was one of the greatest prodigies of the *Portuguese* fortune that *Asia* had produced: three years she was big with this monster, from 1605 to 1608. The reader will see in him another *Philip de Brito* and *Nicote* (C), famous for their incredible rise and insolence.

Another.

EMANUEL DE MATTOS, commander of the *Bandel* (or port) of *Dianga*, who died not long before the massacre there, had been lord of *Sundiva*, an island seventy leagues in compass, belonging to *Bengâl*, and not far from the coast of *Arrakan*. *Fateh Khân*, a resolute Moor (D), whom he had trusted with that island in his absence; hearing of *De Matto's* death, usurped the command; and, the better to secure himself, murdered not only all the *Portugueses* who were settled there, with their wives and children, but likewise such of the natives as had embraced popery. This done, gathering *Moors* and *Patans* (E) to his assistance, he fitted out a fleet of forty sail, which charges he supported with the revenue of the island, which is very considerable. *Sebastian Gonfales*, and his companions, with the other vessels which had escaped from *Dianga*, being left without a head to govern them, lived by robbing in the country of *Arrakan*, and carried their plunder to the king of *Bakkala's* (F) ports, who was a friend to the *Portugueses*. *Fateh Khân*, understanding that these rovers plied thereabouts, went out to seek them, with such assurance of success, that he carried this inscription on his colours: *Fateh Khân, by the grace of God, lord of Sundiva, shedder of Christian blood, and destroyer of the Portuguese nation*.

Chosen commander.

ONE evening he thought to surprise them; and had certainly effected it: but quarrelling about the division of some spoil, in a river of the island *Sbavaspur*, *Tibao* left them; and happening to meet *Fateh Khân's* fleet, gave his companions notice of it. By this means they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence, before the arrival of the enemy, who immediately fell on them. The pirates fought so desperately all night, that the morning discovered eighty *Portugueses* victorious over 600 *Moors*, joined with *Patans*; and ten vessels over forty. Not one sail of them got away, nor a man escaped being taken or killed; among which latter was *Fateh Khân*. Had they been under a commander who knew how to improve a victory, the island must then have been their own. This obliged them to chuse a head; and they pitched on *Stephen Palmyro*, a man of years and experience. But as he absolutely refused to command such wicked people, they desired him to appoint one; and he named *Sebastian Gonfales Tibao*, whom they promised punctually to obey. As soon as this point was settled, they resolved to attack *Sundiva*; and having gathered a number of *Portugueses* from *Bengâl* and the neighbouring ports, *Tibao* applied to the king of *Bakkala*, agreeing by articles, "to give him half the revenue of the island when recovered, provided he assisted him to conquer it." The king, consenting, sent him some ships, and 200 horse: so that, in *March* 1609, *Tibao* had a fleet of forty ships, and 400 *Portugueses*, besides his auxiliaries. On the other hand, *Sundiva*, having had time to provide for its defence, was full of resolute men. A great number of *Moors*, commanded by *Fateh Khân's* brother, received them at landing, but were forced to retire into a fort, which the *Portugueses* immediately besieged.

Attacks and takes

^f DE FARIA, *ibid.* p. 154, & seq.

(B) The successor of *Shilimi Shâb*, according to *De Faria's* history, was *Anaparam*, who was dethroned by his brother, whose name is omitted; and, by a passage, p. 160, it must have been this usurper who then reigned: for it is there said, that *Tibao's* treachery was to revenge the *Portugueses* slain by him at *Dianga*. But this author is very incorrect, often confounding one prince with another. He likewise, by frequently omitting the names of the princes, and exact dates of actions, has rendered his history very confused and imperfect, as well as by dividing his relation of the same matters into so many parts, and mixing matters of so many different kinds together, in order to digest them by way of annals. It is still worse, when giving the history of a person together, contrary to his plan, he omits the date of actions, and so causes the reader to imagine that they all belong to the particular year or years under which

they are related. This is the case with the affairs of *Arrakan* and *Pegu*.

(C) *James Suarez de Melo* was another of these monstrous births. See *De Faria, Portug. Asia*, vol. ii. p. 135, & seqq.

(D) By *Moor* is to be understood a *M. hammedan*.

(E) The *Patans* are those of the province of *Latam*, in *Hindûstân*, who had the dominion of that country before the *Mogols* conquered it. By some, the *Afyâns*.

(F) There are two or three large islands to the west of *Sundiva*, which bear the name of *Bakkala*. They are made by the streams into which the *Ganges* is divided, towards the sea or gulf of *Bengâl*. There is another island called *Bokali*, with a town of the same name in it, on the coast of *Arrakan*, mid-way between *Sundiva* and the river of *Arrakan*: but this is not so likely to be the *Bakkala* in question, as the former.

As

- a As the place was vigorously defended, they not only lay long before it, without making any great progress, but were at last in danger of perishing; not being able to come at either the ammunition or provision which were aboard their vessels. From this distress they were luckily delivered, by *Gaspar de Pina*, a *Spaniard*, who coming to that port, at their request landed fifty men, whom he commanded; and marching by night with many lights, and much noise, made the enemy believe that he brought a considerable succour. As soon as he arrived in the camp, the fort was assaulted; and, being taken, above 1000 *Moors* were put to the sword. The natives of the island, who before had been subject to the *Portugueses*, presently submitted; and were received to mercy, on condition that they should deliver up to him all the strangers who were in the island. On this occasion they brought him above 1000 *Moors* more; and, as they came, he cut off their heads. Thus *Tibao* became master of *Sundiva*, and was obeyed as an absolute lord, independent of any other prince.

To recompence the principal *Portugueses*, who had served him on this occasion, he gave them lands in the island: and then, repenting, took them away again. Instead of yielding to the king of *Bakkala* half the revenue of the island, as had been agreed by him, he made war upon that prince; growing insolent and ungrateful, as he grew in authority. He had now at his command 1000 *Portugueses*, 2000 natives, well armed, 200 horse, and above 80 sail of vessels, with good artillery. As many merchants traded thither, he erected a custom-house; and the neighbouring princes, surpris'd at his prodigious success, courted his friendship. From the king of *Bakkala* he wrested the islands of *Shavapur* (or *Shavaspur*), and *Patelabanga*; besides what he took from others: so that, of a sudden, he was possessed of vast riches, equal with many princes: but, like a meteor, he as suddenly disappeared.

SUCH was the fortune of *Sebastian Gonfales* in *Sundiva*, when there happened a difference between the prince of *Arrakan* and king *Anaparam*. The prince, finding that he could not prevail on his brother, either by intreaty or threats, to give him an elephant, to which all other elephants were said to allow a kind of superiority, raises a great army, and deprives him both of his kingdom, and that so much coveted animal. *Anaparam* flies for succour to *Sebastian Gonfales*, who demands his sister as an hostage; and, having received her, sets out along with him to fight the conqueror. But what could his small force do against an army of 80,000 men, and 700 elephants? The dethroned king returned with *Tibao* to *Sundiva*, carrying over his wife and family, with his treasure and elephants. Thus he remained as a subject to this upstart lord; who baptizing the king's sister, married her; and, though so vile a wretch, pretended he did that prince a signal honour. Soon after, *Anaparam* dies, not without strong suspicion of poison; for *Gonfales* seized on all his treasure, his elephants, and effects, without any consideration of his wife and son. To stop the mouths of the people, he would have married the queen to his brother *Antony Tibao*, admiral of his fleet, but could not compass it; for she never could be prevailed on to be of a religion professed by such monsters in wickedness.

AFTER this, *Sebastian* waged war against the king of *Arrakan*, and met with good success; *Tibao* for his brother *Antony*, with only five sail, took 100 of that monarch's ships. This moved him to conclude a peace; by which he recovered his sister-in-law and brother's widow, whom he married to the king of *Chatigan* (G). At this time the *Great Mogol* undertook to conquer the kingdom of *Balua* (H), which lying opposite to *Sundiva*, alarmed *Tibao*, who therefore entered into a league with the king of *Arrakan* for its defence. The king hereupon takes the field with 80,000 men, most of them musketeers, 10,000 natives of *Pegu*, who fought with sword and buckler, besides 700 elephants, loaded with castles, and armed men. He likewise put to sea above 200 sail, carrying 4000 soldiers, who were to join *Sebastian Gonfales*, and to be under his command. The agreement was, that *Tibao* should hinder the *Mogols* from passing to the kingdom of *Balua*, till the king of *Arrakan* could march thither with his forces; and that the enemy being repulsed, *Tibao* should have half the kingdom delivered to him. The king was likewise to have hostages for his fleet: on which occasion *Sebastian* sent to him a nephew of his own, and the sons of certain *Portugueses* inhabitants of *Sundiva*.

THE king of *Arrakan*, being arrived with his army, was surpris'd to find the *Mogols* already entered the kingdom of *Balua*: however, marching into it with his troops, he, in a short time, expelled the enemy. It was thought that *Tibao*, corrupted with bribes, had given them a free passage into that country; which, by agreement with the king of *Arrakan*, he was obliged to obstruct. Others say, he did it to revenge the death of the *Portugueses*, slain by that prince at *Dianga*. However that be, he was guilty of execrable treachery; for, leaving

^a DE FARIA, p. 155, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 157, & seq.

(G) The cities in these parts are kingdoms one day, and in subjection the next.

(H) Perhaps the great island in the mouth of the

Ganges, directly north of *Sundiva*; or else a country on the continent, eastward, beyond the eastern stream of that great river, which seems most likely.

the mouth of the river (I) *Dangatiar* open, he gave them free entrance. His villainy did not stop there; for, running with his fleet into a creek of the island *Desiarta*, and calling all the king of *Arrakan*'s captains aboard his ship, he murdered them; then falling on the vessels, deprived of their commanders, killed or made slaves of all the men. After he had committed this infamous action, and also taken possession of the injured king's fleet, he returned to *Sundiva*. Mean time the *Mogols* came down again, with a greater power; and entering the kingdom of *Balua*, made a great slaughter of the *Arrakan* army; and reduced that king to such distress, that, with much difficulty, he escaped upon an elephant, and came almost alone to the fort of *Chatigan*¹.

Ravages the coast.

TIBAO, being informed of all which had happened, sets out with his fleet, and ravages all the coast of *Arrakan*, plundering and destroying all the forts which lie along it; and which, confiding in the peace, were then unprovided. He had the impudence to advance up to the very city of *Arrakan*, where he burnt many merchant-ships of several nations: among the rest was one which the king kept in that port to take his pleasure in, and whose loss he resented most of all. It was a vessel of vast bigness, and surprising workmanship, with several apartments, like a palace, all covered with gold and ivory; and yet the art far surpassed the cost. The king, provoked at the insolence and treachery of *Gonsales*, who seemed to have forgotten that his nephew was in hostage, resolved to put him in mind; and causing a stake to be driven through his body, had it set up on an eminence, below the port of *Arrakan*, that his uncle, as he went out, might see him. But he, who had no honour, valued not at whose cost he advanced his own interest. Nevertheless, the guilt of so many villainies began to touch his conscience; and he returned to *Sundiva*, with an apprehension that some heavy punishment would soon fall upon him for his crimes^k.

His nephew impaled.

Sends for succours;

THIS base upstart, who, in his prosperity, never regarded the viceroy, now seeing the danger of falling, applies to him for succour; proposing, in that case, like an absolute prince, to become tributary to *Portugal*, with the acknowledgement of a galleon, laden with rice, to be delivered yearly, either at *Goa*, or *Malakka*. He pretended, that what he had done was solely to revenge the murder of the *Portugueses* at *Dianga*: and, to allure the viceroy, concluded with a hint, that it would be no difficult matter to seize the vast treasure of the *Arrakan* king. This bait had the desired effect; so that the viceroy, instead of abhorring, saith our author, the villainies of that wretch, resolved to assist him, contrary to all laws both human and divine. For this expedition were fitted out fourteen of the largest galliots, one fly-boat, and a pink, under the command of *Don Francisco de Meneses Rexo*, who had been governor of *Seylán*, or *Ceylon*. As his instructions were that he should enter the kingdom of *Arrakan*, without waiting for *Tibao*, he only sent him notice of his coming, when he arrived on that coast; and proceeded directly for the city of *Arrakan*, which is the chief port, as well as residence, of the king.

which are defeated;
A. D. 1615.

HE arrived thither the third of *October*; and, in the morning of the 15th, discovered a very numerous fleet coming down the river, with a *Dutch* pink at the head of them. Other vessels were likewise commanded, and reinforced with *Hollanders*. On the other hand, *Don Francisco* had now with him no more than twelve small ships: for the pink was sent in pursuit of a vessel which had fled; one galliot was gone to fetch back the pink, and another to *Sundiva*, to carry the advice. For all this, the *Portugueses* advanced, without any dread of that formidable armament. The *Dutch* pink fired the first gun, and then began a furious fight. Four galliots, which got before the rest, had their captains and many soldiers killed, before the remaining eight came up; which fell on so desperately, that the enemy overset many of their vessels, through haste to fly from them. In the evening they drew off, on sight of the galliot which went to seek the pink; supposing that some relief was coming to the *Portugueses*; who, among the slain, lost twenty-five men of note^l.

and himself reduced,

DON FRANCISCO, now resolving to wait for *Tibao*, fell down to the mouth of the river; whither, at length, the other arrived, with fifty sail, well manned and equipped. When he heard what had been done, he railed at the viceroy for giving such orders, and against *Don Francis* for obeying them. Then dividing the ships into two equal squadrons, they sailed up the river, and fell upon the enemy on both sides, firing upon the vessels in reach, none of which advanced. All the while the king, from the shore, encouraged his people; and caused the heads of some who fled to be cut off. Soon after, a great part of that vast fleet bore down upon the *Portugueses*, divided into three squadrons. *Tibao* put to flight those who attacked him; and the pink did as much with the *Hollanders*: while *Don Francisco* acted bravely also on his side. In short, the advantage was visibly in favour of the invaders till sunset, when that admiral was killed by two musket-balls, shot one in the forehead, the other in the left eye. *Tibao*, discouraged by the signal made of this misfortune, ceased to follow his good

to his former condition.
A. D. 1616.

¹ DE FARIA, p. 159, & seq.

^k Ibid. p. 161.

^l Ibid. p. 225, & seqq.

(I) Possibly one of those, fifteen or twenty leagues to the north of *Chatigan*.

a fortune; and the tide beginning to ebb, the fleets parted. One galliot was taken by the enemy, and all the men slain; besides 200 more, whose bodies were buried in the sea, at the mouth of the river. When they returned to *Sundiva*, the vice-admiral, *Don Lewis de Azevedo*, who succeeded *Don Francisco* in the command, set sail for *Goa*; notwithstanding *Tiboá*, for his own security, laboured all he could to keep him there. In fine, being thus left in a defenceless state, the king of *Arrakan*, not long after, attacked the island, took it, and reduced him to his former miserable condition. Thus ended the sovereignty of that profligate upstart; which yet was too small a punishment for the crimes he had committed during his short reign.

b THE *Portugueses*, thus sufficiently humbled, applied to the king for grace, who, notwithstanding the many provocations received from them, was inclined to hearken to their petition; knowing that it would be in their power to do him more mischief than ever, in case they should go over to some of the neighbouring powers. To prevent this, therefore, and at the same time secure his frontiers against the *Great Mogol*, his most formidable enemy, who was now become his next neighbour, by the conquest of *Bahia*, he settled them in the port of *Chatigan* (then in his hands), giving them lands, and liberty to live as they pleased; which was on robbery and piracy^m. On this occasion, we are told, that the first time the king of *Arrakan* settled in went to the city of *Chatigan*, after the *Portugueses* were settled there, they presented him a bough, thick set with figs. This bough that prince offered to his white elephant to eat, which the animal refused, although his majesty intreated him to take it for sake of the king of *Ava*, the *Great Mogol*, and his own: but scarce was he desired to eat it for the king of *Portugal*, when he snatched it eagerly with his trunk. The king, hereupon, in a passion, caused the elephant to be stript of all his golden ornaments; which so grieved the beast, that he would not eat at all: so that the king, for fear his beloved animal should die (for this was the famous white elephant so much coveted by all the eastern princes), was obliged to restore its furniture. We relate this story, to shew that the *Portugueses* have their political, as well as religious, legends (K). But to proceed.

d THEY continued in the course of life above-mentioned, plundering and mal-treating all who came in their way, till about the year 1667; when, having murdered one of the king of *Arrakan*'s chief officers, and fearing to be punished for that, as well as other crimes, they were struck one day with such a panic, that they shipped themselves all at once, in forty or fifty of their galleasses, and wafted over to *Sháh Hest Khán*; who was then in *Bengál*, and had invited them to join him against the king of *Arrakan*, whose dominions he had orders to attack. By their assistance he took *Sundiva* from that *Indian* potentate: and having thus rendered them irreconcilable to their former master, treated them with contemptⁿ, as will hereafter be related^o.

e THE design of *Sháh Hest Khán*'s invading *Arrakan* was, to revenge the blood of *Soltán Sujáb*, and his family, who had been destroyed by the king, in order to seize his riches^p; which, in the end, proved the ruin of the kingdom of *Arrakan*. The king thought that all belonged to him: those who fought for it claimed a share; and the princes of the blood wanted some large diamonds for their wives: but the artful priests found a way to make up the difference, by persuading the king, and the other pretenders, to dedicate the whole treasure to the god *Dagun*. This measure being agreed to, the jewels were deposited in the temple of that deity (L), where they continued till the year 1690: at what time the king of *Arrakan* dying without issue, two princes of the blood quarrelled together about the succession. They both took arms, and both had an eye upon *Soltán Sujáb*'s treasure; which so frightened the clergy, that they removed it to another place, known only to themselves. Mean time the two princes pursued their pretensions so furiously, that, in one year's space, both themselves and families were intirely cut off; and the kingdom has continued in anarchy ever since^q.

^m DE FARIA, p. 227, & seq. BERNIER, ubi supr. p. 120.
^p See Hist. Mogol. p. 296.
 East Indies, vol. ii. p. 28.

ⁿ BERNIER, p. 136. DE FARIA, vol. iii.
^q HAMILT. New Account of the

(K) This fable seems to be coined, in imitation of another famous one of the ape, who, on an experiment made by the *Great Mogol*, pulled out the name of *Christ* several times, from among those of *Mohammed*, *Bramma*, and others. See hereafter, in the reign of *Jshán Ghír*.

(L) We hear of no temple of his but at the city *Dagun*, in *Pegu*; where it is not probable that the money was deposited, as it was not then in the king of *Arrakan*'s possession.

C H A P. IV.

Kingdom of Pegu.

S E C T. I.

Geographical description.

Pegu proper. **T**HE kingdom of *Pegu* is to be considered in three different capacities: 1. *Pegu*, properly so called: 2. *Pegu*, with its acquisitions: 3. *Pegu*, incorporated with the kingdom of *Ava*. a

Bounds and extent. THE kingdom of *Pegu*, properly so called, is bounded on the north with those of *Arrakan* and *Ava* (A); on the east with the upper and lower *Siam*; on the south with part of *Siam* and the sea; and on the west with the sea and part of *Arrakan*; lying between the 110th and 116th degrees of longitude, and between the 14th and 19th degrees of north latitude: so that it is about 350 *English* miles in length, from south to north, and nearly the same in breadth, from west to east. If we may venture to quote *Mendez Pinto*, a writer whose relation is a mixture of truth and falsehood, *Pegu*, as it was in his time, about the year 1550, was not above 140 leagues in compass; and was surrounded with a great chain of mountains, named *Pangasirau* (B), which were inhabited by the *Bramas* (or rather *Barmas*), who are at present masters of that and the neighbouring countries. b

Pegu at large. *PEGU*, considered in a larger sense, as augmented by the conquests of its *Barma* kings, extended northward as far as the borders of the province of *Yun-nan*, in *China* (C), comprising the countries of *Arrakan*, *Ava*, *Jangoma*, the *Laos*, and even *Siam*: so that its bounds and extent were nearly equal with those of the farther peninsula of *India* in general. As to *Pegu*, in its third, that is, its present state, in which it stands incorporated with *Ava*, we shall refer the consideration of it till we come to treat of *Ava*; only observing here in general, that its bounds and extent are nearly the same with those which it had in conjunction with its acquisitions; or, what is all one, they are both the same dominion, only it has changed its name from *Pegu* to *Ava*, on account of the royal seat being removed from one city to the other. And here it must be observed, with regard to the name (D) of this country, that, we are told, it is not properly *Pegu*, but *Bagou*. c

Mountains and rivers. *PEGU* seems to be a flat country for the general, without any considerable mountains, excepting those before-mentioned, which surround it, and serve for a frontier towards the land: but it is liable to be invaded, not only by sea, but also by land, by means of the rivers which make their passage through those mountains. Among these, two are most remarkable; the first, the river of *Pegu*; the second, the river of *Ava*, so called from those capitals, which are situate on their banks. The river of *Ava* we shall speak of when we come to treat of *Ava*; and therefore shall only consider that of *Pegu* here. This river (E), which is very large, and carries a strong current to the sea, seems to have its rise in the mountains, which divide *China*, on the west side of *Yun-nan*, from the countries included by us in the farther peninsula of *India*. From thence it shapes its course south, inclining to the west, through countries whose names are unknown to us, but once included within the empire of *Pegu*, as they at present belong to that of *Ava*. At length, having washed the borders of *Jangoma*, which lies to the north of *Siam*, it enters the kingdom of *Pegu*; and, having passed to the west of the capital city, falls into the sea, with a very large mouth, about thirty miles (F) below it. d

River of Pegu annually overflowing. THIS river, by its annual overflowings, brings such advantage to the country, that it is not unfitly termed, by *Maffi*^b, the *Indian Nile*. These inundations are almost incredible,

^a See DE FARIA, Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 117. 127.

^b MAFFI. Hist. l. xvi. c. 5.

(A) Sheldon's memoirs, in *Ovington*, written about the year 1688 gives *Pegu*, for its northern bounds, the empire of *Siamon* and *Kalaminban*: which shews that author had dealt with *Mendez Pinto*, who places these two imaginary empires to the north of *Pegu*.

(B) Those on the west side are called *Pro* by *Pinto*.

(C) This appears from the Jesuits map of that province, in which the places are marked where the frontiers of *Pegu* begin and end. This is likewise agreeable to the account of the *Indians*. But *Tavernier* pretends to have discovered the contrary, from the report of some merchants of *Tipra*, which country he supposed to cover the north borders of *Arrakan* and *Pegu*, and

to take up all the space between them and *China*. See *Tavernier*. part ii. cap. 16. p. 186.

(D) The *Chinfs*, we are told, call it *Mien*: or *Mien* might be the name of the country bordering on *China*, which *Chauzigem*, the second *Barma* king, added to his empire. *Louther* speaks of *Meens*, in the king of *Siam*'s army. *Relat. Siam*, part ii. c. 11. p. 97.

(E) *Le Blanc* names it *Kaypona*: and *Pinto* mentions a river of the same name, which some maps make to fall into the river of *Ava*, about twenty miles south-west of the city of that name.

(F) *Bartol* says, between twenty-five and thirty miles.

a extending above thirty leagues beyond its chanel. By the mud or slime which is left behind, the soil is so enriched, and their crops of rice increased to such a degree, that an hundred ship-loads thereof have been exported in one year, without being missed^c.

THERE are two ways by which goods may be conveyed from the port of *Negraïs* to the *River of Ne-*
river of *Pegu*: one is by long sea; the other by the intervention of rivers from the bar of *Negraïs*.

Negraïs. The distance either way from that bar is fifty or fifty-five leagues: but, by reason of the shoalings along the coast, the first way is usually taken. This passage is formed by several large islands, which lie near one another, and leave a chanel between them and the main land, like that of a great river, into which several rivers out of *Pegu* discharge their waters; while the sea flowing in by the opening between the islands, a sufficient quantity of water is
b always found in the aforesaid chanel, to carry large barks, for conveying passengers and goods from the bar of *Negraïs* to the city of *Pegu*.

ALONG this chanel are a considerable number of cities, towns, and villages, as well on *Cities upon it.*
the land-side, as that of the islands. Among the rest are the cities of *Kosmi* (or *Kosmin*), *Koylan*, *Tavagnedun* (or *Medun*), *Leungon*, *Silvansedi*, *Mojja*, *Dala* (or *Dolla*), *China-Bakkar*, *Dogun* (or *Dagon*), and *Sirian*^d. This chanel, which may be called the river of *Negraïs* (G), has three mouths or openings between the islands to the sea, viz. at *Dolla*, *China Bakkar*, and *Sirian*, which by that means are so many ports.

THE coast from *Negraïs*, running eastward to the true river of *Pegu*, and thence south-*Surprising*
ward toward *Tenasserin*, forms a great bay, where the sea runs with incredible violence and *tide.*

c swiftnefs into the mouth of that river: for, on the return of the tide, a body of waters, whose front is above twelve feet high, comes rolling in, and bears down whatever stands in its way; so that no ship can withstand its force, but in a moment is overturned. This furious tide, which the natives call *Makkrea* (H), advances with so great a roaring, that the noise may be heard ten miles off^e. We are told, that the tide in the gulf of *Kambaya* is nothing, compared with this; and that the latter runs as swift as an arrow out of a bow^f.

THE air of *Pegu* is very healthy, and presently recovers sick strangers. The soil of *Pegu* *Soil and pro-*
is very rich and fertile, in corn, fruit and roots. It likewise produces good timber of several *duce.*
kinds. The country abounds with elephants, buffaloes, goats, hogs, and other animals. There is abundance of wild game: and deer is so plenty in *September* and *October*, that our
d author, captain *Hamilton*, has bought one for three or four pence: they are very fleshy, but have no fat. Poultry is good and plenty: the cocks are vastly large, and hens very beautiful. As for fish, there are many good sorts^g.

THERE are, in *Pegu*, mines not only of iron, tin, and *gansa*, or lead (I), which passes for money, but also of rubies, diamonds, and sapphires. The rubies are the best in the world: but the diamonds are small, and only found in the craws of poultry and pheasants. Besides, only one family has the privilege of felling them, and none dare open the ground to dig for them^h.

PEGU is doubtless divided into provinces like other countries; but travellers have men-*Provinces.*
tioned none. However, we may consider, as such, the several petty kingdoms or states
e which had been conquered by the kings of *Pegu*: such as those of *Tava*, *Tangu*, and *Kablan* (or *Kapelan*). This last, we are told, was one of the twelve conquered by the second *Barma* king, *Chaumigrem*, who began his reign about the year 1549ⁱ. It is reputed the most barren part of all *Pegu*. The chief city is of the same name. Here the true rubies, for which *Pegu* is famous, are found in a mountain not far from it, standing between the city of *Pegu*, and port of *Sirian* (K)^k.

THE kingdom of *Tangu* is frequently mentioned by the authors who have written about the *Tangu king;*
affairs of *Pegu*: but none of them says any thing precisely concerning its situation, excepting *dom,*
Mendez Pinto; who informs us, that it lies 160 leagues from the city of *Pegu*, in the heart of the country^l. With this agree the few hints we have from other writers (L), only the distance

^c OVI^{NGT.} p. 585. Barbofa.

^d See BALBI & FITCH.

^e HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 32.

^f CÆSAR FREDERIC ap. Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 232.

^g TAVERN. trav. part ii. p. 144. HAMILT. p. 38,

40, 59. Balbi.

^h OVI^{NGT.} p. 585.

ⁱ See his history hereafter.

^k FITCH ap. Purch.

vol. ii. p. 1741. OVI^{NGT.} p. 583.

^l PINTO's trav. p. 288.

(G) It is indeed commonly called *Pegu* river: but we think improperly, as it is no part of the river of *Pegu*.

(H) Or *Makkrea*, as Balbi and Cæsar Frederic, our authors, call it; also the great *Bore*, and *Boer*; which is doubtless a corruption of the Arabic *Bâhr*, that is, *the sea*; the term used, we presume, by those whom the Europeans call *Moors*.

(I) Rather a kind of copper, or mixture of copper and lead.

(K) Fitch says, *Koplan* is six day journey from *Ava*. *Pimenta*, besides *Kawelan* (which must be this *Kapelan*),

whence the sapphires and rubies come, places two kingdoms, by the name of *Kablan*, among the twelve conquered by the *Brama* king mentioned in the text; which he says are near *Ava*, towards *China*, and abound with gems. Perhaps, instead of one of these two places, so much alike in name, we should read *Kamelan*, whose king, *Massingo*, we are told, *De Brito* slew in battle.

(L) We are told that the kings of *Jangoma* and *Siam* joined, in 1599, to invade the king of *Tangu*; that he of *Siam*, in his way thither, entered and subdued the kingdom

distance seems abundantly too great. Hence we conceive it to be situated on the east side of the river of *Pegu*, between the kingdoms of *Jangoma* on the north, and *Siam* on the south.

its history.

HOWEVER that be, *Tangu* was formerly a very remarkable place. It is said by some, that the first *Barma* king of *Pegu* was governor of it; and that the second was born there: his successors made kings, or viceroys of *Tangu*. As this country was upon the frontiers towards *Siam* and *Jangoma*, its dependent kings were always ready to revolt, or give disturbance to the *Pegu* monarch. At length we find one of them, in the year 1598, joined in confederacy with him of *Arrakan*, to conquer that country; which they effected. The king of *Tangu*, after putting to death his sovereign, who had surrendered to him, carried off all the treasure of *Pegu*, and left the ruined kingdom to the king of *Arrakan*: but his independency did not continue long, for he was overcome and rendered tributary about 1612, by the king of *Ava*; or perhaps, rather the king of *Pegu*, who had transferred the regal seat to *Ava*^m.

City of Pegu.

THE city of *Pegu* (M), before the completion of its ruin in the year 1600 above-mentioned, was one of the most splendid, large, and populous, in all *Asia*. According to *Cæsar Frederic*, *Balbi*, and *Fitch*, who saw this city in its greatest splendor (N), it was very spacious, fair, and strong, surrounded with stone walls, and very wide ditches. It was divided into two cities, the old and new: in the old, which was very big, and augmented by several suburbs, lived the merchants and strangers, for there trade was carried on; and as the houses were only built with wood, or bambû canes, covered with tiles, each had a warehouse of brick arched, to secure the goods from fires, which were very frequent there. The new city, which was inhabited by the king, the nobility, and people of fashion, was very great and populous: its figure square; and in each side of the wall were five gates of stone, with many gilded towers along it for posting centries. It was encompassed with broad ditches, in which were bred crocodiles, to deter people from wading over them. The streets the fairest that ever *Fitch* saw, running in a line from gate to gate; and so wide, that twelve men might go a-breast. Each house had a palm-tree growing at the door, which made an ornament as well as shade for passengers.

King's palace.

THE king's palace stood in the midst of this new city, built like a fortress with walls and ditches. The houses and garments within were of wood, all over gilded, and adorned with battlements covered with plates of gold. By the gate you entered into a spacious court, where were lodgings on the sides for the king's choicest elephants; among which were four white ones. This was a great rarity, those animals being very scarce; but that prince would suffer none to have any but himself. It was on this account only that he made war on the king of *Siam* in 1567, from whom he took the famous white elephant; and afterwards assumed the title of king of the white elephant (O). Near the palace was a large court surrounded with stone walls; and its two gates were always open, as if no account was made of the immense treasure within. This was lodged in four gilded houses, covered with lead: in the first was a vast gold statue of a man, with a crown of gold beset with rubies and sapphires, and about him four children of gold. In the second house was a silver statue, sitting on heaps of treasure: yet his head reached as high as any house; and his foot was as long as *Frederic*, who measured it, was tall. The third house had it in a statue of brass, of the same bigness; and the fourth contained another of the same size, made of *ganfa*, which is a mixture of copper and lead. These three statues had crowns on, like the first.

Huge statues.

Elephant hunting.

WITHIN a mile of the city was a beautiful palace all gilded, with a large court before it; containing an infinite number of places for people to stand and see the hunting of elephants in the neighbouring forest, of vast extent; which, being driven out of the wood by the hunters, were decoyed by tame elephants into the inclosure made for the purpose, where they were taken and tamedⁿ.

The city destroyed.

THE new city, with the palace, and all its ornaments, were the work of the second *Barma* king of *Pegu*, the greatest of all its monarchs. It was finished about the year 1567. Whether it received any improvements from his successor, does not appear; but this we know, that in his reign it was stripped of all its lustre, and reduced to a miserable condition. For the third and last king of that race in *Pegu* having, by his excessive tyranny and continual

^m See the ensuing history of Pegu.

ⁿ CÆS. FRÉDER. apud HACKL. vol. ii. p. 231. BALBI, p. 100, & seq.

kingdom of *Martavân*; and that the king of *Tangu*, in 1598, was ordered by the king of *Pegu*, his sovereign prince, to bring the inhabitants of *Tangu* in ships to his capital city. Which shews *Tangu* must be washed by the river of *Pegu*. See *Pimenta & Bowes*, ap. *Hais epist. Ind.* p. 848.

(M) It has been observed before, that the true name of the city, as well as country, is *Bagou*; but *Floris* calls it *Uncha*, or *Pegu*. See his voyage. New collect. voy. and travels, 4to. vol. i. p. 539.

(N) The first, in 1566; and the two latter, in 1683.

(O) The white elephant is not esteemed in these parts on account of the scarcity of those animals, but because the mother of *Schêya* (as the *Chineses* call him), founder of the idolatry of *Ti-ti*, whence that throughout the *Indies* is derived, dreamed that a white elephant, entering her mouth, passed down her throat, and came out of her side. See *Ma-tsi hist. de Tonquin* and *Lao*; also New Collect. of voy. and travels in quarto, vol. iv. p. 207.

wars, exhausted his dominions of people, the neighbouring princes invaded his territories. In 1596 the king of *Siam* besieged him in his capital for three months; but for this time he was relieved by the assistance of certain *Turks*, in conjunction with some *Portugueses*. However, most of those whom war had spared, famine destroyed: for, out of 150,000 men numbered in the city before the siege, only 30,000 were left, with 3000 cannon (1000 of them brass) for its defence. The kings of *Arrakan* and *Tangu*, taking advantage of this distressed condition of *Pegu*, marched to besiege it anew; and the king, being at length obliged to submit for want of provisions, some time in the year 1599, yielded himself and the city into the hands of the king of *Tangu*; whose wife, though sister to the unfortunate prince, caused him and his family to be put to death^o.

b FROM that time *Pegu* ceased to be the royal seat, except at times, and fell to decay: so that, as we are informed by a late traveller, although six or seven leagues in compass, not one twentieth part is inhabited, and that only by the lower class of people^p. However, it is still the seat of the viceroy, who governs for the king residing now at *Ava*; and dwells in the palace standing in the new city, which is separated from the old by the river passing between them. Royal seat removed.

TRAVELLERS have given no account of the inland cities of *Pegu*; our readers therefore must be content with what they relate concerning some of its maritime towns.

THE first which occurs on the west side of the river of *Pegu*, towards its mouth, is *Sirian*. City of Sirian?
This is the only port now open for trade in all that country^q. It is situated near the mouth of the river of the same name, which communicates with the chanel coming from the bar of *Negraïs*: the ruins of its walls and bulwarks shew it to have been a very strong place (P). On the news of its reduction, the emperor poisoned himself; and the conqueror carried the rest of his family, with all his treasures, to *Pegu*^r. At present, it is inclosed with a stone wall, laid without mortar, built near the river side on a rising ground. The governor is generally of the blood royal; and the suburbs are four times larger than the city. The port is frequented by ships from several parts of *India*, the river being capable of receiving vessels of 600 tons: it is frequented by some *English*, *Portugueses*, and *Armenians*; which latter have monopolized the ruby trade.

d IF, by accident, a ship be driven a league or two to the eastward of *Sirian* bar, a strong tide carries her on hard sands; for anchors cannot stop her career. There she sits fast; but being left dry at low-water by the sea, which retires five or six leagues, the sailors have time to cross the sands to shore: for the *makkrea*, or tide, returns with such violence, as hath been mentioned before, that no vessel can withstand its force. *Sirian* stands about six leagues from the bar of *Pegu* river, and forty miles from the city of *Pegu* itself^s. But as the violent tides above-mentioned render the navigation thither dangerous, so goods are commonly landed at *Sirian*, and carried from thence, by the inland chanel before described, as far as a place called *Makkao*; where they are again put on shore, and conveyed by land to the city of *Pegu*, which is twelve miles distant. The makkrea, or tide.

e IN the neighbourhood of *Sirian* stand the two most remarkable pagods in all the dominions of the *Peguan*, or *Avan*, empire. One is about six miles to the southward, called *Kiakkiak*, or the temple of the god of gods; and, as it is built in a high champain country, it may be seen eight leagues off. Within it is an image twenty yards long, lying in a sleeping posture; and by the tradition of the natives has lain in that posture above 6000 years. His doors and windows are always open, every body having the liberty to see him; and when he awakes, this world is to be annihilated. The other temple stands in a low plain to the north of *Sirian*, about the same distance, and is called *Dagun* (Q). His doors and windows are always shut, nor do any enter but his priests; who will not tell what shape he is of, farther than that he is not of human shape. As soon as *Kiakkiak* has destroyed this world, *Dagon*, or *Dagun*, will gather up the fragments, and make a new one. There are yearly fairs held near these temples; and the offerings made at those fairs are for the use of those holy places^t. Temples of Kiakkiak, and of Dagun.

f THIS is the account given by a late author who saw both temples (R): but two earlier travellers have given a more particular account of that called *Dagon*, or *Dagon*. It stands in or near the city of *Dagon*, which lies on the north side of the chanel of *Negraïs*. It is about two days journey from the city of *Pegu*, and so near to *Sirian*, that the *makkrea*, or violent tide, rises there to a very great height, so as to cover the stairs at the landing-place consisting

^o PIMENTA apud PURCH. vol. ii. p. 1747. BOVES. p. 1748. FLORIS, vol. i. p. 322. P HAMILT.
New acc. East India, vol. ii. p. 33. ^q Ibid. p. 32. R BALBI, p. 97. DE FARIA, Portug. Asia,
vol. iii. p. 127. S HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 32. T Ibid. p. 57, & seq.

(P) What *Balbi* says, of its having been the seat of an emperor, till taken by the king of *Pegu* in 1567, &c. seems to have been copied from *Cæsar Frederic's* account of the conquest of *Silon*, or *Siam*; which *Balbi* has mistaken for *Sirian*.

(Q) According to *De Faria*, the name of the idol (or god worshipped here) is *Biay*.

(R) According to the draught published by captain *Hamilton*, their figure is like a cone, or sugar-loaf, hollowing towards the middle.

of twenty steps. From the landing place they pass through a street above a mile long, where the priests live in gilded houses. At the end of the street stands the temple, to which one ascends by a large stair-case of ninety steps. At the foot of it were two tigers of stone, in a saliant attitude; on the top, two angels, with triple crowns on their heads. The temple itself is round, and of stone, gilt all over. On the left hand is a beautiful hall, carved and gilt both inside and out: this is a kind of chapel, where the people resort to hear the *Tale-pouys* preach. The king of *Pegu*, and all the royal family, used to attend the anniversary festival of this pagod, there to receive absolution of their sins. At this time a great fair is kept, for the convenience of the multitudes, who resort thither either for devotion, or sake of trade. In a hall, at the first landing-place (for there are three), coming down, was a vast bell, seven paces three palms in circumference, inscribed all over with curious characters. But the natives could neither give any account of them, nor how the bell came thither.

City of Kof-min.

To the westward of *Sirian*, on the same coast, above forty-five leagues distant, is *Kosmî* or *Kosmîn*, formerly a port of great resort for *Indian* shipping; which here landed their goods to be conveyed in *paros*, a kind of barges, or large boats, by the inland chanel, to *Pegu*. This is a very handsome town, delightfully situated, facing the north-east by east. But as the neighbouring country is full of woods, infested with tigers, wild boars, and monkies; the inhabitants raise their houses, built with bambûs, on piles, several feet above the ground, to avoid those animals; especially the tigers, who frequently in the night enter the town, and carry off both men and cattle^a. There is no other port betwixt *Kosmîn* and that called *Negraïs*, in the smaller island of this name: for there are two, one very large to the north and west; the other not above three leagues long, which lies at the mouth of the river of *Negraïs*, along which goods are conveyed to *Sirian* and *Pegu*.

Isles off the coast.

Off this southern coast of *Pegu* lie several islands; as 1. The *Cocos*; so called from its being full of cocoa-nut trees, about twenty leagues west south-west from cape *Negraïs*. 2. The *Perperies*, thirty-six leagues south of the same cape. They are high islands, overgrown with woods, and surrounded with sunk rocks. 3. *Kommoda*, a small island about ten leagues from the coast. All the above-mentioned isles are uninhabited.

Martavan city.

THE eastern coast of *Pegu* has several ports upon it. The first is *Martabûn*, or *Martavân*: it lies about 100 miles to the south of the city of *Pegu*, the way by land lying mostly through woods and plains. It was formerly capital of a rich and pretty powerful kingdom, before the *Pegu* monarchs began to extend their dominions under the *Barma* kings. But the first of this race, having conquered *Pegu*, fell next on *Martavân* in 1545, with a vast army; and, having compelled its king *Chambayna* to surrender himself, put him, his queen, and all her women, to most cruel deaths: after which he plundered and ruined the city. He likewise caused ships to be sunk in the river, to hinder the navigation of it; in which condition it still continues. Yet still a trade is carried on for fish and earthen-ware; especially those large jars for holding wine or water, in great request all over the *Indies*: some are so large as to hold the quantity of two hogheads^x.

AFTER the destruction of *Pegu* in 1600, the king of *Siam* took *Martavân*, and laid it waste; however, it soon recovered, and had a king of its own about 1604; to whose daughter the famous *De Briton* and *Nicote*, the *Portuguese* king of *Pegu*, married his eldest son: but after the king of *Ava* had taken *Sirian*, and impaled the mock king, he obliged the king of *Martavân* to put his son-in-law to death^y, in 1614.

Tavay,

frontier town.

PEGU extends southward as far as *Tavay*, a town and island in the gulf of the same name. It was formerly capital of a petty kingdom, which was conquered by the king of *Ava* (or of *Pegu*, removed to *Ava*), in the year last above mentioned^z. Plenty of *kalain*, or *kalaia* woods grow there^a.

IN the history of those times we frequently meet with a city called *Satan*, or *Zatna*, but nothing which gives any light as to its situation; only it is said, that the king of *Siam* advanced so far in the year 1583^b. This however, we take to be the same with the port of *Zayton*, mentioned by *Nicholas de Conti*; who, having passed down the river from *Ava*, came thither, and put to sea about the year 1430^c.

^a BALBI, p. 95. vol. ii. p. 39, 62. ^b DE FARIA, ubi supra, p. 139, 193. ^c Ibid. p. 197. ^d BALBI, ubi supra, p. 120. ^e PIMENTA ap. PURCH. Pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1746.

FITCH, apud PURCH. vol. ii. p. 1739.

^x DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 348. HAMILT.

^z Ibid. p. 197.

^a BALBI, ubi supra, p. 120.

^c See PURCH. Pilgr. vol.

S E C T. II.

Inhabitants of Pegu; their customs, religion, and government.

^a **T**HE inhabitants of *Pegu* are a mixture of natives, whom some authors term *Peguers*, *Inhabitants*, and *Barmas* (by many called *Bramas*), who conquered them, and are at present masters of the country: but although they dwell one among another, yet they are distinguished not only by their features but their drefs.

WITH regard to their persons, there is a great disagreement among authors. Some say *Shape and features* the men are very ugly ^a; others, that they are well-shaped and featured ^b; some, that they are monstrous fat ^c; others, that they are plump, but few of them fat: they are of an olive complexion ^d; or, as others express it, are rather tawny than black, like the people of *Arrakan* ^e. They wear no beards, but pull out the hairs with pincers; yet leave a few in one place or other of the face. They have naturally very white teeth, but make them black, that they may not appear white, like those of dogs ^f (A).

^b SOME give the people of *Pegu* a very good character, as being of a mild, humane, and *Character*, very charitable disposition; while others represent them to be the most corrupt in their manners of all the *Indian* nations. They particularly brand the women as having shook off all modesty, on account of their drefs, exposing some parts of their bodies, which ought to be concealed from sight ^g: but how far this charge may be just will appear presently. The females are much whither than the men; low of stature, but well-shaped; their faces pretty plump, their arms and legs well-proportioned; their hands and feet small ^h.

^c THE drefs of the men is a coat or frock of painted calico, girt with a *lungee*, or scarf, about the middle, and falling down as low as their feet, which are bare; for neither stockings nor *men*, shoes are worn in *Pegu*. The habit of the women is very singular. Their head-drefs is their own black hair tied up behind; and, when they go abroad, they wear a *shawl* folded up, or *and women*, a piece of white cotton cloth lying loose on the top of their heads. Their raiment is first a frock of silk, or calico, fitted to their bodies, and the sleeves made very tight to the arms. This frock reaches half-way down the thighs; and under it they have a scarf, or *lungee*, four-double, which is made fast round the waist, and descends almost to the ankle; so contrived, that at every step as they walk, it opens before and shews the right leg (B), with part of the thigh ⁱ. Some travellers go farther, and say the women go naked, with only a cloth before, which, as they walk, opens and shews their secret parts. This is the immodesty with which they are accused in the preceding paragraph: but this, we are told, is not a fashion brought in ^d by the female sex in this country through wantonness, but imposed on them many ages ago by a certain queen (C); in order, by that means, to draw the inclinations of the men, then strangely addicted to sodomy, towards the sex.

THEY tell you, that this neglect of women had so far put a stop to propagation, that *Pegu*, *Odd customs* by degrees, became very thin of inhabitants. The queen therefore, effectually to prevent that unnatural vice which occasioned it, introduced another still more extraordinary custom: for she made a law that the males, as soon as they arrived at a certain age (D), should have balls, or bells, inserted, one on each side of the virile member, between the skin and the *of wearing* flesh, which is opened for that purpose, and healed in seven or eight days! Authors differ *bells* about the size of these bells; some say, they are big as hazel nuts, others as walnuts. *Linschoten* affirms, they are the size of *acorns*; and *Fitch*, that some are as large as hens eggs; but the least, as big as a small walnut. These balls or bells are round, and of divers metals, as gold, silver, brass, or lead, according to the degree of the person who wears them; the costlier sort being for the king and his nobles; for all, it seems, are obliged to obey this law; which, in appearance, must be no less grievous than that of circumcision.

^e BOTH the men and women, we are told, are delighted with these bells, which have a sweet *in these coun-* sound. They are sold by old women, who seem to be the operators for furnishing the male sex *tries*, with these ornaments. *Linschoten* brought one of them with him from the *Indies* to *Holland*;

^a FARIA PORTUG. *Asia*, vol. i. p. 227.

^b HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 49.

^c BALBI, p. 106.

^d HAMILT. ibid.

^e SHELDON apud OVIINGT. voy. to Surat, p. 589.

^f FITCH apud PURCH.

ubi supr. vol. ii. p. 1741.

^g SHELDON, ubi supra.

^h HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 49.

ⁱ BALBI,

p. 107. FITCH apud PURCH. vol. ii. p. 1741. HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 29.

(A) They ought rather to covet to appear like them; if, as we are told, they give themselves out to be descended from a *Chinese* dog and a woman; who, being the only two creatures saved from shipwreck on the *Pegu* coast, ingendered there: and hence, they say, it is, that the men are very ugly, and not the women; the males taking after their sire, and the females after their mother. *Portug. Asia*, vol. i. p. 228.

(B) *Balbi* says, that the cotton gown which they wear is slit in four parts; because, in walking, they affect to shew both their legs.

(C) Called *Canane*. See *Portug. Asia*, vol. i. p. 228.

(D) Some say, at the age of twenty-five or thirty; others, when they are of an age capable of making use of women.

and relates a strange management practised on the females (E) when young; which though it may appear incredible to most readers, is yet confirmed by other earlier travellers, as well as solemnly attested by himself^k.

THIS custom, or law, of wearing bells, we are told, is in use among the people of *Ava*, *Lanjang*, or *Laos*, *Siam*, and the *Barmas*: *Conti* particularly mentions, that he found it practised at *Ava*, and the bells sold by old women^l. After so many credible testimonies relating to this matter, it might seem unreasonable to doubt the truth of it; and yet neither captain *Hamilton*, who was at *Pegu* the beginning of the present century; nor Mr. *Sheldon*, who wrote an account of *Pegu* about the year 1685; mention any thing of these bells, altho' they speak of the peculiarity of the womens dress. Possibly, the cause being at length removed, that painful custom has been abolished; although, to prevent a relapse, the loose dress of the women is still kept up as a provocative.

Barmas how dressed.

THE dress of the *Barmas* differs somewhat from that of the *Peguers*. Their coat is a thin *Betella*, so that their skin may be seen through it. About their loins they have a large *lungee*, which reaches to their ancles, and is gathered at the navel, in a round bundle as big as a child's head. They imprint several devices in their skins, which, for that purpose, they prick with bodkins; and, rubbing charcoal-dust over the punctures while fresh, the black marks remain ever after. This is an ornament appropriated to themselves, and which the *Peguers* dare not assume: so that the people of one nation may easily be distinguished from those of the other^m.

People's diet.

THE inhabitants of *Pegu* are accused by some authors with being slovenly in their houses and nasty in their diet; on account of seasoning their victuals with *fidol*, made of stinking fish, in the same manner as practised in *Arrakan*, so nauseous and offensive that none but themselves can endure the smell of itⁿ. *Balbi* says, he could sooner bear the scent of stinking carrion; and yet with this they season their rice and other soops, instead of butter or oil. He adds, that all the grandees, and even the king, eat of this fish, of which they are as fond as *Europeans* of sturgeon^o. But a late traveller only says, that the ingredients which the king puts into his boiled rice to give it a relish, are made of shrimps dried and powdered, mixed with some salt and cod-pepper^p; without ascribing to it any smell or taste which is offensive. Perhaps he had not examined it, or other authors censure it without reason; since they speak as reproachfully of the *assa fætida*, which is the seasoning used by the more western *Indians*, although it appears to have been the famous *silphium* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and is indeed a refinement of rocambole, as this latter is of garlick, which yet the *Europeans* are so fond of. However that be, the people of *Pegu* have plenty of excellent provisions, both of quadrupeds and fowls, wild, and tame, as well as of fish. As they have no wheat in the country, their bread is rice made into cakes. Their common drink is water, nor have they any wine: but, instead thereof, use the juice drawn by incision from a tree, which they call *Annipa* (F); a liquor very pleasant to the palate. By way of regale they chew *betel*, like all the rest of the *Indians* in both peninsulas.

A stinking sauce.

Their marriages:

THE men here, as in most other eastern countries, buy their wives, or pay their parents a dowry for them. If, after cohabiting with his wife for a time, the husband dislikes either her person or temper, he has liberty to divorce, and send her home again. On the other side, if either the woman, or her friends, dislike the man, they may take her away from him; but, in that case, must return the dowry which the husband gave for her^q.

Some, for a time,

THEY have an odd custom in *Pegu*, which is to offer their daughters to strangers, and hire them out for a time. Some say, they hire out their wives in the same manner. These marriages for a term are well-regulated, and often prove very beneficial to the occasional husband. The women are very courteous and kind to strangers in general, but very fond of marrying with *Europeans*; and most of the foreigners who trade thither marry a wife for the time of their stay. The ceremony is this: when the parties are agreed, the bride's parents, or nearest friends, invite the relations or friends of both parties to an entertainment; at the end of which the father, or bride-man, asks them, before the company, if they are willing to live together as man and wife? And on their answering in the affirmative, he declares them lawfully married: after which the bridegroom carries his wife home; or, if he hath no house of his own, consummates the marriage in that where it was performed^r.

^k BALBI, p. 126. FITCH. ubi supra, p. 1741. LINSCHOT. p. 29. p. 150.

^m HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 48, & seq.

ⁿ BALBI, p. 125.

^p HAMILT. ubi supr. p. 42.

OVIINGT. p. 590. HAMILT. p. 50.

^l CONTI, apud PURCH. vol. iii.

^o TOSSI, l. 2. p. 69. apud OVIINGT. p. 590.

^q BALBI, p. 127.

^r LINSCHOT. p. 29.

(E) Viz. That their parents sew up their private parts, leaving only a small orifice, which is enlarged by a surgeon at the time of marriage. *Linschoten* saw one of those women; and had the fact confirmed, by the surgeon who performed the operation.

(F) Some call it *nipa*, or *niper* wine: the best is made at *Tanaherin*, a port belonging to *Siam*, to the south of *Martavan*. It is distilled from cocoa nut water. See *Cæsar Frederic* ap. *Hackluyt's* voy. part 2. p. 231. and *Linschot*. p. 30.

- a THESE wives prove very obliging and obedient: they take the management of the house *Commerce* upon them, go to market, dress the victuals, and take care of their husbands clothes, as to mending and washing. In case the man has any commodities to sell, the wife sets up a shop, and disposes of them by retale, to much better account than they could be sold for by wholesale. Some of them carry goods into the inland towns, and barter for such as are proper for the foreign markets to which her husband is bound. If she be convicted of inconstancy, her husband may carry her to the *rounday*, or *court-house*, where, having her hair cut off, he may sell her for a slave. On the other hand, in case he goes astray, she will be apt to revenge herself by poison. In case of separation, the father is obliged to take care of the boys, and the mother of the girls: but the children cannot be carried out of the country
- b without the king's permission; which yet may be purchased for forty or fifty pounds. The marriage may be continued even in the husband's absence in other countries, provided he *such temporary wives.* leaves a fund to pay his wife about six shillings and eight pence a month; otherwise, at the year's end, she may marry again: but, if the said sum be paid her, she is obliged to stay the term of three years^a. *Sheldon* says, that in case, during such husband's absence, another should marry her, he would be obliged to restore her to the former, during his continuance in the place; nor is a woman looked on the worse, but rather the better, for having had several *European* husbands^b. Nay, we are told, that no person of fashion in *Pegu*, from the gentleman to the king, will marry a maiden, till some acquaintance, or stranger, has had the first night's lodging with her^c.

- c IN *Pegu*, the inheritance of all lands is in the king: he is likewise the heir of all his sub- *Inheritances.* jects who die without issue; but in case they have children, two thirds go to them, and the rest to his majesty^d.

THE people of this country have various sorts of music, among which the pipe and tabor *Musical instruments.* are most esteemed; although their stringed instruments pleased our author best. They have one kind in shape of a gale, about three feet in length, and eight or ten inches broad, and six deep; on the upper belly of it are fastened about twenty bells, of different sizes and tones, which are beaten with a stick of heavy wood, and make no contemptible harmony^e.

- d THE air of *Pegu* is so healthy, that it is not afflicted with many diseases, which other coun- *Diseases.* tries, wanting the same benefit, are subject to. However, the small-pox is dreaded through all the provinces; but chiefly in that of *Kirian* (F), where it makes great ravages, and is considered as pestiferous: so that when any one is found to have caught this cruel distemper, the whole neighbourhood fly, as from the plague, and build new houses to dwell in two or three miles distant. At their departure, they leave with the sick person a jar of water, a basket of raw rice, with some earthen pots to boil it in; and then bid him farewell for one-and-twenty days. If the patient recovers, which can only happen in case he has strength enough to rise and boil his food, at the expiration of that term they carry him to their new plantation^f.

- e AMONG the *Peguers*, the priests are their principal physicians: however, we are told, *Physicians.* that, for the general, when any person falls sick, he makes a vow to the devil, from whom they believe all evil comes. Then a scaffold is built, and victuals spread on the top of it, to solace *old Nick*, and render him propitious. This feast is accompanied with lighted candles and music. The whole is managed by an undertaker called the devil's father: and although their priests forbid such practices, yet the people are too fond of this ancient custom to obey their commands^g.

- f WE have already given a general view of the trade of *Pegu*, in treating of *Sirian*, which *Commerce.* is its only port at present. The commodities exported from thence are gold, silver, rubies, musk, benjamin, long-pepper, tin, lead, copper, *lakka* (or gum lak, whereof they make hard wax), rice, rice-wine, and some sugar-canes, of which they would have plenty, but that the elephants eat them^h. It may be observed, that, under the name of rubies, the *Peguers* comprise topazes, sapphires, amethysts, and other stones, which they distinguish, by saying the blue, the violet, and the yellow rubies. The true ruby is red, transparent, and sparkling; inclined, near the surface, to the violet of the amethyst. They are found in the mountains of *Kapelan*, or *Kablan*; and in those which stretch from *Pegu* to *Kamboja*ⁱ.

COTTON cloths, from *Bengál* and *Choromandel*, with some striped silks, are best for the *Pegu* market: and silver of any sort will go off there; for the king, in return for his eight and an half *per cent.* duty on it, allows the merchants to melt it down, and put what copper alloy they please in it: so that *rupi* silver, which has no alloy, will bear twenty-eight *per* *Commodities.*

^a BALBI, p. 127. HAMILT. p. 51.

p. 29.

^b BALBI, p. 127.

^c HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 57.

^d OVIINGT. p. 591. HAMILT. p. 51.

^e LINSCHOT,

^f Ibid. p. 59, & 61.

^g BALBI,

p. 124.

^h FREDER. apud Hakl. vol. ii. p. 237.

BALBI, p. 108.

FITCH apud Purch. vol. ii. p. 1739.

ⁱ OVIINGT. p. 585.

(F) A mistake, doubtless, for *Sirian*.

cent. of copper, and keep the *Pegu* touch, which they call flowered silver; for if it flowers, ^a it passes current. Their way to make flowered silver is this: they cast the silver and copper into shallow moulds; and, while the metal is in fusion, blow on the surface through a wooden pipe, which produces the figures of flowers or stars. But, if there is too great a mixture of alloy, no figures will appear: nor did our author ever know of any foreigner who had the art of making this kind of silver.

THEY wear none of our *European* commodities in *Pegu*, but hats and ribbons. The gentry will give extravagant prices for fine beaver hats, which they wear without any cocks. They are no less fond of ribbons, flowered with gold and silver, which they wear round their hats at full breadth, be they ever so broad ^d.

Way of buying goods. ALL commodities are sold by certain *Tarreka*, or *Taregha*, that is, *brokers* (G), with ^b whom the merchants bargain; and the buyer may return them, in case he finds himself imposed on, after having had them in his possession three or four days: which is looked on as a great disgrace to the broker. One ignorant in jewels shall be as well served as he who has skill. Their way of bargaining is very singular and convenient: for as many merchants come to buy at the same time, and their knowing what one another paid for their parcels might occasion disputes or murmurings; therefore, that none may know how the rubies are sold, excepting the buyer, the broker and merchant put their hands under a cloth, and, by touching each other's fingers, and nipping their joints, each of which has its signification, know what is bidden, and what is asked.

No risks in dealing. ALL other goods are likewise sold by the brokers, who are allowed two *per cent.* for their ^c trouble; and are obliged to see you paid the sums agreed for by the purchaser. He is properly your pay-master; and if he does not satisfy you punctually on the fixed day for payment, you may carry him home with you, and confine him in your house. After this, in case he does not discharge the debt immediately, you may seize his wife, children, and slaves; who you may bind at your door, exposed to the scorching sun, according to the law of the country. Thus the merchant scarce ever runs the risk of losing his money; only he is often delayed longer than he would choose, by being obliged to give two or three months credit. *Current coin.* Payments are made in *Gauza*, or *Gansa* (H), a kind of brass coin, and the only one; for gold and silver commodities, and bought like rubies. Payments, it is true, are often made in silver; but as the receiver is apt to be imposed on, by reason of the great difference of alloy, and difficulty of knowing the real value, it is therefore safer to agree to be ^d paid in *Ganza*; which goes by a weight called *Biza*, whose value is about half-a-crown *English*, or somewhat less ^e.

^d HAMILT. ubi. supra, p. 41. ^e FREDER. ubi supra, p. 239. BALBI, p. 107. FITCH ubi supra, p. 1739.

(G) *Cæsar Frederic* says there are four: *Fitch* says eight. Their number may have varied at different times. (A) Called *Kiak*, by *Fitch*; and *Baw*, by *Hamil- ton*. Two famous ones near *Sirian*, described before.

(H) Or a mixture of copper and lead.

S E C T. III.

Religion of Pegu.

One supreme being. THE religion of *Pegu* is the same, at bottom, with that which prevails over the rest ^e of *India* and *Tibet*, only varies its dress somewhat in different countries; according to the humour or interest of the priests, who every-where like to have a religion of their own. They hold the existence of one supreme God, the Creator of all things, of whom they make no image; and the worship of him is monopolized by the priests, the people not being thought worthy of paying their homage to so exalted a being. For this reason other inferior and created gods are set apart for them; the chief of whom are *Somma*, *Kuddom*, *Samsay*, and *Prawpout*, whose images are set up in their *Baws*, or *temples*, for the laity to worship^a. Not content ^f with these, and many more subaltern, gods, we are told they worship the devil also. In sickness they make feasts to appease him, as hath been already observed. Many are seen to run about the streets every morning, with rice in one hand, and a torch in the other, crying aloud, that *they go to give the devil his breakfast, that he might not hurt them all the day*. Others, before they eat, throw part of their meat over their shoulder to feed him. At *Tavay* they fill their houses with provisions, and then leave them for three months, for the devils to come and revel there; in expectation that they will be propitious to them all the rest of the year. For all this care to sooth the evil spirit, they are so afraid of him, that they will run, as if really possessed, from a man in a mask, lest he should prove a devil come out of hell to torment them ^b.

^a HAMILT. p. 53.

^b BALBI, p. 126. CUNYNGT. p. 591.

^a THE *Portugueses* knowing the *Peguers* to be a very superstitious people, though not more *Ape's tooth* so than themselves; when the famous ape's tooth was taken by them in the island of *Seylan*, ^{see Fitch} or *Ceylon*, about the year 1559, some were for having it sent to *Pegu* to be sold, concluding, that it would yield an extraordinary price^c: but although the viceroy chose to burn it, two or three counterfeits soon appeared, and one of them was imposed on the king of *Pegu* for genuine.

BESIDES the *Manichean* doctrine of two principles, one the author of good, the other of evil, from whence their worshipping the devil has its rise, they believe an eternal succession of ^{Succession of} worlds, without creation; and a multiplicity of gods to govern them. For instance, they say that, for the government of the present world, five different gods were appointed by the supreme being, of whom four have been removed, their time of ruling being expired. They add, that above 2200 years have elapsed, since the death (or disappearance) of the fourth; so that they suddenly expect the coming of the fifth; after whose departure the world itself shall be destroyed with fire, that a new one, phœnix-like, may spring out of its ashes.

^b THE *Peguers* hold the doctrine of the *metempsychosis*, or transmigration of the human soul, ^{Transmigra-} which after passing through the bodies of various animals, shall attain to the perfections and ^{tion of gods.} felicity of their gods; which, in effect, is no other than a state of annihilation: for having made its progress through the beasts, birds, and other creatures, it is received into *Naxak*, that is, *the place of torments*. After a long confinement there, they are released, and admitted into *Sevum*, a second receptacle for departed souls, replete with all sorts of sensual pleasures. From hence, after a certain period of time, they arrive at their last state, called *Nibam*, which imports as much as a privation of the essence both of soul and body. However, this is to be said for the *Pegu* priests, that they are not so wedded to any of the above opinions, as not to be willing enough to hearken to, and even embrace, other doctrines, when they are made known to them.

THEY have a strong opinion of the sanctity of apes and crocodiles; insomuch that they believe the persons to be perfectly happy, who chance to be devoured by them^d.

THE temples, or places set apart for religious worship (A), are generally built of earth ^{Their temples,} within, and cased on the outside with stone. They are of various sizes, but all of a conic form. Some are as high as one of our churches, and no less than a quarter of a mile round; ^d all gilded towards the top, and many all over, both within and without: which great consumption of gold has made that metal scarce in *Pegu*^e.

THE images of the inferior gods, which are found in their temples, are placed in domes, ^{and images.} in a sitting posture, with their legs across, and toes of equal length. Their arms and hands very small, in proportion to their bodies; their faces longer than human; their ears long, and the lappets very thick. The congregation bow to them when they go in, and when they go out; and that is all the worship which they pay to them^f. *Fitch* could perceive no kind of divine service performed in their churches, but that of preaching^g.

THE *Peguers* never repair an old temple; nor is there any occasion for that piety or expence: ^{Feast of sky-} for every *September* there is an old custom for men of fortune to play off sky-rockets; and if ^{rockets.} any of them fall to the ground, and spends its fire without mounting, the owner becomes much dejected; believing the deities are angry with him. On the contrary, if it flies a considerable height, he takes it for an infallible sign of his being in favour with the gods, and never fails to build a new church, which he dedicates to the divinity he adores: and when it is finished, certain priests, whose temples are gone to decay, remove their images thither, and have the benefice for their pains.

OUR author, captain *Hamilton*, had seen some of those rockets so large, that one of them ^{Monstrous} would contain above 500 weight of powder and coal-dust, which is their usual composition. ^{large ones.} Their carcase is the trunk of a great tree, made hollow, leaving about two inches of solid wood on the outside. When the ingredients are put in, and well rammed down, they gird ^f the carcase very tight, with thongs made of raw buffaloes hides, which, when dry, bind it as close as so many hoops. Then, having secured the ends, that the composition might consume gradually, they suspend it on a branch of a certain great tree, to which they lash it, to keep it from falling; and fix a tail to balance it. Some are 120 feet long. After this, the day of solemnity being proclaimed, which never fails to bring great numbers of people, of all ranks; when every thing is ready, the owner sets fire to the rocket; and the lashings, which fastened it to the tree, being at the same time cut with a hatchet, it takes its flight, either upward or downward, as hath been before-mentioned.

A LITTLE while after this they have another feast called *Kollok*, at which time women are ^{Hermaphro-} picked out of the people assembled, to perform a dance to the gods of the earth. ^{dites.} Herma-

^c DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 208.

^d CIVINGT. p. 594. & seq.

^e FREDER. ubi supra, p. 239.

^f FITCH ubi supra, p. 1739.

^g HAMILT. p. 54.

^h FITCH apud Purchas, ubi supra, p. 1740.

(A) Called *Kiol*, by *Fitch*; and *Baw*, by *Hamilton*. Two famous ones near *Sirian*, described before.

phrodites, who are numerous in *Pegu*, are commonly chosen, in case there happens to be a number sufficient to make up a set. Our author saw nine dance like mad folks, for above half an hour; and then some of them fell in fits, foaming at the mouth for half an hour more. When they come to themselves, they pretend to foretell what will happen that year: as, whether there will be plenty or scarcity of grain; whether it will be a healthy or sickly season; and other things of moment; which they learned in their conversation with the gods, while they were in the trance ^h.

Other festi-
vals.

BESIDES the festivals above-mentioned, the *Peguers* observe several others, which they call *Sapan*. Of these are in most esteem, first, *Sapan Jakia*: this is held about twelve miles from the city of *Pegu*, where the king, queen, and whole court, were obliged to be present, with great pomp and splendor; their majesties riding in a triumphal car, drawn by eight white horses, and decked with jewels of inestimable value.

2. THAT of *Katena*, or the temple so called, is held in the city itself. On this occasion the chief men erect pillars and pyramids of different fashions, erected in cars, each drawn by 300 persons. At night the streets are illuminated, that the people may see their way to the temple.

3. THE *Sapan* called *Jaymo Se'enon*, in honour of another inferior deity, at which appeared the king and queen, in their triumphal car, richly dressed, as at the first festival.

Feast of water.

4. THE *Saypan Dayka*, that is, *the feast of water*, is kept in the old city. The king and queen attending, as at other times, first entered a gilt palace, and bathed in rose water. Then the officers and great men, being assembled in a neighbouring field, threw cups of water on one another, to such a degree, that they looked as if ducked in the river. At this time there was no passing in the streets, without being soundly wetted with water, thrown from the windows.

Rowing for
prizes.

THE fifth *Sapan*, called *Donon*, is held at the city of *Makkaao*, whither the king and queen used to repair in their gilt bark, and land at a beautiful palace, richly gilt also. From hence the king went to another palace without the city, to see the courtiers row in their *paros*, or barks, two in each, upon the river, for prizes. The first which arrived at the palace gained a little image of gold; the second, one of silver; the rest had nothing, except the last, whose rowers, by way of jest, were presented with a widow's weeds. This feast lasts a whole moon, or *Peguan* month ^l.

Talepoy, or
priests.

THE priests of *Pegu*, who are called *Talepoy*, are a kind of mixture of the popish monks and friars: they observe celibacy, and eat but once a day. Their dress is a long frock, girt with a leathern thong, four inches broad, at which hangs a bag for receiving alms, for they have no stipends; and in case the few acres, which every one who builds a temple bestows for their maintenance, be not sufficient, they send some novices abroad, to beg alms. These mendicants are clad with a large orange-coloured mantle, and have a little basket hanging at their left arm. In the left hand they carry a little drum, and a little stick in the right, with which, when they come to people's doors, they beat three strokes. If no-body answers, they beat a second and a third time; but then, if the house continues silent, they go on to the next, without speaking one word. Yet they are seldom sent away without an alms of rice, pulse, fruits, or roots, which are their only food ^k; for the people have them in great veneration, on account of their exemplary lives: insomuch that they drink the water in which the bodies of the *Talepoy* are washed, according to custom, once every year.

Dwell in
woods.

THEY dwell in the woods, in a sort of nests or cages, built on the tops of trees, for fear of the tigers. Their lives are innocent, and they are very humane. They were the best observers of the rules of morality and charity that captain *Hamilton* met with in all his travels. The people too were generally pious and hospitable. They preach frequently; assembling the people every new moon, or, as others say, every *Monday*, by the sound of a bell or balon. Their subject or text is some precept of the law of nature, which they think sufficient to salvation, without regard to speculative doctrines, and is attended with very good effects on their auditors. They teach charity, as the most sublime of all virtues, and have no religious controversies. Persecution is a stranger to them: nor are they offended if any of their people embrace a different faith: they say the mind is a free agent, and must not be forced. They even go so far as to hold all religions to be good, and say that the deity is pleased with variety ^m.

Several orders.

THE *Talepoy* have a kind of hierarchy among them, and a high-priest, who is stiled *Ratou*. All the clergy have sumptuous funerals, made at the expence of the people: their bodies are burnt on a pile of costly wood, and the ashes cast into the river. When a high-priest dies, his corps is kept embalmed for three or four months. At the time appointed for his funeral, they erect four masts in the ground about 100 yards one from the other, with a very tall one in the middle, round which they build three scaffolds, railed about; the lowermost largest,

^h HAMILT. p. 55, & seq. ^l BALBI, p. 119, 121. FITCH ubi supra, p. 1740. OVIINGT. p. 596.
^k BALBI, p. 123. FITCH ubi supra. OVIINGT. p. 593. HAMILT. p. 51. ^m BALBI ubi supra,
p. 123. ⁿ OVIINGT. p. 593. HAMILT. p. 52.

a and the highest least. These they fill with combustibles; and, on ropes drawn tight from the middle mast to the corner ones, place rockets. Then, the corpse being laid along on the upper scaffold, a trumpet is blown; at the sound whereof the rockets are fired, which in an instant set all in a flame: so that, in an hour, the whole is consumed^a.

^a OVINGT. p. 594. HAMILT. p. 60.

S E C T. IV.

Government of Pegu.

Of the king and nobility.

b **T**HE kingdom of *Pegu*, being at present annexed to that of *Ava*, and consequently sub-Orders of
ject to the same laws, we shall postpone what we have to say in relation to affairs of nobility.
government, till we come to treat of *Ava*; and proceed to speak of such matters as concern
the king and nobility of *Pegu*, before the dissolution of that monarchy, in the year 1600.

THE nobility of *Pegu* are distinguished into several orders, of which we find mention of two. The first *Baja*, who are the same with our dukes; and *Semini*, or *Shemini* (A), who are the commanders, great officers of state, and the barons^a. Besides these, we meet with two other titles of honour and dignity; one *Najiran*, which signifies *lord*; the other *Banna*, or *Bayna*, which we find tacked to the names of great men; as *Chau-bayna*, king of *Marta-vân*; *Banna Dola*, from whom *Sirian* was taken by *Nicote*.

c THESE nobles are in a kind of slavish subjection to the king, who takes care to keep up that Their slavish
servile obedience among his chiefs and great men, by employing them in acts of labour, very subjection.
unbecoming the dignity of noblemen. While *Balbi* was in *Pegu*, about 1536, they were com-
manded to go and help in building a gallery and aqueduct; which order they put in execution:
nor were they excused from going on with the work, although it rained heavily; but, with
spades in their hands, were seen to dig the ground like other labourers; the king being present,
to see that they were not idle^b.

THIS prince appears in great pomp, and is treated with the highest reverence by all his sub- Reverence paid
jects. In his public audiences, which he gives twice every day, all his *Shemines*, or nobles, the king.
sit on each side of him, at a good distance; and without them is a numerous guard. The
d court-yard, facing the hall of audience, is very large; and when any person has a mind to
apply himself to his majesty, he makes his prostrations in this manner: he first kneels down;
and then lifting his hands to his head, bows it to the ground three times. This he does three
times, viz. when he enters the court, when he is advanced half-way, and when he draws near
the king. After this he sits down, and talks with his majesty, at a greater or lesser distance,
according as the king likes him.

WHEN he rides abroad, he is attended with a great guard, and many noblemen. He often Pomp in going
appears upon an elephant, in a little castle or pavilion, richly gilded. Sometimes he shews abroad.
himself in a kind of coach, called *Serrion*: it consists of a great frame, like a horse-litter, on
which is placed a sort of small house, covered at top, but open on the side, all over gilded,
e and set with rubies and sapphires. This machine is carried on the shoulders of sixteen or
eighteen men, and generally accompanied with the acclamations and feastings of the people^c.
The triumphal car or waggon, which he rides in when he attends the feasts above-mentioned,
is drawn by sixteen horses: 'tis all over gilded, and raised very high, with a sumptuous canopy
over it. The car is followed by twenty lords, each holding a rope, which is fastened to it,
in order to keep it from falling. Upon the car stand four of the king's favourites, attending
him: and round it are all the nobility of this kingdom, the army marching before. It is sur-
prising to see so much splendor and good order among such multitudes of people, who are, by
Europeans, reckoned *Barbarians*.

THE king in hearing the complaints of his subjects, never speaks to, or is spoken to by, Public audien-
f them: but supplications are made to him in the following manner. His majesty sits aloft ces.
in a great hall, on a tribunal seat; and below him sit all his lords, round about: then the
persons who demand audience enter a spacious court, facing the hall, and sit down promif-
cuously, at the distance of about forty paces from the king, with their petitions in one hand,
and a present or gift in the other, according to the importance of the matters contained in them.
Then the secretary advances; and taking the petitions from the suitors, reads them aloud;
and if his majesty thinks fit to grant their request, he orders the presents to be taken from

^a BALBI. p. 103.

^b Ibid. p. 119.

^c FITCH apud Purch. vol. ii. p. 1738.

them. But in case he thinks their demand not to be just or reasonable, he dismisses them without receiving their gifts. It may be proper to take notice, that the petitions are written with an iron style on the leaves of trees, about twenty-seven inches long, and two broad. In the same manner are all writings ingrossed ^a.

Revenues and
wealth.

THE king of *Pegu*'s revenues arise chiefly from the rent of lands, of which he is the sole proprietor. Another branch of it are the duties paid for commodities imported and exported. The treasure of the kingdom has been vastly increased, in former times, by the spoil of conquered countries; and what contributed much to prevent their dissipation, was the king's being at no expence to maintain his standing forces, excepting when in the field. In a word, he was judged to be the richest monarch in the world, next to the emperor of *China* ^c.

Power and
forces.

THE forces of the kingdom, during the dominion of the *Barma* race, were exceeding numerous. Those monarchs, by the report of most authors, have brought into the field armies amounting to the number of a million, and a million and a half of men; for maintenance of whom he assigned lands and towns to his nobles, who were obliged to keep them in time of peace, and in time of war bring them into the field. The king then had the charge of providing for them, and found them in pay, clothes, and arms: but, when the war was over, they were all returned into his magazines. It may seem hard to conceive where victuals could be had for such numerous forces: but, besides the great plenty of all necessities of life, it must be considered, not only that the *Peguers* are very abstemious in their diet, but also that nothing, either of animals or vegetables, comes amiss to them. They eat the flesh of all kinds of creatures, even cats, rats, serpents, and other vermin: and when that is wanting, provided they have but water and salt, they will support themselves a long time under a bush, with roots, flowers, and the leaves of trees. ^b

Their arms.

THE arms of the soldiers are lances, muskets, swords, and targets. Their muskets are beautiful, and good as the *European*: but their pikes are bad, and swords worse, being no better than long knives with one edge, and without a point. The king had plenty of all sorts of artillery; but had not skilful gunners. He likewise wanted ship-carpenters and sailors; and this is the reason why he had no naval force, which otherwise he might be well provided with. Instead of shipping, therefore, he contented himself with certain pleasure barges, than which nothing could be more rich and beautiful, being all over gilded, and otherwise adorned. Among them there was one, built by the father of the king, who reigned in the year 1586, and kept at *Mekkao*, an inland place; which, for the security of this vessel, was surrounded with guards. According to *Balbi*, none ever was equal to it in beauty; for it was finished in great perfection, and adorned with great variety of figures, exquisitely carved, and the whole gilded, amazing to behold. The vessel was of a vast length, but narrow, out of all proportion. It had 150 rowers on each side, who, sitting with each a short oar in his hand, all gilded except the pale, plunged it at once into the water, and drawing it towards them, made the vessel run forward, as swift as an arrow out of a bow. It had two gilded rudders: and, in an apartment which possessed the middle part of the bark, with windows on every side, the king used to take his pleasure in the neighbouring rivers. ^c

Elephants of
war.

THIS monarch had no fewer than 800 elephants trained to war, furnished with castles on their backs, each holding four soldiers: and it was thought formerly, that the chief strength of his armies consisted in these elephants, whose number he was able to increase at pleasure from the forests. His great power might also be judged of from hence, that he had no fewer than 26 crowned heads at his command. ^d

Wife and con-
cubines.

THE kings of *Pegu* had only one wife; but they maintained, besides, 300 concubines, by whom they had commonly many children: he who reigned in the time of *Cæsar Frederic*, about 1563, was reputed to have had no fewer than ninety ^e.

King's funeral.

THE funeral of a king of *Pegu* used to be performed in the following manner. Upon his decease, two barks were ordered to be made, with a beautiful covering, all gilded, which served both vessels. Under the covering was raised a lofty pile or scaffolding, gilded likewise, on which was laid the royal corpse: then a good quantity of lignum aloes, sandal wood, benjamin, musk, and other odoriferous combustibles, being placed about it, they were set on fire; and the barks at the same time, put a sailing down the river of *Pegu*, under the direction of some *Talepoi*, who went singing and rejoicing. When the body was burnt, the priests took the ashes, and made them into a paste with milk. This done, they carried the ashes, thus amalgamated, to the mouth of the port of *Sirian*, where runs the *Makkrea*, or violent tide, often mentioned before, and threw them into the water when it began to ebb: from hence they repaired to the city *Dagon* (B), and near the famous temple in that city, built another, where they deposited the bones of the deceased prince. After this they returned to the palace of *Pegu*, and placed the heir upon the throne, with the usual ceremonies ^f.

^d FREDERIC *ibid.* p. 1716.

^e *Ibid.* apud Hakl. vol. ii. p. 235. BALBI, p. 110.

ibid. p. 236. BALBI, p. 111. HAMILT. p. 46.

^f BALBI, p. 123.

^f FREDER.

(B) The bones of the king, who died in 1583, while *Balbi* was at *Pegu*, were buried at *Dagon*, or *Dagon*: but the bones of the former kings were deposited in such places as they chose themselves.

S E C T. V.

The history of Pegu.

^a **P** E G U was always a kingdom of considerable power ; and made itself so famous through *Curious, but* the world, by its great conquests over the neighbouring countries, in the sixteenth cen- *imperfect.* tury, that a complete account of its affairs, from the beginning of the monarchy, would, no doubt, make one of the most shining figures in a *Universal History*. But although we have large relations, written by travellers and others, drawn thither during its flourishing state, for sake either of trade or curiosity ; yet those materials are too imperfect, from thence to form any thing like a series, even of all the remarkable transactions which have happened since the *Portuguese* first discovered *India* by sea.

THE chief authors who have furnished materials for the *Pegu* history, from that period, *The chief au-* down to the destruction of the monarchy in the year 1600, which contains the space of little *thors,* more than a hundred years, are *Mendez Pinto*, *Cesar Frederic*, *Gasparo Balbi*, and *Ralph Fitch*. The first of these, *Mendez Pinto*, though one of the most fabulous among the travellers of these latter times, has yet preserved many important facts, relating to the wars and revolutions which about his time happened in several *Indian* countries : and it must be acknowledged, that to him the public is obliged for what they meet with here, concerning the kings of *Pegu*, down to the year 1550 ; which comprises the great revolution brought about by the *Barmas* (commonly called *Bramas*), and the first increasings of their power. It is true, this author has blended the truth with so many fictions of his own invention, to fill up chasms, that it is often very difficult to separate one from the other ; and many writers who have depended too much on his veracity, have fallen into very grievous errors. For all this, *Pinto* ^c hath had his advocates : and a late collector (A) has published his most palpable forgeries (B), with which his relation abounds, believing them to be genuine ; and, at the same time, has omitted the revolutions of *Pegu* (C), which are perhaps, for the general, the most genuine, as well as valuable, part of his book.

FREDERIC, *Balbi*, and *Fitch*, went to *Pegu* after *Pinto* ; the first in 1563, and the two *treating of it.* latter about 1583. These have continued, in some sort, the account of affairs where *Pinto* left off, down to the year 1587. Thenceforward, to the destruction of the monarchy in 1600, we find a supply from the letters of the Jesuits, *Pimenta*, *Fernandez*, and *Boues* : after which the *Portuguese Asia* of *De Faria y Sousa* affords a few particulars, as low as 1640. From this year, to the present time, we meet with scarce any thing relating to the history ^d of *Pegu*, excepting what is found in *Skeldon's* memoir (D), inserted in *Ovington's* voyage to *Surat* ; and Capt. *Hamilton's* new account of the *East Indies*, which gives us a view of the state of *Pegu*, as part of the dominion of the king of *Ava*, whose history is, in great measure, connected with it.

THE kingdom of *Pegu* was founded about 1100 years ago, and had a seaman for its first *Bressagukan.* monarch. This prince was succeeded by his son, who, we are told, lived eighty years, and had for his successor his son, named *Tam*. These three, as well as all who came after them, as *Kael Vea*, *Talanna Inda*, *Dazar*, *Mampla*, and six or seven others, of whom the last was *Shemin Doo* (E), added to their name the title of *Banna* (or *Bainba*)^a. These princes had, by degrees, so enlarged their dominions, that *Bressagukan* (F), who ascended the throne in ^e the year 1518, had under his subjection nine kingdoms, which were governed by his lieutenants, whose revenues amounted to three millions of gold^b.

It was doubtless to this prince that *Antony Correa* was sent in 1519, to conclude a peace ; *Portuguese* at the swearing of which assisted the king's ministers, with the priests of both nations, *Romish embassy.* and *Peguan*. The *Gentile* pontiff was the great *Rauli*, or *Raulin*, who after the capitulations made in the golden mine were publicly read, according to the custom of those people,

^a DE FARIA, *Portug. Asia*, vol. iii. p. 117. p. 198, 206.

^b MARTINIERE dict. geogr. art. Pegou. PINTO's travels,

(A) The Abbe *Prewost*, in his continuation of *Histoire generale des voyages*, &c. tome ix. p. 353.

(B) Particularly his pretended travels through *China* and *Tartary*, with his journey to the court of *Calaminhan*, of which scarce the name of one place or person is true.

(C) See the same collection, p. 483, note (30). *Purchas*, that mangler of voyages and travels, has done the like. See his *Pilgrims*, vol. iii. p. 252, & seq.

(D) Which memoir seems to be nothing else but a collection from *Tosi*, *Jarric*, and other authors.

(E) This we may take to be the sense of the original *Portuguese* (tom. iii. part 2. ch. 4. p. 237) ; which, being obscurely worded, the translator has rendered quite unintelligible, by omitting the words, *and six or seven successively, of whom the last, named* ; which ought to come between the names of *Mompla* and *Xemindoo*, who was slain in the year 1549, not 1540, as it is by mistake in the original, as well as the translation.

(F) In the *English* version of *Mendez Pinto* it is written *Presaguean*.

began to read in a book. He then took some yellow paper (a colour dedicated to their holy uses), with the odoriferous leaves of certain trees, inscribed with characters, and set fire to them. This done, he took the hands of the king's minister, and holding them over the ashes, spoke some words, which rendered the oath inviolable. *Antony Correa*, to answer the solemnity of this ceremony, ordered his priest to put on a surplice, and bring with him his breviary: but when the book came, it appeared so tattered and torn, that *Correa*, to avoid the scandal which such a sight might give those heathens, had a book of church music substituted in its place. As this made a more creditable figure, being both larger and better bound, it passed on those people as well, says *De Faria*, as if it had been the gospel ^c.

The king murdered.

WE meet with nothing farther relating to *Bressagukan*, till the year 1539, when he was slain on the following occasion. Among other princes who were his tributaries was *Parà Mandorà*, king of the *Barmas* (G). This prince, by one condition of his vassalage, was obliged to furnish the *Pegu* monarch with 30,000 of his subjects, to labour in his mines, and other public works. As the king used frequently to go see how his works went forward, and took along with him none but his women, who delighted to see foreigners, and the progress which they made; the *Barma* labourers formed a design to rob the queen and all the concubines of their jewels, the first opportunity which offered. Pursuant to this resolution, the next time the king went to visit the works, the *Barmas* murdered him; and having stripped the ladies, fled to their own country ^d.

The Barmas.

THE *Barmas* (H), by *Pinto*, and most other authors, called *Bramas*, inhabited the highlands of *Pangavirau*, which encompasses the kingdom of *Pegu*. Their country, which was 200 leagues in length, and 80 in breadth, made one of the thirteen kingdoms, which, according to their histories, were formerly united under one monarch; whole yoke they threw off, by poisoning him at a banquet, prepared for him in the city of *Chaleu* (I), and thus became independent, along with *Pegu* and the rest ^e.

Their dominions.

THE country of the *Barmas* is that, doubtless, called by *Edoardo Barbosa, Verma*; to which, in 1515, belonged all the coast extending from *Bengál* to *Pegu*: so that what goes now by the name of *Arrakan*, was then called *Verma*, or *Barma*; and *Arrakan*, according to the same author, lay within land, to the north of it ^f. We find likewise from *De Faria*, that they were formerly masters of *Ava* (K) whose dominions extended as far as *Cbina* ^g. Hence it appears, that the *Barmas* had once most of the northern part of the peninsula beyond *Ganges* under their power; and possibly it was their empire which became divided into thirteen kingdoms, on the death of the sole monarch above-mentioned. However that be, a little before the time of *Pinto*, their dominions were reduced to very narrow bounds, and their king was tributary to him of *Pegu*: but by degrees they recovered their ancient empire; which at present, according to a late author, extends from *Maruvi*, near *Tanaserin*, to the province of *Yun-nan*, in *Cbina*, about 800 miles from south to north, and 250 broad from west to east ^h. As to the name of *Bramas*, or rather *Barmas*, we are told by *Balbi*, that it signifies *soldiers*; and the same author calls the general of their army the *Great Brama* ⁱ. To return to our history:

They invade Pegu.

THIS enormous action of the *Barma* slaves threw all the dominions of *Pegu* into confusion; but the people every-where, instead of rising to revenge the death of the murdered king, divided into factions, and began rebellions in several parts of the empire: so that *Dacha Rupi*, who was heir to the deceased, found himself in no condition to maintain his authority. *Parà Mandarà*, then king of the *Barmas*, taking advantage of these commotions, which weakened the strength of *Pegu*, not only threw off the yoke, but even formed the design of conquering that country; which he invaded with an army of more than a million of men and 5000 elephants; besides a great fleet which he sent down the river of *Ava* towards *Bagou*, corruptly called *Pegu*, the capital of that empire, while he marched with his forces thither by land.

JUST at this juncture, *Ferdinand de Morales* arrived in the port of *Pegu*, with a great galleon, laden on account of the king of *Portugal*, and sent thither to trade by order of the viceroy of *Goa*. As soon as *Dacha Rupi* heard of his coming, he sent to desire his assistance against the enemy; and, having won him with favours and promises, gave him the com-

^c CASTANHEDA, hist. del l'Indie orient. part ii. cap. 12. p. 59. & DE FARIA, ubi supra, vol. i. p. 226.
^d DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 10. ^e PINTO'S voy. p. 241. ^f EDOAR. BARBOSA, MS. p. 187.
^g DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 11. ^h HAMILT. new acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 39. ⁱ BALBI voy. p. 101, 108.

(G) *Pinto* does not name this prince; but, p. 212, intimates, that he had been *Shemín*, or lord, of *Tangu*, before he was king of *Brama*, or rather the *Barmas*.

(H) So named by *Duchatz* and *Hamilton*. By *Barbosa, Verma*.

(I) In a kingdom of the same name; of which, according to *Mendez Pinto*, the city of *Ava* was the capital;

and that of *Chaleu* lay between *Ava* and *Prom*. The inhabitants of this kingdom were called *Chaleus*. See *Pinto's voyages*, p. 214, & *alibi*.

(K) *Pinto*, and, after him, *De Faria*, says it extended the space of two months travels, at ordinary journeys, and contained sixty-two cities.

a mand of his whole fleet. *Morales* hereupon set out in a galliot; and, having joined the king's ships, put himself in a posture to oppose the adversary. Mean time the king of the *Barmas* came on by land like a torrent, carrying all before him; and his fleet covered the river, though as great as the *Ganges*: with this power he easily gained both the city and kingdom of *Pegu*, which he quickly over-ran. *Morales*, although the ships under his command were scarce visible in respect of the enemy's, yet met them at the point of *Finamarreka*, and conquer it, where was a furious, bloody, and desperate fight; in which the *Peguers*, under the conduct of the *Portuguese* commander, made great havock among the ships of the *Barmas*: but finding themselves overpowered by numbers, they at length deserted *Morales*, who alone in his galliot withstood the whole fleet of the enemy: and, performing wonders, made a vast
b slaughter among them, till, oppressed by the multitudes, who assailed him on all sides, he was at last slain^k. This happened in the year 1539 or 40.

AFTER the conquest of *Pegu*, *Parà Mandarà* turned his arms against the neighbouring *Parà Mandarà* kingdoms which had been tributary to that empire (L). In the year 1544 he marched against *Martavân*, capital of a kingdom of the same name, then very great and flourishing, its revenue being no less than three millions of gold. He laid siege to the city by land, with 700,000 men; and by sea with a fleet of 1700 sail, 100 of which were large gallees: in them were 700 *Portugueses*, commanded by *John Cayero*, reputed a man of valour and conduct.

At the end of seven months, in which five assaults had been given to the city, and the *Barmas* had lost 120,000 men; the king *Chaubayna*, finding it impossible to withstand any *besieges Martavân*,
c longer so great a power, especially as provisions were become already so scarce that they had eaten 3000 elephants, offered to capitulate: but no conditions were allowed by the besiegers. The king, in this distress, resolved to apply to the *Portugueses*, to whom he had always been very kind and serviceable. With this view he sent one *Seixas* to intreat *Cayero* to receive him, his family, and treasure (M), into the four ships under his command; offering to give half of his riches to the king of *Portugal*, to become his vassal, and pay such tribute as should be agreed on: for he did not doubt but that, with the assistance of 2000 *Portugueses*, maintained at his own expence, he should be able to repulse the enemy, and retrieve his affairs. *Cayero* consulted the principal officers; and, in their presence, asked *Seixas* what the treasure of *Martavân* might amount to? *Seixas* answered, that out of what he had seen, for he had not
d seen all, two ships might be loaded with gold and jewels, and four or five more with silver. This was a proposal too advantageous to be slighted: but the *Portugueses*, envious of the great fortune which *Cayero* might have made, by accepting that offer, threatened to discover the matter to the *Barma* king, in case he did not reject it^l.

THE king of *Martavân* was no less surpris'd than overwhelmed with anguish at this refusal: *The king capitulates*:
however, seeing *Seixas* take his leave, to fly the danger which threatened the city, he gave him a pair of bracelets, which were afterwards sold to the governor of *Narsinga* for 80,000 ducats. After this, having lost all hopes of relief, he resolved to set fire to the city, and, sallying with those few men whom he had left, die honourably in the midst of his enemies: but the same night one of his officers, with 4000 men, deserted to the besiegers, and discovered his design.
e The king, thus betrayed, capitulated with the *Barma* king for his own life, and the lives of *goes to the camp*, his wife and children, with leave to end his days in retirement: this, and more, was easily granted, because the conqueror intended to perform no part of what he promised. The way from the city to the king of the *Barmas* tent, above a league distant, was lined with musqueteers of sundry nations; and next the gate were posted the *Portugueses*. The first who came forth was the queen *Nbay Kanatoo* in a chair, with her two daughters and two sons in two others. They were surrounded by forty beautiful young ladies, led by as many ancient ones, accompanied by priests, who prayed and comforted them. Then the king appeared amidst a guard of *Barmas*. He was seated on a small she elephant, clothed in black velvet; his head, beard, and eye-brows were shaved; and about his neck there hung a rope, which
f moved even the enemy to compassion.

^k DE FARIA, ubi supr. vol. ii. p. 9. & seqq.

^l PINTO, p. 196, & seqq. DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 384, & seqq.

(L) *De Faria* says, he conquered the *Jangomas*, *Lanjangs*, and the *Loos*, with others, which, like his own, were tributaries to *Pegu*; and thus recovered his ancient kingdom of *Ava*, whose great extent, and number of cities, have been specified in a preceding note. He likewise subdued a kingdom of *Turks* (perhaps that of *Trukor*, mentioned hereafter), which contained as many cities as that of *Ava*, viz. sixty two; and was taken by the king of *Pegu* from him of *Katbay* (or *Kitay*): also the kingdom of *Bimir*, west of *Ava*, of the same extent, with twenty-seven populous cities: that of *Lanjam* (or *Lanjan*), to the north of *Bimir*, and of equal dimensions, with thirty-eight cities, and store of gold and silver: also *Mamprum*, as large as the

former, to the east of which it lies, and west of *Kochinchina*, yet containing no more than eight cities.—But *De Faria* ascribes to *Parà Mandarà* what should rather belong to his third successor *Chaumigrem*; for it appears from *Pinto*, that he did not conquer *Ava*; and from *Pimenta*, that *Jangoma* was conquered by the father of the last *Barma* king of *Pegu*, who was *Chaumigrem*; nor was the reign of *Parà Mandarà* long enough to make such conquests as are ascribed to him.

(M) Among which was that of *Presaguean*, or *Bresaguean*, the late king of *Pegu*, in twenty-six chests, amounting to sixty millions of gold, if *Pinto* may be credited,

THE unfortunate king, as soon as he saw the *Portugueses*, stopped, and would not proceed one step till they were removed from that post. When *Chaubayna* came before his conqueror, he cast himself at his feet; but not being able to speak for grief, the *Raulin* of *Mounay*, chief-priest of these gentiles, and esteemed a saint, made a moving speech in the king's behalf: but it not having the designed effect, the miserable prince, his queen, children, and ladies, were all secured. The two following days were spent in removing the treasure, amounting to one hundred millions of gold, which required the labour of one thousand men. Liberty was then given the army to plunder the city, whose riches were valued at twelve millions; after which the city was burnt, wherein there perished by fire and sword above 60,000 souls, besides 60,000 more who were made slaves of; 1700 temples and 140,000 houses were reduced to ashes. There were found in the town 6000 pieces of cannon, 100,000 quintals of pepper, and the same quantity of other spices ^m.

The city plundered.
King put to death.

ON the morrow which followed this destruction, there appeared on an adjacent hill, called *Beydao*, twenty-one gibbets, with a strong guard of horse. Thither was led the queen, with her children and ladies, in all one hundred and forty, and there hanged up by the feet (N). *Chaubayna*, and fifty men of great quality, were cast into the sea with stones about their necks; which gave so great displeasure to the *Barma* army, that they mutinied, and the cruel king was in no small danger of suffering for his tyranny. However, the storm blowing over, he left people to rebuild the ruined city, and returned to *Pegu* with the rest of his army, among whom was *Cayero*, and his 700 *Portugueses*.

Prom besieged,
by Parà Mandarà,
and betrayed.

ABOUT this time the king received some intimation, that the emperor of *Pandalu*, styled the *Siammon* (O), intended to invade his dominions; and that the king of *Ava* had confederated with those of *Sevâdi* and *Châleus* (P), to give that monarch a passage through their territories. On this advice, *Parà Mandarà* fortified all his frontier places; and then, having increased his forces to 900,000 men, in *March* 1545 set out from *Pegu* to besiege *Prom*. He embarked this numerous army in 12,000 rowing vessels, whereof 2000 were *seroos*, *laulers*, *katurros*, and *foists*; and went up the river *Ansedaa* as high as *Danaplun*. Then, passing out of it in that called *Pichu Malakou*, in *April* came before the city of *Prom*. The king hereof was dead, and had left a son to inherit, who was no more than thirteen years of age. As he had married the king of *Ava*'s daughter, he had sent to him for succour on this occasion, and expected a supply of 30,000 men. This moved the enemy to press the siege, in hopes to gain the city before that aid should arrive. After six days leaguer, the queen offered to hold the crown of *Parà Mandarà*, and pay what tribute he thought fit to impose, provided he would withdraw his forces. On the other hand, he insisted that she should put herself, with all her treasure, into his power: but she, knowing how perfidious he was, resolved not to trust him. He therefore renewed his assaults, in which, and by the plague that raged in his camp, he lost 80,000 men, among whom were 500 *Portugueses* ⁿ.

THIS way of attack proving so pernicious, he raised a mount which overlooked the city; and from thence, plying it with his artillery, left no place of safety to the besieged. But 5000 of them, making a successful sally, not only destroyed the mount, and killed 15,000 of the enemy, but also carried off eighty cannon, and wounded the king himself; who, in a rage, slew 2000 *Portugueses*, then on guard, as being negligent of their duty. *Parà Mandarà* began to despair of succeeding in his enterprise, when he accomplished by bribery what he could not obtain by force. For, towards the end of *August*, *Shemîn Malatay*, one of the four principal men who commanded in *Prom*, treacherously gave the enemy entrance into the city; which was utterly destroyed with fire and sword: the bodies of 2000 slain children, cut to pieces, were served as food for the elephants. The queen, stripped naked, was publicly whipped, and then tortured till she died (Q); the young king was tied to her dead body,

^m PINTO, p. 199, & seqq. DE FARIA, p. 349, & seqq.

ⁿ PINTO, p. 205, & seqq. DE FARIA, p. 351.

(N) All alive, excepting the queen; who, overcome with anguish, expired in the lap of one of the ladies.

(O) This name, as well as that of the *Mons*, mentioned hereafter, seems to be made out of *Sions Maons*; which *Gaspar de Cruz* says is the name given by some to the *Laos*. *De Faria*, in his extract from *Pinto*, mistakes *Siamon* for *Siam*. *Pandalu* is either a fictitious empire of *Pinto*'s, like *Kalaminham*; or he speaks of a power as in being, which had been long before destroyed: for we read of a people called the great *Siams*, to the north of the present kingdom of *Siam*, inhabiting a country now a great wilderness, called by the *Chineses*, and perhaps other neighbouring nations, *Pabima Pan* (r), which name has some affinity with *Pandalu*. However that be, according to *Pinto*, the empire of *Pandalu* lies

to the west and north-west of that of *Kalaminham*; another fictitious empire, situate to the north or north-east of *Pegu*; for that author speaks very obscurely of the site thereof, although he pretends he travelled through the country.

(P) *Chalen* kingdom lies between *Prom* and *Ava*, according to *Pinto*, p. 214.

(Q) *De Faria* says. she was given up to the lust of the soldiers till she expired. She was fair and handsome, but much older than the king, being thirty-six years of age; she was also his maternal aunt. It is thought his cruelty to her was in revenge for having been denied him in marriage, by the king of *Ava* her father.

(r) See *Du Halde's China*, vol. i. p. 61, 62.

a and both together cast into the river. The like fate 300 gentlemen underwent, after stakes had been driven through their bodies.

THE tyrant was employed in fortifying the city, of which he had been proclaimed king, *Meleytay* <sup>for-
tress being at</sup> when advice was brought him by his spies, that the prince of *Ava* had sailed from thence down the river *Queytor* with 30,000 *Siammon* soldiers on board 400 rowing vessels: and, hearing of his sister's disaster, had stopped at *Meleytay*, a fortress some twelve leagues north of *Prom*, where he waited to be joined by his father the king of *Ava*; who, with 80,000 *Mons* (R) was marching by land. On this news the *Barma* king sent his foster-brother *Chaumigrem* along the river-side with 200,000 men, and went by water with 100,000 more, in 2000 *feros*. On the approach of *Chaumigrem*, the prince of *Ava* burnt his barks; and, forming a van-guard of the mariners, drew up his 30,000 *Mons* to encounter the enemy. Bloody was the fight; all the van-guard were cut to pieces in a trice, and of the 30,000 *Mons* only 800 remained: but the *Barmas* paid dear for the victory, with the loss of 115,000 out of 200,000.

THE king coming up, and seeing the havock that had been made of his men, attacked ^{and taken} the fortress furiously for seven days: at the end of which the 800 *Mons*, despairing of holding out long against so great a power, and resolving to sell their lives at the dearest rate, sallied out in a dark rainy night; and, breaking through the enemy's troops in several places, pressed so hard upon the king himself, that he was forced to jump into the river and swim for his life. In short, the *Mons* were all cut off, but not till they had slain 12,000 of their enemies; among whom were about 2000 *Barmas*, as many foreigners, and the rest *Peguers*. After this, the victor entered *Meleytay*, and put to death the *Sbemin* thereof, who had betrayed *Prom* to him; saying, *That he who had been a traitor to his natural prince could not be faithful to him* °.

THE king immediately ordered the fort to be repaired; which being finished, he embarked ^{thence to} 70,000 men in 1000 rowing *feros*, and went up the *Queytor* (S), in order to observe the country. *Ava* Having passed by many considerable places belonging to the kingdom of *Chaleu* (T) and *Jaeupalaon*, he, in *October* 1545, after a voyage of twenty-eight days, arrived at the port of *Ava*, about a league from the city, where he burnt between two and 3000 vessels, and also several villages; with the loss however of 8000 men, including sixty-two *Portugueses*. As ^{without at-} for the city of *Ava*, he did not think fit to attack it, for it had been newly fortified, and was ^{tacking it} defended by 20,000 *Mons* (U), from the mountains of *Pandaleu*; where he was informed 80,000 more were raising for the service of the king of *Ava*. For as soon as this prince received advice of the loss of *Prom*, not being strong enough to revenge the injury, he went in person to implore the *Siamon*'s protection, and become his tributary, on condition that he should assist him with his forces, and enable him to recover that city; which the emperor promised to accomplish within one year from the time of this treaty.

THIS intelligence startled the *Barma* king, who therefore, after thirteen days stay, returned to *Prom*; having first dispatched an ambassador to the *Kalaminbam*, in order to engage him by a treaty of alliance to divert the *Siamon*, by a war the next spring, from aiding the king of *Ava*, whom he designed to conquer.

THE *Kalaminbam*, which signifies *lord of the world* (X), was a prince of mighty power, ^{The Kalamin-} whose dominions were situated in the midst of this region, and contained a large extent of ham, country. His capital city was named *Timplam*; where he resided in vast state and magnificence. It stood on the great river *Pitay*, had a strong wall, defended with towers and a wide ditch. It contained no fewer than 400,000 houses, most of one or two stories; and 2600 ^{his great em-} temples full of images, which were served by twenty-seven sorts or orders of priests. The ^{pire.} palace was splendid beyond imagination; and in it were the statues of thirteen *Kalaminbams* in silver, with each a golden mitre on his head ^P.

THE empire (which our author *Pinto* does not name) was 300 leagues long, and as many ^f broad, containing twenty-seven kingdoms; each divided into twenty-six provinces, 700 in all. They are full of noble cities; the soil exceeding fertile, and abounding with commodities, which, with the manufactures, produce a wealthy commerce. The inhabitants are extremely civilized and mild-tempered; the women very fair, yet modest. The emperor has always 60,000 horse and 10,000 elephants about his person. His forces, throughout the 700 pro-

° PINTO, p. 210, & seqq. DE FARIA, p. 352, & seqq.

^P PINTO, p. 214, & seqq.

(R) Or *Maons* perhaps; they were, probably, a tribe of the *Laos*.

(S) By this circumstance of sailing up the river to *Ava*, and then up the same afterward, from *Ava*, with the ambassador sent to the *Kalaminbam* by the *Queytor*, must be understood the river *Ava*; but no other author, besides *Pinto*, gives it that name. It is called by the *Chingé*, *Lu Kyang*; and by others, perhaps the *Peguers* themselves, *Menan Kietu*.

(T) See its situation in a former note.

(U) They seem to be *Laos*; and the name derived from *Siam Maons*, as the *Laos* are by some called. See a former note.

(X) According to *Pinto*, *Kala* is *lord*, and *Minbam*, *the world*.

vinces, are 1,700,000 men, of whom 350,000 are horse : there are also 55,000 elephants ; a on account of whose number in this country, the *Kalaminbam* styles himself in his titles, *lord of the invincible force of elephants*. In a word, the revenue of this mighty prince amounted to twenty millions of gold ; and he worshipped *Kiay Frigau*, or *Firgau*, that is, *the god of notes in the sun*, who is also adored at *Dagun* in *Pegu*^a.

The Chau-
migrem

THIS is, in brief, the account, true or false (Y), which *Mendez Pinto* has given of the empire of *Kalaminbam*, and its sovereign. Upon the ambassador's return to *Pegu*, the king sent the *Chaumigrem*, his foster-brother, whom he honoured with the title of *Koutalanba*, that is, *the king's brother*, to meet him, accompanied with all the grandees of the kingdom, and four battalions of strangers : among whom were 1000 *Portugueses*, commanded by *António Ferreira* of *Braganza*, a man of great understanding ; to whom the king gave a pension of 12,000 ducats a year, besides presents, which came to little less (Z). Although it appeared by the *Kalaminbam's* letter that the treaty had taken effect, yet as the season was not yet come for invading *Ava*, the king sent the *Chaumigrem*, with 150,000 men in 13,000 boats, against the city *Sebâdi*, or *Savâdi*, the capital of a small kingdom 130 leagues distant from *Pegu* towards the north-east. The general, after having lost many men in several assaults which he made, raised two mounts, from whence he did much damage to the city : but the besieged falling killed at one time 8000 men, and 5000 at another ; which so discouraged *Chaumigrem* that he drew off his army, in order to revenge his disgrace on a town called *Valentay*, which had furnished the city with provisions ; but a body of *Savâdis* falling on his troops by surprise put them to the rout^c.

Defeated before
Savâdi.

Distractions in
Siam.

A. D. 1546.

WHILE these things were doing on the side of *Pegu*, the empire of the *Sornau*, commonly called *Siam*, fell into great distractions. The king, coming from the war of *Chiamay*, was poisoned by his queen ; who, in his absence, had been gotten with child by an officer of the court. She made away, after the same manner, with the young king, in order to advance her paramour, whom she married, to the crown. This she effected in *November* 1545 : but in *January* following they were both slain at a feast, by the contrivance of *Oya Passiloko*, and the king of *Kamboja* ; who conferred the crown of a religious man named *Pretiem*, natural brother to the late monarch, the line being extinct, but on a cowardly disposition, and a tyrant. As soon as the news of this revolution came to the ears of the king of *Pegu*, who at that time kept his court in the city of *Anapleu*, he assembled his lords to consult them on the occasion. Their advice was, that he ought not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of conquering that country : that, in case he succeeded, he would be honoured with the title of *lord of the white elephant* (A) ; and likewise open himself a way into *China* ; against which empire the Great Khan of *Tartary*, the *Siamon*, and the *Kalaminbam*, had led such formidable armies^d.

The Barma
army

THE *Barma* monarch, pleased with their approbation of what he had himself designed, immediately repaired to *Martavân* ; where, in less than three months, he gathered an army of 800,000 men ; of these 100,000 were foreigners, among whom were 1000 *Portugueses*, 40,000 horse, 60,000 musketeers, 20,000 elephants, and 1000 cannon (B). The *Portugueses* were commanded by *James Suarez* (C), called the *Gallego*, or *Galician*, who left *Portugal* in 1538 ; but had now a pension from the king of *Pegu* of 200,000 ducats a year, with the title of his brother, and governor of the kingdom. e

^a PINTO, p. 227, 243.
p. 137. and vol. iii. p. 357.

^b Ibid. p. 245, 249.

^c Ibid. p. 278, & seq. DE FARIA, vol. ii.

(Y) In our opinion, this relation, especially as it stands at large in the book itself, has all the marks of forgery ; nor did either the emperor or the empire ever exist but in the author's brain. At least we are certain, that the account which *Pinto* has given of his journey, with the ambassador, to that prince's court, is all a forgery : it being quite inconsistent with the ideas which the relations of later travellers of credit give us, both as to the geography and history of the countries lying between *Siam* and *China*, where this great empire is pretended to have existed ; and of which there does not appear to be the least trace at present. As our author says, he is called *the holy Kalaminbam*, and represents him both as a spiritual and temporal prince, some have imagined that he is the same with the great *Lama of Tibet*. It is true, *Pinto* does not tell us the name of the empire ; but, by the situation he gives it, and course of his pretended travels, it cannot be *Tibet*.

(Z) We are thus particular with relation to this person, because *De Pinto* says no more of him ; and yet *De Faria* represents him as the person to whom the king of *Barma* owed all his conquests : although he does not

mention one action of his, or speak of him twice, more than *Pinto* ; whereas he is tedious in relating the exploits of *James Suarez de Melo*, whom, by the way, Captain *Hamilton* seems to confound with *Ferreira*. See *Portug. Asia*, vol. iii. p. 117. and *New account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 36, & seq.

(A) *De Faria* makes this war to have been undertaken merely on account of the white elephant. But he seems to have mistaken this expedition for that which happened twenty years after, in another king's reign.

(B) There is a strange contrariety between the two accounts given by *De Faria* of this expedition, in his *Asia Portuguesa*, vol. ii. p. 135. and vol. iii. p. 357. In the first place, he makes the army one million and 500,000 men, with only 4000 elephants, and 180 *Portugueses*.

(C) Of *Braganza*, according to *Pinto* ; but, according to *De Faria*, of *Melo* ; who adds, that he was pirating about *Mozambik* in *Africa* in 1542 and in 1547 ; was at the siege of *Malakka*. Next year, being in the *Barma* king's service : he was worth four millions, in jewels and other effects.

a THE king set out from *Mértaván* in April 1548, and having at length entered into the kingdom of *Siam*, five days after arrived before the fortress of *Tapuran* (D), commanded by a Mogor, containing 2000 houses. The *Barmas* having been repulsed in three assaults, *Suarez*, who was general of the camp, and governed the king by his advice, made a breach with forty cannon; and then, giving a fierce attack, in half an hour all the besieged, in number 6000 *Siamites*, were slain, with the loss of 3000 of his men; in revenge of whom, the king put all the women to the sword. This done, he advanced to the city of *Sokotay* (E), nine leagues beyond, and encamped along the river *Lebrau* (F), designing to reduce it: but, as he was counselled not to lose time, or waste his forces, he departed next day, and marched through woods, cut down by his pioneers, till he came to *Tilau*, a place on the coast towards *Junkalau*, near the kingdom of *Quédab* (G); from whence, in nine days (H), he got in sight of *Odiaa* (or *Judia*), the capital of *Siam*.

b THE besieged seeming to make no account of this great power, *Suarez* made an attack on the south side with 72,000 men, in two bodies, scaling the walls with above 1000 ladders; but, in half an hour, he was repulsed with the loss of 10,000 men. The king, enraged, renewed the attack with 5000 elephants; which, advancing up to the walls (I), tore away their target fences; while the musqueteers from the castles on their backs made such execution, that none durst appear on the ramparts. The walls thus deserted, the besiegers mounted with their ladders; and 1200 *Turks*, sliding down by the wall, attempted to break open a gate with two battering rams, in order to obtain the reward of 500,000 ducats, which the king had promised to those who should let him into the city: but before they could compass their design, they were attacked and cut to pieces by 3000 *Jaos*; who then, mounting the wall, drove off the *Barmas* with great slaughter.

c THE king of *Pegu*, not discouraged with this new repulse, renewed the assault with the elephants. At the noise of their approach, *Oya Passiliko*, who commanded in the city, caused a gate to be opened; and sent the king word, that his majesty might bring the promised reward, for he was ready to receive it. The king answered by a furious assault; during which, the *Barmas* twice forced the gate and entered the city; but the king of *Siam*, alarmed at the danger, coming on with 30,000 choice troops, a dreadful slaughter ensued, and the enemy were driven out of the city. Hereupon the king, by the advice of *Suarez*, founded a retreat; and then found that he had been wounded with an arrow. The hurt was seventeen days healing; at the end whereof he made several new assaults, but with no better success than before. The siege had now lasted near five months, and eight assaults had been given in vain: he was resolved, however, to make one vigorous effort more, with twenty-six strong timber castles, filled with combustibles; each sixty-five feet long, fifty broad, and twenty-five high, mounted on twenty-six wheels of iron. These set forward in a dark and tempestuous night, under three discharges of all the artillery in the camp; and being brought close to the walls, fire was put to them. They burnt four hours with a dreadful blaze, during which time the fight was renewed on both sides with double fury and equal advantage, so that at length a retreat was founded.

d AFTER this it was resolved in a council of war to continue the siege; and a large mount of earth was raised, overlooking the city, mounted with forty pieces of cannon ready to batter it, when in October advice came, that *Shoripam Shay* had rebelled in *Pegu*.

e SHORIPAM SHAY was near a-kin to the preceding monarch, slain twelve years before, and about forty-five years of age. He was a religious person, of great understanding, and esteemed a saint. As he was a famous preacher, he made a sermon, in which he set forth the tyranny of the *Barmas*, and the evils which the kingdom suffered by them, in so moving a manner, that he was taken out of the pulpit, and proclaimed king by the people; who, as a token of sovereignty, gave him the title of *Shemíndoo*. As soon as this person found himself invested with the regal authority, he cut in pieces 15000 *Barmas*; and seized on the

^a PINTO, p. 279, & seqq.

^b Ibid. p. 282, & seqq.

(D) In *De Faria* written *Tapuram*. See that author's account, vol. ii. p. 135. and vol. iii. p. 357.

(E) This is no forged name; for we meet with it in *Louberé's* map of *Siam*, drawn in the country by an *European*; where it is placed between two branches of the *Menam*, above four degrees north north-west of the city of *Siam*, and one degree south-west of *Pitsanouluk*, called by the *Portugueses*, *Porfelouk*.

(F) Although the name of the city be not forged, that of the river may; which he says, is one of the three descending from the lake of *Chiammay*; a lake which *Louberé* could never hear of from those who had been at the city of that name.

(G) This was an extravagant route, going above 200 miles beyond *Siam* to the south-west, instead of taking the direct way thither. but such blunders frequently happen to forgers. *Junkalau* is doubtless a mistake of the press for *Junçalon*, as some write it, an island near the coast.

(H) It must rather have been a march of nineteen, or more.

(I) *Odia*, or *Siam*, is seated in an island encompassed with walls. How then could the elephants approach them? This discovers that *Pinto* was not at this siege, as he pretends he was.

treasure. This change was so agreeable to the wishes of the people all over the kingdom, a who thought now the time of their deliverance was come, that, in twenty-three days time, all the strong holds in *Pegu* fell into *Shemíndoo*'s hands.

The king re-
turns,

On this news, the king immediately broke up the siege of *Odia*, and in seventeen days got to *Martavân*. There he was farther informed, that the new king had posted 500,000 men in different places, in order to intercept his passage; and, what foreboded worse, 50,000 of his *Pegu* troops, in aversion to the *Barma* yoke, had deserted to his rival. To prevent a greater desertion, after fourteen days stay, he departed from *Martavân*; and, being arrived in the kingdom, found *Shemíndoo* waiting for him with 600,000 men, in a great plain two leagues from the city of *Pegu*^x. According to some authors, the king sent *Suarez de Melo* before him from *Siam*, with 200 *Portugueses*, to suppress the rebellion. *Shemíndoo* b fled on the approach of this commander, who followed him to the city of *Sevádi*; but the other, slipping by, got into the city of *Pegu*, which sided with him. The queen on this fled to the castle, where she was defended by twenty *Portugueses*, till the king himself arrived with his forces^y. Next day the two armies came to an engagement: in which, after a desperate battle that lasted three hours, *Shemíndoo* was defeated, with the loss of 300,000 of his forces: so that he escaped with only six horse to the fortress of *Battelor*, from whence he fled in the night up the river to *Sedaa*. Of the *Barma* troops were slain 60,000; among whom were 280 *Portugueses*.

and defeats
Shemíndoo.

Martavân re-
volts.

THE next morning after this victory, the king marched to the city, whose inhabitants surrendered, on condition to have their lives and effects. The kingdom being thus brought c again under his subjection, his next movement was to punish the principal persons concerned in the rebellion, whose heads he cut off, and estates confiscated; amounting to ten millions of gold, besides plate and jewels^z. Others say, that, contrary to agreement, he put all to the sword, excepting 12,000 who were within the liberty of *Suarez de Melo*'s house, which was exempted from the slaughter. The plunder was unaccountable; *De Melo* alone got three millions^a. But these severities did not quench the spirit of rebellion; for in less than three months news was brought that the city of *Martavân* had revolted; and that the *Cbalagomin*, or governor, having slain 2000 *Barmas*, declared for *Shemíndoo*.

A Shemín
rebels,

THE king, on this advice, gave orders for all the lords of the kingdom to repair to him with their force within fifteen days; and went from his capital at *Pegu*, with 3000 men, to d a town called *Mouchau*, there to wait for them. Being informed in this place, that the *Shemín*, who was governor of *Satán*, or *Zatán*, a delightful city, had submitted to *Shemíndoo*, and also lent him a large sum of gold; he sent for him, with an intention to put him to death. The *Shemín*, who suspected the king's design, feigned himself sick; and immediately advising with his relations, it was agreed among them, that he had no way to escape the *Barma*'s anger but by killing him. Accordingly they drew together about 600 men; and, assailing a temple, where he was lodged, slew him in his apartment, with the few who happened to be about him. The guards in the court being alarmed with the noise, a fierce combat ensued, in which 800 were slain, most of them *Barmas*. The *Shemín* then retreated to a place called *Portel*; whither those of the country, hearing of the king's death, e whom they mortally hated, resorted to him. When he had assembled about 5000 men, he returned to seek the soldiers whom the king had brought with him to *Mouchau*; and falling on them, dispersed in several places, slew them all. With the *Barmas* were slain fourscore out of three hundred *Portugueses*; who, with their commander *Suarez* (K), surrendered, and were spared, on condition that, for the future, they should serve the *Shemín*^b.

and murders
the king.

Usurps the
throne.

NINE days after, seeing his forces increase, by the resort of people, to 30,000 men, he caused himself to be proclaimed king. Then retiring to the fortress of *Tagálua*, for fear of the forces which were on the road to join the murdered king, he endeavoured, with great promises, to raise troops; and, to spirit up the people, declared he would not leave a *Barma* in all the kingdom. It happened that one of the *Barmas*, who had been with the late king, f escaped the slaughter; and, swimming over the river, went and informed the *Cbaumigrem*, who was encamped at *Koutasarem* with 180,000 men, all *Peguers*, excepting 30,000 *Barmas*. The general, though greatly afflicted at this news, yet knowing his safety depended on concealing it, immediately assembled all his commanders; and told them that he had received a letter from the king, with orders to put forces into *Kosmín* and *Dalaa* (L): for that he was informed the *Shemíndoo* intended to possess himself of the province of *Danaplu*, along the

^x PINTO, p. 284, 286.

^y DE FARIA, Portug. Asia, vol. ii. p. 136.

^z PINTO, p. 285.

^a DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 137. vol. iii. p. 359.

^b PINTO, p. 286, & seqq.

(K) According to others, *Suarez*, after this disaster, retired to the city of *Awa*; but returning, in some time, to that of *Pegu*, was reconciled to this new king. Portug. Asia, vol. ii. p. 137. vol. iii. p. 359.

(L) Cities and ports on the south coast of *Pegu*, on the river of *Negraís*.

a rivers *Digon* and *Meydoo* (M); as far as *Ansedaa*. Accordingly he sent detachments to those places, as also to *Sbara* and *Malakou*; and thus got rid of the 150,000 *Peguers*, who, he knew, had they stayed to hear of the king's death, would have put him and his 30,000 *Barmas* to the sword.

As soon as they were marched, he turned back to the city of *Pegu*, but three miles distant, and secured the king's treasure, amounting to above thirty millions of gold, besides infinite jewels. He likewise seized all the arms and ammunition. After this he set fire to the magazines, the arsenals, the palace, some of whose apartments were cieled with gold, and 2000 rowing vessels which were on the river. Then destroying all the artillery, he retired, with the wives and children of the *Barmas*, towards *Tangu*, his native country, about 160 leagues distant within land, where he arrived in fifteen days. By this expedition he escaped the hands of 120,000 *Peguers*, who, two days after they had left his camp, hearing that the king had been slain, halted back to seek the 30,000 *Barmas*; whom they pursued as far as *Guaynakoutel*, about forty leagues beyond the capital, and then desisted, finding they had passed through that place five days before. On their return, they resolved to join the *Shemin* of *Zatan*; who having received them with mighty promises of future favour, repaired forthwith to *Pegu*, and was there magnificently crowned in *Kom-kiay*, the principal temple in that city^c.

The *Shemin* now was in peaceable possession of the kingdom: but, by his acts of tyranny, and squandering the public treasure, he so disobliged his lords, and bred such feuds among them; that many retired to foreign countries, and others went over to *Shemin*; who, by his preaching and authority, began to make head again in the province of *Ansedaa*, whither he had fled. The power of this latter increasing, as that of his competitor declined, his army, by degrees, augmented to 60,000 men. With these forces he marched to *Meydoo*, where he was well received by the people of the country; among whom he stayed four months, to strengthen his forces. Mean time the great *James Suarez*, who had been governor of the kingdom during the late king's reign, fell a sacrifice on the following occasion.

In the height of his former greatness, passing with a numerous equipage by the door of a rich merchant's house, on the day of his daughter's marriage, the father, to do honour, went out to pay his respects to him, and brought his daughter to do the same. On the bride's presenting him a ring, *Suarez*, who was lascivious and brutish, rudely pulled the young lady to him, in order to carry her away by force; and killed the bridegroom, with others who came to her rescue. However, he did not enjoy the fruits of his villainy: for the young lady, to prevent falling into such a monster's hands, strangled herself. The father, expecting no justice against the criminal, whilst that prince was upon the throne, shut himself up, and never stirred abroad, till the *Shemin* of *Zatan* came to the crown: then appearing among the people, he so lamented his case through the city of *Pegu*, that above 50,000 of the inhabitants gathered about him, crying out for justice. The *Shemin*, fearing some worse consequence, caused *De Melo* to be apprehended, and delivered up to that rabble; who falling upon him with stones, he was in an instant buried under a heap of rubbish. Then withdrawing the body, they tore it in pieces, and delivered them to the boys to drag about the streets. His house was plundered; and as the treasure found therein amounted to not so much by a great deal as was expected, it was believed that he had buried the rest^d.

This was the end of *James Suarez de Melo*, one of fortune's prodigies, who lost, by one crime, what he had gained by many. Nor did the new king, who gave him up to popular fury, long survive him: for he grew intolerable in his cruelties and oppressions, killing and robbing, indifferently, all who were thought to have had money: so that, in seven months time, he put to death 6000 rich merchants, besides many of the ancient lords of the country, who held their estates by right of inheritance under the crown. These tyrannies rendered him so odious, that most of his followers abandoned him, to join with *Shemin*; who, by this time, was master of the cities of *Digon*, *Meydoo*, *Dalaa*, and *Kowlam* (N, with all the country, as far as the borders of *Sbarau*^e.

Shemin, having now an army of 200,000 men, and 5000 elephants, resolved to go and attack the usurper in the capital. He set forward; and, coming before the city of *Pegu*, hemmed it in with trenches, fenced with strong palisades. After this he gave several assaults: but finding a much greater resistance than he expected, he proposed a truce, by which he agreed to quit his right to the crown, and raise the siege in twenty days; in case in that time his competitor should send him 1000 *bisses* of gold, which amount to 500,000 ducats. This was a politic contrivance, in order to gain the capital with less difficulty: for an inter-

^c PINTO, p. 287, & seq. DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 137.

^d PINTO, p. 289, & seq. DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 260.

^e PINTO,

(M) These fall into, or make part of, the river of *Negrais*. *Digon* seems to be the same with *Dagon*; and *Meydoo* may be what *Fitch* calls *Medun*.

(N) Perhaps *Koylan*, on the river of *Negrais*, mentioned by *Balbi*.

course ensuing, in consequence of the truce between the besiegers and the besieged, some a priests, set on by *Shemíndoo*, exhorted them to relinquish the *Shemín* of *Zatan*, and take part with their master; at the same time threatening them with judgments from *Kiay Nivánde*, the god of battles, in the field of *Vitán*, in case they offered to lift a hand against the holy *Shemíndoo*; a submission to whom, they said, was a sure way to health and happiness.

and slain in a
jally.

THESE exhortations, joined to the harmonious music which accompanied them, so wrought on the hearts of the besieged, that 60,000 having deserted in a few days, the tyrant thought fit to break off the truce; and, by advice of his officers, to fight *Shemíndoo*, before he increased more in strength. Pursuant to this advice, he sallied out of the city, with fourscore thousand men, and charged the enemy with great fury. The battle was so fierce, that in half an hour above 40,000 fell on both sides; when *Gonzalo Neto*, by a fortunate shot with a musket-ball, killed the *Shemín*. Immediately his forces submitted, and the inhabitants opened the city-gates to the victor, on promise of having their lives and effects. *Shemíndoo* entered the capital, and was forthwith crowned king. This event happened in February 1551. *Gonzalo* had 10,000 crowns for that lucky hit; and the eighty *Portugueses*, his companions, five thousand^f.

Shemíndoo
enthroned.

SHEMÍNDOO was the reverse of his late rival; for he governed with a just but easy rein. He was loved by the people, and admired by strangers, for his virtue. Things continued above a year in this peaceable and happy state, when a new war broke out, which once more overturned the government. The *Chaumigrem*, who watched at *Tángu* for an opportunity to reduce the kingdom under the power of the *Barmas*, understanding by his spies that the strength of the nation was greatly exhausted by the wars; that the principal lords were either slain, or had left the realm; and that, in short, the new king was greatly unprovided of the necessaries proper for his defence, he, with an army of 300,000 men, all strangers (O), excepting 50,000 *Barmas*, whom he had raised for the purpose, set out from *Tangú* the ninth of March 1552, and bent his march towards the city of *Pegu*. The new king, informed of his proceedings, made preparations for his defence, and assembled no fewer than 900,000 troops: but as they were all *Peguers*, who are of a weakly constitution, this great power was inferior to the enemy in strength. However, *Shemíndoo*, understanding that the *Chaumigrem* was arrived at the river *Meleytay*, about twelve leagues from his capital, he advanced with great diligence, and encamped two leagues from thence, on the river *Potareu*.^d

Is defeated and
flies.

NEXT morning the *Chaumigrem* forded the river, in spite of the enemy; and the day following the *Shemíndoo* presented him battle. The van-guards began the fight, and the shock was very fierce. In half an hour the field was covered with dead bodies, and the *Peguers* began to lose courage. The prince, seeing them give ground, advanced to succour them with 3000 elephants, and drove the *Barmas* back in their turn. The *Chaumigrem*, upon this, feigned a retreat; and the king mistaking it for a flight, pursued eagerly, as sure of the victory: but the *Barmas*, after they had retired about a mile, suddenly faced about, and rushed on their enemies, with horrible cries. Presently both armies engaged afresh, with such fury, that, towards sun-set, 400,000 *Peguers* being slain, and most of the rest wounded, the king fled. Thus the victory remaining to the *Chaumigrem* (P), he caused himself to be crowned king of *Pegu* in the field of battle, in April 1553.^e

A. D. 1553.
5. Chau-
migrem
crowned.

His army mu-
tiny.

NEXT morning the victors rifled the dead, and got very rich spoil: for it is the custom with these *Gentiles* to carry with them all their riches when they go to war. After this the new king marched towards the capital, three leagues distant; and encamped in view of it, half a league off, in the plain of *Sunday Patir*. From thence he sent a *Barma* commander, with 5000 horse as a guard, to each of the twenty-four gates; and continued five days in the field, without entering the city. This he did, lest the strangers should demand the pillage of it, pursuant to his promise at *Tangú*. Hereupon the foreign troops mutinied, by the instigation of *Christonano Surnento*, a brave, but turbulent, *Portuguese* commander. The king, for more security, retired to a temple, and there fortified himself. Next day assembling the commanders, he told them from the wall, that he had promised them what he could not in conscience grant, as it would be to make the innocent suffer with the guilty: that, however, as it was not fit they should go unrecompensed, he was willing to make them any reasonable satisfaction, and would contribute part out of his own effects. With this the commanders declared themselves content; and it was proposed to leave the matter to arbitrators, three to

^f PINTO, p. 294, & seq.

^e Ibid. p. 296, & seq.

(O) Viz. *Mons, Chaleus, Kalaminhams, Sauanis, Pamkrus*, and *Awaas*.

(P) *De Faria*, who frequently varies from himself, vol. iii. p. 361, following *Pinto*, calls this prince *Chaumigrem*: but vol. ii. p. 137, he, from other authors, names him *Mandaragri*, who, he says, was the king's brother-in-law, and claimed the kingdom in right of his

wife. Perhaps the same person is intended by both appellations, that of *Mandaragri* being the proper name. *Pinto*, p. 297, mentions a brother of the *Chaumigrem*, whom he calls the *Panonfaray*; but, though so full of his explanations on other accounts, does not give the meaning of either of those two denominations.

a be chosen on each side. Of these six, three were to be religious men of *Pegu*, and three strangers. The first three being agreed upon, the king and mutineers cast lots, to see who should choose two of the three strangers; and the lot falling in favour of his majesty, he chose two *Portugueses*: one *Gonzalo Pacheco*, factor for the *Lakka*; and the other *Nuno Fernandez Texeira*, a worthy merchant, known formerly to the *Chaumigrem*.

On this occasion the king wrote to *Pacheco*; who, on receipt of the letter, immediately repaired to the camp, accompanied with *Texeira*, and ten other *Portugueses*. They were received with great honour by the king, who, in his instructions, ordered them to favour the commanders rather than him. The arbitrators met in a tent, with the high-treasurer and two secretaries. After debating near the whole day, it was at length concluded, that the king should pay the foreign troops, over and above their arrears, 1000 *bisses*, or crowns, out of his own treasury; and that, on receiving the same, they should forthwith cross the river, and retire into their respective countries, furnished with victuals for twenty days. Both parties were satisfied with this award; and the king, out of his bounty, gave the officers in general a farther gratuity. In this manner the king got rid of the three mutinous nations, the *Chaleus*, *Meleytes*, and *Savâdis*, whom he would employ no longer. Likewise, to prevent their doing mischief to the open towns in the road, he caused them to march in parties of a thousand men each, one after the other. To his two arbitrators, for their trouble, the king gave ten *bisses* of gold, with a passport written by himself; whereby the *Portugueses* were permitted to retire into the *Indies*, without paying any duty for their merchandizes. This was more acceptable to them than the money: because the preceding king had, for three years before, detained them in the country: where they were treated with much rigour, and often in danger of their lives^b.

Next day the king moved towards the city. He was received at the gate by 6000 priests, of all the twelve sects, who intreated that he would forgive the inhabitants; who, on promising pardon, fell prostrate before him. Then one of the priests set on the king's head a crown of gold, like a mitre, adorned with precious stones. After this the *Chaumigrem* entered the city, in a kind of triumph, mounted on a large elephant, preceded by all the spoil of elephants and chariots, with the effigies of *Shemîndoo*, bound with an iron chain, and forty colours trailed on the ground. He was guarded by forty mace-men; the lords and commanders marching on foot, with their swords covered with plates of gold, carried on their shoulders. The train was closed by 3000 war elephants, with their castles in various forms, and followed by multitudes of people.

The first thing which the new king did was to get possession of the principal cities and strong-holds, which still held out for *Shemîndoo*, as not knowing yet of his defeat. To this purpose he wrote very kind letters to the inhabitants, promising favours, as well as forgiveness, and an exemption from taxes. This method having had the desired effect, he dispatched horsemen in quest of *Shemîndoo*, who was discovered at *Faulau*, a place near the city of *Potem*, on the frontiers of *Arrakan*. He was carried to court by a man, to whom the king gave a pension of 30,000 ducats. He was brought into the presence chain'd; and, falling prostrate, received several taunting expressions from the conqueror, without speaking: at last he spoke, lamenting his condition, and then desired some water to drink. The king, to afflict him more, ordered it to be given to him by his daughter. The miserable *Shemîndoo*, seeing his beloved child now a slave, who, but a little before, was to have been married to the prince of *Nautir*, the king of *Ava*'s son, fell into a swoon; while the princess, by her words and behaviour, shewed the utmost distress. This moving scene having drawn tears from some of the *Pegu* lords, who were formerly of *Shemîndoo*'s party, the king ordered their heads to be cut off; saying, "that, since they had such great affection for him, they might go before," and prepare him a lodging." Not content with this cruelty, he ordered the princess to be killed, in the arms of her father; who was then carried to a close prison^c.

Next morning the *Shemîndoo* was led, amidst a numerous guard, through all the principal streets of *Pegu*, mounted on a wretched horse; with the executioner on the crupper behind, holding him up under both arms. He was very poorly drest; and on his head they had placed a crown of straw, garnished with mussel-shells, fastened with blue ribbons; and, to the iron collar which he had about his neck, were tied a parcel of onions. For all he looked like the picture of death, he discovered majesty in his face, accompanied with much sweetness. When he came to the place where *Pacheco* was on guard, with 100 other *Portugueses*, one of them reviled him; saying, *he intended to sup on a piece of his flesh, and invite two dogs to partake with him*. The prince, moved at this insult, reproved him with a severe countenance: on which *Pacheco* commanded the fellow to be silent. The *Shemîndoo* was so well pleased with this action, that he wished to live only one hour longer, that he might embrace so excellent a

^b PINTO, p. 297, & seq.^c Ibid. p. 300, & seq.

faill as the Portugueses professed (Q). The executioner was so offended hereat, that he hit the unfortunate patient in the face, and made his nose bleed. Being come to the fatal place, and mounted, scarce alive, on a high scaffold, the *Cbirka* of justice read his sentence: and then *and executed.* making a sign with his hand, the executioner severed his head from the body at one stroke. The head being held up for the people to view it, the corpse was cut into eight parts, and the bowels set apart. They were all covered with a yellow cloth, which is the mourning colour, and left till evening, in order to be view'd; for the king had caused this public execution to be done, that all doubt might be taken away of the *Shemindoo's* death.

Farce acted, MULTITUDES flocked to the place, both to see the sight, and receive the *Asbiperan*, or plenary indulgence, given by the priests on that occasion. At three o'clock a bell was heard to toll five times. On this signal, twelve men in black robes, spotted with blood, having *b* their faces covered, and silver maces on their shoulders, came out of a house near the scaffold, followed by twelve priests; after whom came the *Shemin Pokasser*, the king's uncle, who *at his funeral.* seemed near 100 years of age, and, in the name of his nephew (R), with much ceremony, "asked forgiveness of the divided members for what had been done; offered to yield up the kingdom to him, to do him homage for it, and govern it as his deputy." To this one of the priests, speaking in the person of the deceased, answered, "that since the king confessed his fault, he forgave him; and also granted him power to govern in his stead, according to the rules of justice." This farce being over, the priests removed the carcase to a place below, and burnt it in a fire made of odoriferous wood, offering sacrifices of sheep and other creatures. The ashes of *Shemindoo* were put into a silver urn, and buried in a sumptuous *c* tomb, within a chapel gilt all over^k.

ACCORDING to some authors, *Shemindoo*, after his defeat, fled to the mountains; where wandering about, he married the daughter of an ordinary peasant: the husband discovered himself to his wife, and the wife revealed the secret to her father; who, for lucre of the great rewards which were promised to such as should deliver him up, betrayed his son-in-law to the king^l.

Chaumi-grem's history, HOWEVER that be, it is certain that the *Chaumigrem*, or, if our readers will, *Mandaragri*, the second *Barma* king, by the death of the *Shemindoo*, became master of all (S) *Pegu*, without a competitor. But although he lived a long time, and was the mightiest of all the princes who reigned in that country, yet we meet with scarce any thing in travellers relating to his exploits. *d* *Cæsar Frederic*, who was at his court in the year 1567, describes his power and magnificence; yet takes little notice of the transactions of his reign, nor mentions so much as his name. No more do *Gaspar Balbi* and *Ralph Fitch*, who were at *Pegu* the year in which he died. So that our readers must be content with a bare enumeration of his conquests, instead of a history of them, which we should have been greatly pleased to present them with.

WE are told that *Chaumigrem*, not satisfied with the people of his capital *Pegu*, built, not far from it, another great and strong city (T). After this, he raised an army of 1,600,000 men; with which power he over-ran many neighbouring kingdoms. But his conquests were interrupted by another rebellion, which broke out at *Pegu*, and called him home to suppress *e* it. On this occasion the queen was forced to fly to the castle, chiefly relying on thirty-nine *Portugueses*, who defended her till his majesty returned, and vanquished the rebels^m.

Many kingdoms ACCORDING to *De Faria y Sousa*, this prince so far enlarged his dominions by conquests, that they extended to *China* and *Tartary*; and was sovereign of twenty-four great kingdoms, besides eighty princes, not inferior to kings; whereby *Pegu* became the most powerful monarchy in *Asia*, excepting that of *China*ⁿ. But of all those mighty conquests, this author mentions no more than that of *Siam* (U). Another author reduces the number of the conquered kingdoms to twelve, which were as follow: first, *Kavelam*, from whence came the rubies and sapphires. Second, the kingdom of *Ava*^o, containing mines of *Cyprian* brass, lead, *f* and silver; the conquest of which the late murdered king his father-in-law had resolved on, but did not live to achieve; and which, we are told, was the ancient dominion of the *Barma*

^k PINTO, p. 302, & seq.
^l DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 137.

^o PIMENTA, ap. Purch. vol. ii. p. 1745.

^m Ibid. p. 137.

ⁿ Ibid. vol. iii.

(Q) If *Pinto* had told no lies but such as these, he might be excused; since very grave lay-travellers, as well as missionaries, never scruple such pious falsehoods, which they think do service to their religion.

(R) Who is called *Oretana Chaumigrem*, prince of *Savâdi* and *Tangau*.

(S) This, perhaps, was the new city of *Pegu*, where the king and nobility afterwards resided.

(T) This, doubtless, is to be understood of the new city of *Pegu*, on the other side of the river, opposite to the old. But it is probable that it was built, not be-

fore this king began his conquests, but rather in the midst of them: for it was finished while *Cæsar Frederic* was at *Pegu*, in 1567, about the time when the king returned from the war of *Siam*.

(U) 'Tis true he also mentions that of *Martawân*; but then it is the same conquest described by *Pinto*, and made in 1544 from *Chau-baicha*; whereby it appears, that *De Faria* has ascribed to the third *Barma* king of *Pegu*, the act, both of the first and second kings of the same race.

a monarchs^p. Thirdly, the kingdom of *Bakkan* (X), where there are many gold mines. Fourth, the kingdom of *Tangram*, which abounds with lead and lak. Fifth, the kingdom of *Prom* (Y), whose commodities are the same with those of the former. Sixth, *Jangoma*: this kingdom is stored with copper, musk, pepper, silk, gold, and silver^q. It lies to the north of *Siam*, and the capital of it is *Jamabay*, which seems to be the same with *Chiamay*, situated on the *Menam*, the river which runs through the country of *Siam*^r. Seventh, the kingdom of *Lawran*, which produces benjamin enough to load ships with it. The eighth and ninth are the kingdoms of *Trukon* (Z), from whence come the *China* wares. The tenth and eleventh are the kingdoms of *Kablan*, which, we are told, lie near *Ava*, towards *China* (A), and abound with precious stones. The twelfth and last kingdom, conquered by *Chamigrem* was *Siam*^s? We are sensible that this is not a complete enumeration of the countries conquered by this prince; for that of *Laos*, one of the most considerable of all, is omitted. The conquest of this great kingdom was made by the *Bermas*, in the year 1555 (B). We have this information from *Gaspar de Cruz*; by which it appears, that he had finished his expeditions to the north-east and east, if not all his northern conquests, at that juncture. This is all the account we meet with of his wars, excepting that of *Siam*, which *De Faria* speaks of, but ascribes to *Pranjinoko*, this king's successor, and the last of the *Brama* race in *Pegu*^t.

Authors disagree with regard to some particulars relating to this expedition: but we happen to have a traveller who was in *Pegu* at the very time, from whom we shall give our readers the account, and from whom, for the general, the rest have copied theirs. According to *Cæsar Frederic*, the king of *Pegu*, for the reduction of the empire of *Siam*, raised an army of 1,400,000 men. With this prodigious force he began his march by land, and was four months in his way to the capital city of the same name. He lay one-and-twenty months before the place, in which time he lost a great number of men: for, six months after his departure, a reinforcement was sent him of 500,000 men, to supply the place of those who were killed in the first attacks. Neither, after all, had the city been taken, but for treachery; one of the gates having been set open in the night, through which the king, with great difficulty, forced his way. This happened in the year 1567. When the emperor found he was betrayed, and that his enemy was master of his capital, he poisoned himself. His wives and children, friends and noblemen, who were not slain in the first heat, were all carried captives to *Pegu*, in triumph, by the conqueror. It was an agreeable sight, saith our author, to behold the elephants marching home in a square, laden some with gold, silver, and jewels; others with noblemen and women, who were taken with the spoil^u. *Balbi* has borrowed his account^x of this from *Frederic*; *Fitch*, *Mandelslo*, and others, from *Balbi*.

DE FARIA relates this transaction from other authors, with some variation. According to him, the king of *Pegu*, after obtaining a single victory over the *Siameses*, reduced the country under his dominion. He likewise took the king and his two sons prisoners; called, by reason of their different colours, one the *black* (C), the other the *white*. However, the two kings coming afterwards to an accommodation, the *Chamigrem* left him of *Siam* in possession of his kingdom, on condition that he should pay him a yearly tribute; and carried with him to *Pegu* his two sons, as hostages, for performance of the treaty. On his return to the capital he entered the city in triumph, preceded by a great number of waggons, loaded with images, and inestimable booty. These were followed by two thousand elephants, richly adorned; and, after them, the conqueror marched in a chariot drawn by the captive princes and lords, having with him the queens of *Siam*, loaded with jewels, lying at his feet. Last of all came his victorious troops^y.

NEITHER *Cæsar Frederic* nor *De Faria* tell us the occasion of this war: but *Linschoten* informs us, that it was undertaken on account of a white elephant, which the king of that country had in his possession. The *Pegu* monarch, who held that animal to be in its nature holy, and even made his supplications to it, sent an ambassador to intreat it of the *Siamese*, offering to pay for it whatever price he should demand (D). As the king of *Siam* refused, on

^p *DE FARIA*.

ubi supr.

voyag. p. 110.

^q *PIMENTA*, ubi supr.

^r *DA CRUZ*, ap. *Purch.* vol. iii. p. 168.

^s *DE FARIA*, vol. iii. p. 118.

^t See our account of *Jangoma* hereafter.

^u *FREDERIC*, ap. *Hakl.* vol. ii. p. 229.

^x *PIMENTA*,

^y *BALBI*

(X) The city of *Bakan*, seventy or eighty miles to the south of *Ava*, on the east side of the river *Ava*, seems to have been the capital of this kingdom.

(Y) The capital seems to have been the city *Prom*, on the river of *Ava*, about eighty miles south of *Bakan*.

(Z) This, perhaps, is the kingdom of *Turks*, bordering on *China*, mentioned by *De Faria*, *Portug. Asia*, vol. ii. p. 11.

(A) This is a very crude way of expressing the situation of *Kallan*, or *K. plan*, which seems to be the same with the first kingdom *Kawelam*. If this latter be not rather a mistake for *Kamulau*, whose king *Nofinga*, we are told, was defeated and killed by *De Brito*, about

1604. *Kaplan*, famous for rubies, lies between the province of *Sirian*, and the city of *Pegu*, as hath been mentioned in the geography.

(B) So it is expressed in words, in the text of *Purchas*: but in the margin we find the year 1559 in figures; and this last seems the more likely date of the two.

(C) He is called *Rajah apri*, which signifies not the black, but the fery king.

(D) *Mandelslo*, who places this war in the same year with *Linschoten*, says the king of *Siam* had two white elephants, and that he of *Pegu* sent to purchase one of them only. *Mandelslo*, travels, ap. *Olear.* p. 127.

any terms, to part with the elephant, which he no less esteemed than he of *Pegu*; the latter thereupon resolving to obtain by force what he could not procure either through intreaties or money, entered *Siam* with a most numerous army, and reduced it to a state of dependance, as hath been before-mentioned; carrying off the white elephant, as a trophy of his victory^a. That this was the cause of the war, is, in effect, confirmed by *Frederic*, as well as others; who agree, that, from the time of this expedition, the king of *Pegu* assumed the title of *king of the white elephant*, and would suffer none of his neighbours to keep any of that kind.

for a white
elephant.

MENDEZ PINTO, after setting forth the manner in which the *Chaumigrem* obtained the crown of *Pegu*, in taking leave of him, just mentions an invasion which he made in *Siam*; without telling us either the success of it, farther than that it cost his nation 280 *Portugueses*, or the year in which it was performed. He speaks, indeed, of this war, as the renewal of that undertaken by the first *Barma* king of *Pegu*, and as if commenced presently after this second *Barma* ascended the throne: but from the number of forces, which he says were the greatest ever brought into the field by an *Indian* prince, we take it to be the same war with that spoken of by *Frederic*: for his army consisted of 1,700,000 men, and 10,000 elephants, whereof 9000 were for carriage, and the rest for battle^a. Add to this, that *Balbi* relates many *Portugueses* were brought prisoners to *Pegu*, who were not set at liberty till the reign of this king's successor. 'Tis true, *Pinto* returned to *Lisbon* in 1558, and therefore may be thought to speak of a war undertaken while he was in the *Indies*: but as that author did not print his voyages till several years after, it is probable what he has inserted, relating to this expedition, was done from information received in *Portugal*.

Expedition
against Arra-
kan.

WHETHER the conquest of *Siam* was the last this monarch effected, we know not: but, in 1581, we find he attempted that of *Arrakan*, the only kingdom bordering on *Pegu* which remained unsubdued. For this expedition he fitted out 1300 sail of barks, and sent them under the conduct of the prince his son. In their way they met with two *Portuguese* galleons, commanded by *Gonsalo vax de Camoens*; and the prince of *Pegu*, being desirous to take them, sent sixteen of his best sailors to attack them. After a sharp engagement, wherein three ships were disabled, and eighteen cannon taken, with some prisoners, the *Portugueses*, seeing all that multitude bear down upon them, retreated into the port of *Arrakan*; and thus frustrated the intended invasion, as hath been already mentioned in the history of *Arrakan*^b.

This is all of moment which we meet with in authors, relating to the conquests of this great prince, whom hitherto we have beheld in a state of glory. Let us now view him in a contemptible light, a slave and dupe to the most abject superstition.

Ape's tooth
worshipped,

In the year 1560, *Don Constantine de Braganza*, viceroy of *Goa*, having taken from its king the city of *Jafana-patan*, in the island of *Seylan*, commonly called *Ceylon*, and *Zeylon*, found there an idol, which was adored through all the neighbouring coasts of *Asia*, whose inhabitants flocked thither daily in pilgrimage: and so highly esteemed by the princes of those parts, particularly the king of *Pegu*, that he every year sent ambassadors with rich presents, to procure a print of it. This so much worshipped relick was nothing (E), says our author, but the tooth of a white monkey^c. That, doubtless, was the fact: however, it was supposed, by its adorers, to have belonged to one of their subaltern deities, the famous *Anamonte*, or *Hanimant*; who, in the form of an ape, did so much service in *Seylan* for the god *Wishnu*, and is his *Wabannam*, or war-horse^d.

taken and
burnt.

HOWEVER that be, the king of *Pegu*, as soon as he heard that the viceroy had the tooth in his possession, sent to offer him 300,000 ducats for it; and it was not doubted but his zeal would have extended as far as a million, in case the bargain had been well driven. Most of the *Portugueses* were for taking the money: but it being resolved, in a meeting of the chief clergy and laity, that it should not be sold; *Don Constantine*, in the presence of them all, ordered it to be beaten to dust in a mortar, and then thrown into the fire. But this act, which at that time seemed to be applauded by all men, was, not long after, condemned and railed at, as being the occasion of propagating, instead of suppressing, this tooth idolatry^e.

A counterfeit
tooth.
A. D. 1564.

FOR in the year 1564, the king of *Pegu* being told by astrologers that he was to marry a daughter of the king of *Kolumbo*, in the island of *Seylan*, or *Ceylon*, sent to demand her. Those astrologers, it seems, were no conjurers; for the king of *Kolumbo* had no daughter. But as his chamberlain had one, whom the king esteemed as his own, they agreed to impose her on the *Pegu* monarch, as if she was really the king of *Kolumbo*'s. The chamberlain, in order farther to oblige the *Barma* king, with a view by his assistance to shake off the *Portuguese* yoke, gave an ape's tooth in dowry with the bride, imposed on him; pretending that it was the same which the *Portuguese* had taken at *Jafana-patan*, and burnt at *Goa*. The ambassadors easily

^a LINSCHOT, voy. Ind. p. 30.
^c Ibid. p. 207, & seq.

^d PINTO, voy. p. 305, & seq.
^e See the history of *India*.

^b DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 370.
^e DE FARIA, vol. ii. p. 208.

(E) Why is not a white monkey's tooth as rational an object to worship as a saint's bone, the hair of a beard, a bit of rotten wood, or a white wafer, adored by our author and those of his communion? But pro-

ple, blinded with prejudice, are apt to ridicule the superstitions of others, altho' they commit much greater themselves.

a giving credit to what they desired, took the bride and tooth away, keeping it as a great secret from the *Portugueses*. On their arrival in *Pegu*, the king received the lady first, and then the spurious relick, with the greatest pomp imaginable. The galley which carried the queen was covered with plates of gold, and rowed by beautiful young women, richly drest, and brought up for this exercise. They were of that kind who live there in separate quarters, by two and two, without the conversation of men.

THE king of *Kandia*, in the same island, who was informed of this trick put upon the *Peguan* monarch, through envy, acquainted him therewith; and, at the same time, offered him a true daughter of his own, and the genuine tooth of the ape; affirming that the *Kolumbo* tooth, and that destroyed by *Don Constantine*, were both counterfeits. The *Barma* king, considering that it was as bad for a prince to own himself cheated, as really to be cheated, seemed not to credit the information; and thus the king of *Kandia* missed his aim. On this occasion our author *De Faria* makes two reflexions. One, that the *Portuguese* commanders, through their avarice, exposed that important place, *Kolumbo*, to be lost, had not the king of *Pegu* grown cool, upon his discovery of the cheat: the other, that had *Don Constantine* sold the tooth, as he was advised to do, we should not have heard of two set up to be adored by such numbers of people^f.

BUT to return to actions more worthy of a great prince. This monarch was not only the greatest hero, but the most magnificent among the *Pegu* kings. With the spoils of other countries he enriched his own, and employed a great part of his acquired wealth in erecting monuments to his future glory. The chief of these was the new city of *Pegu*, as mentioned before, in which he built a splendid palace, the least part of whose beauty consisted in its paintings and gildings: for the ceilings of some apartments were covered with gold; and others contained statues of gold and silver, some of a monstrous size, of which we have already given a description^g. Some rooms were set round with statues of kings and queens, as big as the life, all of massy gold, and adorned with precious stones of great value^h. He likewise caused 365 *Kombalengas* to be cast in goldⁱ. These are wedges, in the form of sugar-loaves, each weighing about forty pounds, as hath been already observed in our description of *Arrakan*^k. Some gold and silver statues were also cast, as large as the life, on occasion of the conquest of *Siam*; from whence he brought several very fine ones, especially of cows, in copper, which were erected before the chapels or halls which contained the other statues^l. He had several magnificent chariots, or triumphal cars, on which no ornaments were wanting, which painting, carving, and plating with gold, could bestow upon them^m. The like may be said of his pleasure-barges; among which one excelled, for beauty and costliness, any thing of the kind which ever had been made beforeⁿ. In short, this monarch raised the power and wealth of *Pegu* to a surprising pitch: but those advantages, which continued during his whole reign, did not long survive him.

CHAUMIGREM, or *Mandaragri*, died in the year 1583, a little before *Balbi* landed in *Pegu*, which was about the middle of *September*^o; after he had reigned thirty years, reckoning from the death of *Shemindoo*, in 1553. He reigned thirty-seven years, according to *Pimenta*, who places the beginning of his reign in 1546^p. This remark, though perhaps a little faulty, proves, however, that the king, whose reign we have been treating of, and who was the father of him who possessed the throne in the times of *Balbi* and *Pimenta*, was the same who succeeded *Shemindoo*.

THIS prince, according to *Cæsar Frederic*, had only one wife, but above 200 concubines, by whom he was reported to have had ninety children. However, we meet with no account of any of them, either from him or other authors, excepting the son who succeeded to the crown^q.

THE king being dead, he was succeeded, about the middle of the year 1583, by his son, who was then fifty years of age^r. *De Faria* calls him *Pranjinoko*; but makes him the successor of *Shemindoo*; thus confounding the son with the father: and accordingly ascribes to him several actions, which do not belong to his reign. *Pegu* was in the most flourishing condition imaginable, famous for its wealth, and dreaded for its power, when this prince ascended the throne: but by his tyranny and obstinacy, he, by degrees, lost all which his father had gained, and at length brought both himself and the empire to destruction^s.

HE had been scarce two months in possession of the crown, when he set out from his capital with all his forces, against his uncle the king of *Ava*, who was his tributary. This prince, being the oldest among those of the blood, imagined that he only had a right to the empire;

^f DE FARIA, p. 68 & 251.

^g See before, p. 240. & seq. also CÆS. FREDERIC ap. HAKL. vol. ii. p. 236.

^h DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 119.

ⁱ PIMENT. ap. Purch. trav. vol. ii. p. 1746.

^k See before, p. 227.

^l See BALBI viagg. p. 110.

^m FREDERIC ap. HAKL. vol. ii. p. 236.

ⁿ BALBI, p. 120, & seq.

^o BALBI, p. 118. See also before, p. 250.

^p BALBI, p. 100.

^q PIMENT. ap. Purch. vol.

ii. p. 1746.

^r FREDERIC ap. eund. ibid. p. 1716.

^s BALBI viagg. p. 109.

^t DE FARIA, vol. iii.

p. 361.

and therefore, when *Pranjinoko* ascended the throne, he neither came to pay him homage, as the other kings and dukes had done, nor sent the usual present of jewels. He went so far as to prohibit his merchants from carrying precious stones into *Pegu*, so that a stop was put to the jewel trade : and, in short, secretly endeavoured to engage the *Peguan* nobility in a conspiracy to dethrone their sovereign, and set himself on the throne. The king of *Pegu* dissimulated his resentment for a time ; and as his father had, at his death, enjoined him to preserve a good understanding with his uncle, he resolved to try what could be done by gentle methods.

corrupts the
nobles.

WITH this view he sent an officer of his court to the king of *Ava*, to know the reason why, for three years before, he had not come to pay him homage ; and also why he suffered no jewels to be carried to *Pegu*. The king of *Ava*, relying on the assistance of the *Peguan* grandees, instead of returning his nephew an answer, put to death his envoy ; and the king of *Pegu*, thinking all obligations of affinity were cancelled by so atrocious an affront, immediately declared war against him. But as he knew that he was not well beloved by his subjects, and that the greater part of his nobles, who were in his uncle's interest, ought not to be trusted by him, he resolved to get rid of them, before he took the field ^c.

Four thousand
burnt at once.

To compass this design with least suspicion, he sent for the chief of them, under pretence of consulting them about affairs of state ; and as they arrived, had them handcuffed and imprisoned. When they had been all secured, he ordered their wives and children to be seized, not excepting women with child, and sucking infants. Next morning he caused a large scaffold to be built, a great height from the ground, on which the prisoners, to the number of 4000 (A) great and small, being mounted, were all burnt alive. To strike the greater terror by this dreadful execution, the inhabitants, both of the old and new city of *Pegu*, were, by proclamation, commanded to attend ; among whom was our author *Balbi*, who beheld this tragedy with the greatest horror. Of all those who had been seized, none but a scrivener was pardoned ; but the reprieve came so late, that the flames had already caught his legs, and disabled them ^d.

The king
marches

As soon as the execution was over, the king sent for all the other commanders into his presence, and warned them, from the example which they had seen made of traitors, to be loyal ; and also to assemble, without delay, such a body of forces as might assure him of the victory. This speech had so good an effect, that in a few days they collected from the two cities upwards of 300,000 men, and encamped without the walls. It was thought, as soon as the king's army had taken the field, that his uncle of *Ava* would come and submit himself, in case the soldiers did not mutiny in his favour. Nothing of this kind happened : and ten days after, the king appeared on a white elephant, all covered with gold and jewels. He took the field with great resolution ; girt with a sword sent him by *Don Lewis de Taide*, viceroy of *Goa*, the guard whereof was richly gilt ^e.

against Ava.

HE left, as regent in the capital during his absence, prince *Maupa Rajah*, his eldest son, with the great *Barma* (B), and then set forward, the beginning of *April*, at the head of his troops. As all believed he would have but bad success, and most people wish'd it him, every day brought some ill news from the army. At length the king fell ill of the small-pox, which is looked on as pestilential in *Pegu*. However he had the good luck to escape that danger : and as soon as he recovered, attacked his competitor. While the armies were fiercely engaged, the two kings met, and fought hand to hand (C), first with muskets, then with darts, and at last with their swords. The combat had continued doubtful a considerable time, when the *Pegu* elephant happened to break his right tooth in attacking that of *Ava*. This beast, enraged with pain, rushed on his antagonists a second time with such advantage to the king of *Pegu*, as gave him an opportunity to kill his uncle ; who did not fall altogether unrevenged : for he wounded his nephew, though but slightly, in the arm ; and at the same time the elephant of the latter dropped down dead under him ; but he immediately got on the back of his uncle's : and as soon as the forces of *Ava* perceived their king was slain, they instantly left off fighting, and submitted to the king of *Pegu* ; who, praising their courage, pardoned their fault. It was reckoned that 200,000 of his forces were slain, and not many less of the *Avan* army.

Kills his uncle.

Ava city
razed.

AFTER this victory, he sent a body of troops to the city of *Ava*, with orders to raze it to the ground, and make the inhabitants prisoners. This was done accordingly : and because he

^c BALBI viagg. p. 105 & 112.

PIMENTA ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 746.

^d Ibid.

^e Ibid. p. 108, 112.

^f Ibid. p. 112, 114.

(A) *Pimenta* writes, that only forty noblemen were put to death on this occasion, however, with their wives, children, friends and families. He adds, that all who fled out of the fire were cut to pieces : but there could be no flying from a scaffold. See *Purchas's pilgrims*, vol. ii. p. 1746.

(B) By the great *Barma* is to be understood the chief general of his army.

(C) *Pimenta* says, that the king of *Pegu* chose this way of single combat to decide the controversy, because he found his cruelty to the suspected lords lost him the affections of his subjects.

^a was not able to discover the great treasure belonging to the deceased king, he banished them to the woods. The queen, as the king of *Pegu's* sister, was allowed a palace to live in, with a numerous attendance; but was obliged to confine herself to its limits, without ever stirring abroad. Six days after the battle, which was fought the fourteenth of *July* (D), the king returned unexpectedly to his capital, and found the city without the guards which he had ordered to be kept there: but, at the request of the prince his son, the fault was pardoned, and a stop put to farther executions.

WHILE he was on the above-mentioned expedition, the son (E) of the emperor of *Silon* (or *Invaser Siam*), under pretence of coming to his assistance (F), arrived at the old city of *Pegu*, with thirty war elephants and 800 horsemen. The great *Barma* directed him to follow the king ^b towards *Ava*; but instead of taking that route, he returned home. The king of *Siam* pretending to take offence that the *Barma* general, whom he called a slave, should presume to give an answer to the prince his son, sent *Pranjinoko* word, that he would no longer acknowledge him as his superior. Hereupon the *Pegu* monarch sent a powerful army to invade *Siam*, under the command of the great *Barma* (G): but after losing a great number of men before the capital, that general was forced to retire, with this answer from the king of *Siam*; that, if *Pranjinoko* had come in person, he would have paid him his compliments; but would not demean himself to submit to his inferior. This being reported to the king of *Pegu*, he said, it was his will and pleasure, that the least of his slaves should have authority over the prince who was his subject ^g.

^c HOWEVER, nothing farther was done against *Siam* while our author *Balbi* stayed in the country, which he left in *February* 1586. But the next year, when *Fitch* was there, the king himself made an expedition into *Siam*, with an army of 300,000 men, and 3000 elephants, besides his guards, which were 30,000 ^h. The success of this enterprise is not mentioned by that author, who seems to have left *Pegu* before his majesty returned: but we learn the circumstances of it from *Pimenta*. According to this author, the king arrived with his army before the city of *Siam* towards the beginning of the year (H); and was amused with offers of submission, in order to protract the time till *March*; when the river of *Siam* overflowing its banks, like the *Nile*, soon laid the enemy's camp under water: so that, out of all that multitude, scarce 70,000 returned to *Martavân*, and that without either horses or elephants.

^d THE king of *Pegu*, having made another expedition into *Siam*, no more successful than the former, sent thither his brother the king of *Jangama*, to try what he could do ⁱ. But he was defeated by the black prince, the king of *Siam's* eldest son, and 200,000 of his forces cut to pieces, with a great number of elephants and horse, besides what were taken ^k. It hath been already mentioned, that when *Chaumigrem* conquered *Siam*, in 1567, he carried with him to *Pegu* the king's two sons, who were educated at his court. Some years after he gave them leave to return to *Siam*, to visit their father, where they stayed, whether with or without the king of *Pegu's* consent, does not appear from history. The eldest, called *Râjab Api*, or the fiery prince, and by the *Portugueses*, the black prince, did great service against the enemy in their repeated invasions. The second was named the white prince, and was king of *Siam* after ^e the death of his brother.

PRANJINOKO, rather provoked than discouraged by these defeats, sends his son *Maupa* ^l *Râjab*, who was king of *Martavân*, with a formidable army, which committed great devastations in the country of *Siam*, through which it marched; but the prince, after losing half his forces, was obliged to return, without reducing the king to obedience. The *Pegu* monarch, resolved to make a last effort, raises an army of 1,700,000 men, and once more gives the command of them to his son *Maupa Râjab*, with the title of king of *Siam*. At the report of this mighty power all *Siam* trembled, excepting the black prince, now king, who met the enemy and gave them battle. At length the two kings, encountering on their elephants, fought, and *Maupa Râjab* was cast dead to the ground. At this sight his men fled, and the *Siamites* pursued them for a month, in which time they destroyed the greater part of that vast army ^m. This happened about the year 1590. *Balbi*, who saw and spoke to this prince, says, he was large of stature, and brown, like the king his father; but very courteous and obliging. He often dissuaded him from acts of cruelty; and, while our author was there, saved the old city from ⁿ destruction:

^g BALBI, *ibid.* & PIMENTA, *ibid.*

^h DE FARIA *Portug. Asia*, vol. iii. p. 119.

ⁱ FITCH *ap. Purch. ibid.* p. 1738.

^j Id. *ibid.* & PIMENTA *ubi sup.*

^k PIMENTA, *ubi sup.*

(D) It is said that the war began in a place called *Mekkao*: but it could not be the fortress twelve miles from *Pegu*.

(E) This possibly was *Râjab Api*, mentioned hereafter.

(F) *Pimenta* says, that the king of *Siam*, with an army, marched into *Pegu*, as far as a town called *Satan*, giving out that he came to assist his lord the king.

(G) This is the same, perhaps, whom *De Faria* calls *Banna*, the king's chief favourite. *Portug. Asia*, vol. iii. p. 119.

(H) Whether 1587 or 88, we cannot determine. *Pimenta* says, his army amounted to 900,000 men: whence it may be judged, that all the accounts of these great armies are exaggerated.

destruction : an astrologer having told the king, that, if he was desirous to reduce *Siam*, he should burn another city, as his father had done before.

The king's
tyranny.

PRANJINOKO, enraged at the death of this prince (I), made great preparations for three years together ; designing to carry with him to the wars all the inhabitants of *Pegu*, who were able to bear arms. The people, terrified to be thus dragged to the slaughter, after suffering so much already by former expeditions, abandoned themselves to despair ; and to avoid this oppression, some became *Talapoys*, or friars, others fled to woods and deserts, and many sold themselves for slaves. Hereupon the king caused his uncle *Shimibogo* to search the public records, and press one half of the people for his armies. He likewise ordained, by proclamation, that all who had made themselves *Talapoys*, should quit that profession, and return to a secular state ; that the young men should be compelled to serve in the wars, and the old banished into the country of *Barmas* : but he afterwards exchanged them away for horses. He commanded likewise, that all the *Peguers* should be branded in the right hand, that so every man's name, country, and condition, might be known.

The Peguers
rebel.

in several pro-
vinces.

A. D. 1594.

The prince
rebels.

Pegu besieged.

A. D. 1596.

Tangu re-
bels.

Dratful fa-
mine.

THE *Peguers*, provoked to see themselves thus opprobriously treated, began to rebel. The citizens of *Kofmi*, or *Kofmin*, first set up a king to oppose this tyranny. Against them *Pranjinoko* sent an army, which destroyed all the country, and brought away many prisoners, whom he caused to be burned. Then, continuing the war upon them, they who had fled to the woods were forced by famine to yield to his mercy ; which was such, that he put them all to death with exquisite torments. The next act of his fury was against the kingdom of *Ava* : for he commanded his son (K), who was governor thereof, to bring all the inhabitants of that province into the kingdom of *Pegu*, which was then so destitute of people. The son obeyed, and transplanted the *Avans* : but, the air not agreeing with their constitutions, they became afflicted with boils, and several other diseases ; which also caught the natives, many of whom, to avoid the pain, threw themselves into the river. Mean time some of the *Peguers* had, by the help of the *Siamites*, gotten the castle of *Murmulan* (L) into their possession. The king, on this advice, sent thither forces, which besieged that fortress for a whole year together : but the *Siamese* troops, coming on them unexpectedly, defeated his army, with great slaughter of men, horses, and elephants ; many were drowned, and not a few taken prisoners. That part of the country being thus reduced under the enemies power, many *Peguan* lords fled to them, whose wives, children, and families, *Pranjinoko*, with his usual cruelty, utterly destroyed with fire and sword (M). So that the whole tract, from the city of *Pegu* to *Martaván* and *Murmulan*, became a wilderness.

WHILST the siege of that place was going on, he sent for his son (N), the viceroy of *Prom* ; who imagined it was to be declared his successor, in prejudice to his elder brother, the prince of *Ava* : but when he found it was to go to the siege of *Murmulan*, he would fain have avoided it ; whereat his father, being angry, ordered him to salute his brother, and be gone. The prince of *Prom*, instead of obeying the king's command, returned in his ships to *Prom*, and there rebelled. The king of *Siam*, taking advantage of these distractions, invades *Pegu*, and lays siege to the capital, in which were then numbered 150,000 *Peguers*, *Barmas*, and others, with three thousand pieces of cannon, one thousand of them brads. The siege continued from January to April 1596, when by the assistance of sixty *Portugueses* and twenty *Turks*, joined to a report that more of the former were advancing thither through *Kamboja*, the king of *Siam* raised the siege^m, with the loss of 100,000 menⁿ. But famine succeeded, with a worse calamity ; which made not only the *Lanjangs* and *Siamese* soldiers leave the city, but also the *Peguers*, *Barmas*, and even the king of *Tangu* : in effect, all withdrew, excepting a few from this last country.

PRANJINOKO, thus deserted, sent his commands to the king, or viceroy, of *Tangu*, to gather in the harvest, then ripe, and embark it, with all the inhabitants, for *Pegu*. The viceroy of *Tangu* answers, that he would ship one half of each ; and that either he, or his son, would set out along with them. The king, enraged to have his orders disputed, dispatches four principal lords to fetch him, and the provisions, by force : but the viceroy, instead of submitting to his sovereign's authority, puts to death these commissioners ; and, having seized the ships, with the soldiers on board, by proclamation prohibits all intercourse with *Pegu*, or any aid to be sent thither. By this means the famine increased to such a degree in the city, that the people killed and ate each other. Man's flesh was sold in the public shambles : parents

^m PIMENTA, ubi supra, p. 1747.

ⁿ DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 120.

(I) De Faria says, the king, on this occasion, turned his fury against his people, and some days burned above ten thousand ; throwing so many into the river, as stopp'd the passage even of boats.

(K) His name was *Naylu*, according to *Balbi*, p. 120.

(L) A frontier place towards *Siam*, to the south or south-east of *Martaván*.

(M) The date in the margin is given by conjecture here, and in some other places.

(N) Called *Naymor* by *Balbi*, p. 120.

a abstained not from their children, and children devoured their parents. The stronger preyed on the weaker; neither could their being nothing but skin and bones protect them from the teeth of others, who opened their bellies to feast on their bowels, and sucked out their brains. Nor were they men only who did these cruel butcheries to satisfy their hunger; but the very women went about the streets with knives, looking out for such as were not able to resist them. At length the king caused the people in the city to be numbered; and finding that there were amongst them 7000 *Siameses*, he caused them all to be slain, and the provision divided among the rest, who did not amount to above 30,000 in all, reckoning women and children.

b AFTER the king of *Prom* had stood out in rebellion for three years, he sent to submit himself to his father, and promised to bring the inhabitants of that city to the capital of *Pegu*. The prince joined. A. D. 1597. Upon this, the king pardoned and sent him presents: but the chief minister of the prince, who had been the cause of his disobedience, apprehending that his head would atone for the crime; poisoned him, and assumed the government. Seven days after he was killed by the grandees; and they, aspiring to the same dignity one after another, so wasted the people by civil war, that in two months time, out of 50,000 men, scarce fifty remained; who, repairing by water to *Pegu*, left *Prom* for an habitation to wild beasts. The kingdom was thus almost exhausted of people; all destroyed by the wars and famine, excepting such as fled to the neighbouring countries, amounting to the number of about 240,000 people; viz. in the kingdom of *Jangoma*, 120,000, partly *Peguers*, partly *Barmas*; in *Orakan* (or *Arrakan*), 20,000; in *Siam*, and the countries beyond, 100,000.

c WHILE the kingdom was in these confusions, the *Talipoys*, who hated *Pranjinoko* for his tyranny, counselled his brother, the king, or viceroy, of *Jangoma*, to usurp the throne; which he refused, pretending his oath of allegiance. They replied, that, the king being deposed, no oath withheld him from taking the sceptre, provided he placed his brother in the *vahat*, or golden throne, there to be adored as a god. The Regulo's scruples being effectually removed by this argument; he afterwards found out two others himself, no less cogent, which convinced him that he was the lawful heir to the crown, and had a better right than his brother. The first, because his brother was born before his father was king; but he, afterwards: the second, for that his mother was daughter of the old king of *Pegu* (O), who was then living, and named *Naykbimo*; whereas his brother's mother was not a king's daughter. d The king of *Jangoma* was at this time so powerful, that he could bring 350,000 men into the field; and, if occasion required, no fewer than a million.

THE treasures of the *Pegu* monarch at this time, though so much weakened in his power, were thought to be immense. Among which were the sixty-six *kombalengas*, and sixty-seven statues of gods, adorned with jewels, made by his father's order: these, however, were hidden in the city, but in what place nobody could tell; and it is said, that he put to death 200 eunuchs, to prevent their making-a discovery. The king's treasures.

THIS was the state of the kingdom of *Pegu*, reduced to one city, and that almost wholly destroyed, when the *Mogo* (P) king of *Arrakan*, in the beginning of the year 1598, came and besieged it: and was soon after joined by the Regulo of *Tangu*, who had before thrown off his dependance. The king of *Pegu*, being well provided with artillery, and all kinds of military stores, made, for a while, a brave defence against his enemies. The king of *Tangu*, finding it would be difficult to reduce the place, so long as *Pranjinoko*'s forces continued firm, endeavoured to corrupt them by rewards; promising life, liberty, and estates, to all who would come over to him. This policy had the desired effect. The first who deserted were the *Portugueses* and *Moors*: after them followed a natural son (Q) of the king's, whose head was cut off by order of the besieged monarch's sister, wife to the king of *Tangu*; saying, *that he who was false to his father, could not be true to her.* He is besieged. A. D. 1598.

f At length, the distressed king, finding himself no longer able to hold out, took the opportunity, while the king of *Arrakan* was absent, and delivered up (R) himself and his city into the hands of the king of *Tangu*: from whom, as his brother-in-law, he expected good quarter; which was promised him: but this promise was not kept. As soon as the king of *Tangu* was and surrenders. A. D. 1599.

* PIMENTA, ubi supr. & ap. HAIES de reb. Japan. & Indic. p. 747, & seqq.

(O) The relative *who*, in the original *Latin*, is in the masculine gender; but we cannot tell how to reconcile it with the foregoing history, unless it be a mistake for the feminine, and is to be referred to *mother*. For since the king of *Pegu*, whom, after *De Faria*, we call *Pranjinoko*, was the son of *Chaumigrem*, or *Mandaragri*, who died in 1583, and reigned at least thirty years; who can this old king be? Possibly he was king of some other country, not of *Pegu*.

(P) Our author *Boucs* calls him *Mogo*, or the *Mogo*

king of *Arrakan*; but *De Faria*, *Shilimi Shâb*. We know that the people of *Arrakan* are called *Mogo*, or *Moghen*; and that the king is styled king of the *Mogo*.

(Q) It was his eldest son, according to *Jarric*. *Thesaur. Indic. part i. l. 6. c. 31.*

(R) In *December* 1599, according to *Jarric*; who writes, that the king yielded himself, his wife, and thirteen children, to the king of *Tangu*, his brother in-law.

possessed of the city and palace, he hastened to the castle of *Makao* (S), where the treasure was lodged; of which he found so vast a quantity, that six hundred elephants, and as many horses, were scarce sufficient to carry away the gold and jewels only (T): for he made no account of silver and other metals. The king of *Arrakan*, being informed that he of *Tangu* had, contrary to his agreement, taken all this treasure for himself, and dismissed the army, without his knowledge, set out with his forces, among whom were the *Portugueses*, commanded by *Philip de Brito* (then the richest in *India*, and in great favour with that prince), in order to invade the country of *Tangu*.

Miseries of
Pegu.
A. D. 1600

OUR author *Boues*, who in *February* 1600, accompanied *De Brito* to *Sirian*, the chief port in *Pegu*, was witness, in his passage, of the dreadful devastations caused by the tyranny of that execrable king. It would have affected the hardest heart to behold infinite fruit-trees, with the ruins of gilded temples and stately edifices, lying along the banks of rivers; the roads and fields full of the skulls and bones of wretched *Peguers*, killed or famished; and their bodies thrown into the streams in such multitudes as to hinder the passage of vessels.

THE king of *Arrakan* found in the castle of *Makao* above three millions in silver, besides many excellent pieces of brass ordnance, which the king of *Tangu* had left behind him; either as being in haste to be gone before the other arrived, or not thinking it worth his while to carry such inconsiderable booty away.

The king slain

WHILE the king of *Arrakan*, become thus possessed of the crown of *Pegu*, was employed in conveying the treasure from *Makao*, the kings of *Siam* and *Jangoma*, joining their forces, suddenly invaded the king of *Tangu*, with design to strip him of the immense spoils which he had so lately brought from *Pegu*. This advice perplexed the king of *Arrakan*, who, on so critical an occasion, knew not what course to take^p. He was in this irresolution when *Boues* wrote; nor does that author (or any other come to our hands) acquaint us what was the issue of their expedition of the two kings into *Tangu*. In all probability, they did not succeed in their attempt. As to the king of *Arrakan*, we are told from another quarter, that, after he had become master of *Pegu*, without any difficulty, he sent ambassadors to the king of *Tangu*; demanding part of the treasures which he had carried off, with the white elephant, and the king of *Pegu*'s daughter (U). He likewise required, that the said king should either be delivered up to him, or put to death. These demands were complied with by the king of *Tangu*: who soon after caused the captive monarch to be slain with a pestle, such as they pound their rice with; it not being lawful to shed the blood of those *Asiatic* princes^q.

By his sister's
order.

THIS is the account given of his death by *Floris*; but *De Faria* relates the occasion of it somewhat differently. According to this author, the king of *Tangu*, on his return from the war, presented the captive prince to his sister, the queen of *Tangu*; and it was imagined that she, who had killed his son for betraying him, would have treated him with the regards due to a brother. On the contrary, she used him in a contemptuous manner; and afterwards, perceiving that her husband was inclined to spare him, caused him to be beaten or pounded to death with a wooden pestle. Indeed, how great soever his crimes were, the king of *Tangu* was under the most indispensable obligations to be kind to him, if what we are told be true; namely, that he was no more than the son of a carter, and owed all his greatness to the favour of the murdered prince. In this manner, saith *Floris*, came this mighty empire to ruin; so that, at this day (X), there is no remembrance of it^r.

Age and reign.

PRANJINOKO, or *Branjinoko*, dying in 1599, must have been sixty-six years of age: for *Balbi* tells us he was fifty when he ascended the throne; and he reigned sixteen years. The same author informs us, that he was very fond of shewing himself to the people, contrary to the humour of his father: for that reason he almost every day appeared in public: and, when he passed through the city, suffered none to be turned out of the way, taking great pleasure to see and be seen by his subjects. For the same reason he caused two pillars to be erected at the gate of his court to distinguish it; and on it was written, in large characters, *that every person might enter without asking leave*.

How he ap-
peared

BALBI was at a public audience, to which he was sent for by the king, about some jewels which he had brought to *Pegu*. The entrance of the palace was by two gates, one within the other; and between them were porticos, or open halls, one on each side, where the nobles waited for the king's appearance, whose approach was proclaimed by twelve silver

^p BOUES ap. Haies, ubi supr. p. 850, & PURCH. p. 1748. DE FARIA, ubi supr. ap. Purch. vol. i. p. 322.

^r Ibid. ubi supr. & DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 121.

^q FLORIS voy.

(S) It is twelve miles from *Pegu*; and the landing-place for those who come from *Sirian* (sixteen or eighteen miles distant) and the river of *Negrals*.

(T) So *Boues* writes. *Jarric* says 700 elephants, and 700 horses. *De Faria* enlarges the number twelve-fold.

(U) *Floris* saw both at *Arrakan* in the year 1608. According to *Jarric*, the uncle of the king, and two sons of the latter, were also delivered up as hostages; and that he returned with them all in triumph to *Arrakan*. *Jarric Thesaur. Indic.* part. i. l. 2. c. 24.

(X) He wrote in 1614.

a trumpets. At this sound they all stood up; and, as soon as they saw the king, entered the second or inner gate, which led to the hall of audience; a very beautiful fabric, being all gilded over and enamelled with blue. The king was seated on golden cushions, with his wives beside him. Behind him stood four little boys, or pages, to attend him. The lords in waiting, called *Najirans*, stood before him to report matters to the king, and return his answers, as occasion required. His treasurers, with other principal lords, were on the left hand; and near to him on the right, was the prince *Maupa Rôjab*, his eldest son, seated on a kind of scaffold. At the lower end of the hall were the nobility and great officers, ranged in order according to their several degrees.

b THE king had in his hand a fan, which he kept in constant motion. High over his head were four gilded umbrellas, borne on the top of spears, which were also gilded and adorned with gold fringes of a good length. During the audience, his elephants passed before him in review: four white elephants, preceding the rest, when they came right before the king, each of them, by way of doing him honour, raising his trunk, opened his mouth and neighed three times: after this they kneeled down; then, rising, walked to their stables.

c As *Balbi*, with his interpreter, approached the king, they fell on their knees, with their hands lifted up in a suppliant manner, and made as if they kissed the ground three times before they rose again. This reverence, called *rombi*, they performed four times before they came to the steps of the place where his majesty was seated; so near him that he could distinctly hear his words, though he understood not what was spoken. Then, giving the emeralds to the interpreter, this latter held them over his head, and made the *rombi*. Immediately a *Najiran*, making the same reverence, took the jewels, and having delivered them to the king, retired a few steps back. Afterwards, the same lord being ordered to ask our traveller some questions concerning his country and voyages, he took the answers down in writing, and read them to his majesty: who, hearing that *Venice* was in the kingdom of *Italy*, and yet not governed by a king, seemed greatly surprised; and then fell a laughing so heartily, that it brought a cough upon him, which for some time hindered him to speak. In the end, he ordered a present to be given *Balbi*, of a gold cup and five pieces of *China* damask, over-and-above the payment for his emeralds; with an exemption likewise of duty for his goods, by which he saved 800 ducats. A generosity which all present admired at, it not having d been customary with that king to make presents to strangers*.

e PRANJINOKO, according to *Balbi*, had four sons. The first, called *Maupa Rôjab* (or *Maupatalia*, as he is named in one place). He was king of *Martavân*; and killed in the war of *Siam* 1590, as before related. The second, called *Naydu*, was king of *Ava*; and, after his brother's death, became heir to the crown. According to *Jarric*, he deserted his father, during the siege, as above related, and was put to death by his aunt, the queen of *Tangu*. The third son was named *Naymor*; the same, we conjecture, who was Regulo of *Prom*, and slain about 1597¹. The fourth is not named by *Balbi*, any more than the king himself. This, we should have concluded, was the young prince, who, on the surrender of *Pegu* in 1599, was, according to *Boues*, put to death, along with his father and mother, by the king or queen of *Tangu*. But we find that there were thirteen children given up to the king of *Tangu*²; and that they were all slain, excepting two sons, who were delivered to the king of *Arrakan*. These were named *Sbimi Kolia* and *Markettam*; and three or four years after, went with the prince of *Arrakan* to the siege of *Sirian*³.

f AFTER the death of this *Barma* king, *Pegu*, by the retreat of the king of *Tangu*, was left in the hands of the *Arrakan* monarch, as before-mentioned, and annexed to that crown. Authors do not take notice how long it continued so, but it seems to have ceased about the year 1606 or 1607; at which time it probably fell into the hands of the king of *Ava*: at least, in 1613, we find that monarch leading an army through it, as if it was his own dominion, to the siege of *Sirian*; which he took from the *Portugueses*, as will hereafter be related.

f IN 1619 or 1620, we read of a king of *Pegu*, who was also king of *Ava*, residing in the city of *Pegu*, at which time the affairs of that country began to be re-established. This king, we are told, was nephew to his predecessor, and succeeded in prejudice to his children; likewise, that he recovered the kingdom and city of *Zangomay* (or *Jangomay*) from the king of *Siam*, who had taken them from the former king. This recovery was made in the year 1615 or 1616; and the strangers found there carried with the conqueror into *Pegu*⁴. From this imperfect account we conjecture, that the prince who took *Sirian*, and he who recovered *Jangomay*, were the same: and that he removed the royal seat from *Ava* back to *Pegu* between the two expeditions. However that be, the *English*, by his encouragement, began a trade at *Pegu* in 1619; but, by ill management of those employed, they were forced to abandon it almost as soon as they had commenced it⁵.

* BALBIVIAG. p. 102. 109.

¹ See DE FERIA, vol. iii. p. 132.

² Idem ibid.

³ Ibid. p. 116, 120.

⁴ See JARRIC, ubi supr. l. iv. c. 31.

⁵ See METHOLD Ind. obs. ap. Purch. Pilgr. vol. v. p. 1005, & seqq.

and so continues.

As to the predecessor of this king above-mentioned, whether he was one of the sons of *Pranjinoko*, carried to *Arrakán* by *Shelimi Shâb*, and set up by his assistance, or some other person of the *Barma* race, we cannot pretend to determine: neither does it appear when the royal seat was transferred from the city of *Pegu* to that of *Ava*, where it at present is, and seems to have been fixed for above a century past.

S E C T. VI.

Proceedings of the Portugueses in Pegu.

THIS is all we have been able to collect from good authors concerning the history of *Pegu*, and its surprising revolutions (Y), within the compass of less than a century. However, we meet with one reign more, which may be added to the rest, as, in effect, it is subsequent to them: and that is the reign of a *Portuguese* king, or emperor, of *Pegu*. As the subject promises something very curious and uncommon, it would be unpardonable in us not to lay it before our readers.

Sirian given

SHILIMI SHAH, king of *Arrakan*, to express his gratitude to the *Portugueses* who served him in his armies, bestowed on them the port of *Sirian*, at the request of *Philip De Brito* and *Nicote*, before-mentioned; who, being raised from the station of a collier to the favour of that prince, soon after requited him with the basest ingratitude^a. This is *De Faria's* account of the matter: but we are told by *Boues* the Jesuit, who went to *Sirian* with *De Brito* in February 1598; that the king, not being yet acknowledged by the *Peguers* who lay concealed, or were fled, delivered the port of *Sirian* to *De Brito*, that the fugitives might there find refuge under *Portuguese* protection^b. He likewise honoured him with the title of *Chenga*, or *Shenga*, which signifies *honest* (Z); but which his ingrateful returns shewed he no ways deserved.

to the Portugueses.

SHILIMI SHAH, confiding in *De Brito*, was by him persuaded to erect a custom-house at the mouth of *Sirian* river, under pretence of increasing the king's revenue; but, in reality, with design to seize on, and convert it into a fort (A); in order to secure the *Portugueses* a footing in *Pegu*, and facilitate the conquest of that kingdom, which he had formed in his mind. The work being finished, the king put it into the hands of one *Banna-dala*, who began to fortify it; and, being more jealous of the *Portugueses* than was his master, would suffer none of that nation to enter the place, except a *Dominican* friar. *De Brito*, finding his design frustrated, resolved to seize the fort by force, before the works were too far advanced; and accordingly sent three officers with fifty men, to put his project in execution; presuming that he had credit enough with *Shilimi Shâb* to get the possession of it confirmed to him.

De Brito's ingratitude.

THE three captains so well performed *Nicote's* orders, that they gained the name of *founders of the Portuguese dominions in Pegu*. *Banna-dala*, apprised of their intention, attacked the enemy's factory first, and obliged them to quit it; but at the same time they fled from thence, they assaulted the other's fort with such fury, that he was glad to retire to an island not far off; where he fortified himself with 1000 men, securing the treasure of the pagod of *Digan* (or *Dagun*), to maintain them. The king, being informed of this proceeding, was much offended, and resolved to support *Banna-dala*: but *De Brito* had the art to dissuade him; representing the other as a sacrilegious robber, and offered to compose matters with the *Portugueses*. The king consented, and he went to *Sirian*; but, instead of putting a stop to the work, it still advanced under his direction. When the fort was in a good posture of defence, *Nicote* set sail for *Goa*, in order to deliver it up to the viceroy, and solicit succours, wherewith he might become emperor of *Bengál*. He likewise persuaded each of the neighbouring princes, that if he would join the *Portuguese* viceroy, he might easily arrive to be king of *Pegu*; and, on this encouragement, some of them sent ambassadors along with him.

SCARCE was *Nicote* gone, when *Shilimi Shâb* became sensible of his oversight, and sent down the river a fleet with 6000 men, under the command of *Banna-dala*. When near the fort, they were met by three vessels, with only thirty *Portugueses* on board, commanded by *Salvador Ribeyro*, chief of the three officers who had taken that place; yet in a little time he destroyed many of the enemy, took forty ships, and put the rest to flight, without losing one man^c.

^a DE FARIA, ubi supra, p. 127. FARIA, ubi. supr. p. 127, & seqq.

^b BOUES ap. Haies, ubi supr. & PURCH. p. 1748.

^c DE

(Y) The account given by Captain *Hamilton*, from the report of the natives and *Portugueses*, confounds the actions of different times and persons together, as will appear by comparing it with the preceding history.

(Z) *De Faria*, p. 131. says, *Chenga* signifies good

man. Be which it will, *De Brito* deserved neither character.

(A) *Boues* the Jesuit says, that so early as March 1600, when he wrote his letter, *De Brito* was actually preparing to build a fort at *Sirian*; which was as soon as the place was delivered to him.

- a THE king of *Arrakan*, finding this to become a serious affair, in conjunction with the king of *Pram* (B) (or *Prom*), beset the place with 1200 sail by water, and 40,000 men by land. *Ribeyro*, perceiving that they observed no order, fell on them with his handful of men; and, killing the general, put the whole army to flight. *Banna-dala*, gathering 8000 foot of this scattered army, sat down the third time before the fort, lodging his men in good order; and having furiously battered the place for some time, in the dead of night ventured to give a fierce assault, but was repulsed with the loss of above 1000 men, whose bodies filled up the ditch. The enemy continued the siege eight months; and although some *Portugueses* deserted *Ribeyro*, yet, far from being dismayed, he burnt the vessels which were in the port, to take from the rest all hopes of escaping. At length considerable succours came from the viceroy *Ayres de Saldanna*; and many, covetous of honour or profit, resorted thither: so that the commander, finding himself 800 strong, resolved to attack the enemy in his works.

- RIBEYRO put his design in execution, with much conduct as well as bravery, and was received with no less; but at last *Banna-dala* was forced to fly; and had the mortification to see all the works, which he had raised in a year, burnt to the ground. The *Portugueses*, thinking this success had secured their affairs in *Pegu*, dispersed, in order to reap the benefit of it by plundering; so that there remained with the captains no more than 200, who had been sent by the viceroy. The enemy, taking advantage of this opportunity, return the fourth time, provided with several moving castles and kinds of fireworks: in short, the fort was reduced to great distress, when a fiery meteor so affrighted the besiegers that they fled, leaving their castles a prey to the flames. After this the *Portugueses* took the field; and marching against king *Maffinga* (C), met his forces in the province of *Kamelan*, where they obtained a victory; killing him on the spot, and doing great mischief both by sea and land.

- THESE signal advantages procured the *Portugueses* that security they so much sought after: for the natives, finding them not only victorious, but also obliging, flocked to them in great numbers; so that, in a few days, they found above 20,000 ready to join them. These men, reflecting on the extraordinary success of *Philip de Brito and Nicote*, joined to his natural good-temper, which had procured him among them the name of *Chenga*, resolved to proclaim him king of *Pegu*: but, being at that time absent, *Ribeyro* accepted of the crown in his name; and this might be the reason how it came to be thought in *Spain*, that it was the captain who had been raised to that dignity. *Nicote* afterwards arriving in person, received the kingdom in the name of his prince; and was the first *Portuguese* who rose to that pitch of fortune in *Asia*. He was succeeded in the command of the fort by *Roderick Alvarez de Sequeyra*, who bravely defended it till it accidentally took fire, and only the bare walls were left standing.

- MEAN while *Nicote* solicited at *Goa* for succours, and received six ships with men: for the viceroy, esteeming him for his great wealth and growing power, married him to a niece he had there, born of a *Javan* woman, and for her sake could deny him nothing; he likewise conferred on him the title of commander of *Sirian*, and general of the *Pegu* conquest. At his return to *Sirian*, the king of *Arrakan* himself sent to compliment him on his arrival, and had a rich present from *Nicote* on that occasion; after this he repaired the fort, and built a church, at *Sirian*. As to the custom-house; he, according to the viceroy's instructions, obliged all vessels, which traded on the coast of *Pegu*, to make their entries there; and compelled some ships of *Choromandel* to comply with his orders. These proceedings revived in the king of *Arrakan* a resolution to possess himself of that custom-house; and, with that view, he sent an ambassador to the king of *Tangu* (D), with twenty *jalias*, or small ships, to join him in the expedition; but *Nicote*, being informed of this, sent his small craft, which defeated and obliged them to fly to the king of *Jangoma's* country (E).

- f THE enemy, thus exasperated, gathered 700 small vessels, with 4000 men, under the command of the king of *Arrakan's* son, who was accompanied by *Sbimi Kolia* and *Markettam*, Prince of Arrakan, A. D. 1604.

^d DE FARIA, p. 129, & seqq.

(B) A city standing on the west side of the river which passes through *Ava*. By this it appears, that *Prom*, so lately desolated, had recovered again.

(C) Whether this prince was king of *Kamelan*, or *Prom*, does not appear from *De Faria*; who often leaves his readers at a loss on such occasions, which yet require explanation.

(D) *Tangu* seems to be a maritime province; or, at least, to lie not far from the particular province of which *Pegu* city is the capital, on the east of the river which passes by or near that last city. For we find, that the king of *Tangu* was ordered to transport the in-

habitants of that city to the capital in ships: and the king of *Siam*, in his way to invade *Tangu*, entered the kingdom of *Martawan*. See before p. 239, note (L).

(E) The kingdom of *Jangoma* seems to have lain to the north of *Siam*: its capital was *Jamahay* (the same, we apprehend, with *Chiamay*); to which *Fitch* travelled from *Pegu* city in twenty-five days, going to the north-east. And it is probable that the river of *Pegu* passes through that country, or near the borders of it, since the *Arrakan* fleet, in flying to the kingdom of *Jangoma*, must have passed up that river.

sons of the late emperor of *Pegu* (F). To meet them, *Paul del Rego Pinnero* set out with a the boats and seven ships; with which, having taken ten advanced boats, he went in to secure them; and then, putting out again with more force, meets the prince, routs him, and takes several vessels. The prince, running up a river, got into a small creek; where *Pinnero* seized all the rest of his fleet, and obliged him to escape by land, after having lost one thousand men. Then he took the fort of *Chinim*, and in it many prisoners, among whom was the wife of *Banna dala*. At this time *Nicote* was abroad with fourteen small vessels, in which were sixty *Portugueses* and 200 *Pegu* men: he happened to run up the aforementioned river; and hearing the prince was on the shore with 4000 men, 900 of them musketeers, ventures to attack him. In the encounter, *Sbimi Toto*, a valiant native, attempting to seize the prince, was wounded; but happened, at the same time, to wound the prince in the face; which occasioned his being b made prisoner, and gained the *Portugueses* the victory. They likewise defeated 2000 men, sent by the king of *Pram* (or *Prom*), who arrived too late to join the other troops^c.

taken and ransomed.

THE *Pegu* soldiers, almost distracted to see their prince carried into captivity, would all have gone with him, striving to get into the *Portuguese* ships. Nor was *De Brito* behind them in point of duty: for not forgetting that he had been a slave to the prince, now his prisoner, he served him with the same respect as he had done before. He watched him asleep, holding his buskins with arms a-cross, according to the custom of those countries; and attended him on all occasions. This generous behaviour might well have equalled him with men truly great, and merited the title of *Cbenga*, which was given him, had he not sullied it by his covetousness. For *Sbilimi Shih*, to redeem his son, thought c proper to treat with *Nicote*: who, contrary to the viceroy's orders, which were to return the prince without ransom, sold him for 50,000 crowns; pretending it was to defray the expences of the fleet, which the king had obliged him to fit out^f.

Portugueses hotly attacked, A. D. 1605.

THE king of *Arrakan*, farther provoked hereat, sent a small fleet against *Sirian*; which, though easily defeated, gave him an opportunity of enslaving above 100,000 converts to the *Romish* religion, whom he had treated with great rigour. After this, the king of *Tangu*, being prevailed on to join him a second time, besieges the city by land, while *Sbilimi Shih* shut it up by sea with 800 sail, in which were 10,000 men. *Paul de Rego* met this fleet with eighty vessels; and, failing of the success which he had formerly, set fire to the powder, and blew up himself, with all the men on board his ship, rather than fall into the hands of d the enemy. The siege continued so long that the place was ready to surrender; when, on a sudden, the king of *Tangu*, upon some jealousy conceived, quits the field by night; and he of *Arrakan* found it to no purpose to lie longer upon the sea.

Spoils Tangu;

SOME of the neighbouring princes, startled at this success of *De Brito*, sought his friendship, and an alliance with the king of *Portugal*. The first who entered into these engagements was his late enemy the king of *Tangu*; who, some time after, having been attacked by the king of *Ava*, was defeated, and became his tributary. The king of *Martaván* was another of *Nicote*'s confederates; who to strengthen himself, marries his son *Simon* to that prince's daughter. Thinking himself now in a condition to execute a long premeditated design, of robbing the king of *Tangu* of the great wealth he had a few years before carried out of *Pegu*, e he resolves, in conjunction with the king of *Martaván*, to attack his territories; alleging in his defence, that, since the treaty made with that king, he had been overcome by him of *Ava*: as if the most idle pretence was sufficient to justify the breach of faith. In short, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the king of *Tangu*, and his protestations of continuing a faithful vassal to the crown of *Portugal*, *De Brito* fell upon, and took him prisoner; returning with him and above a million of gold to *Sirian*. But he did not long enjoy the fruits of his crimes^g.

and is besieged

THIS act of violence and injustice, committed on the king of *Tangu*, highly provoked the king of *Ava*, under whose protection he enjoyed his dominion. Scarce had he heard the news, when casting on the ground his gown and veil, he vowed to the idol *Biay*, worshipped f at *Degun* (or *Dagun*), that he would not enter within his gates till this injury was revenged.

A. D. 1613.

Resolving to attack *Sirian* effectually, both by sea and land, he equipped a fleet of 400 stout vessels, on board of which there were above 6000 of those *Moors*, of noted valour, called *De Caparuca*, or *who wear caps*. At the same time he marched at the head of 120,000 men; and, the moment he arrived before the place, set fire to every thing which he found without the walls. Although *Nicote* was, at this time, wholly unprovided, having suffered most of his men to go for *India*, yet he made a vigorous defence. What concerned him most was the want of powder: for he had been so imprudent as to set fire to a vast quantity of it, which he found at *Tangu*. In this distress he sent a soldier to *Bengal* to buy powder; but that trusty servant ran away with the money. He likewise sent for some to the city of *St. Thomas*, on the coast of *Choromandel*; but his friends there were so kind as to refuse him.

by the king of Ava.

^c DE FARIA, p. 131, & seqq.

^f Ibid. p. 133, & seqq.

^g Ibid. p. 138, & seqq.

(F) These princes, as hath been mentioned before, were delivered by the king of *Tangu* to him of *Arrakan*. Besides,

a Besides, those few *Portugueses* who were with him, committed such outrages, robberies, and murders, as seemed to call down vengeance upon them, and hasten his ruin.

It is true, his number of soldiers might have sufficed to defend the place against the enemy, *He is taken*, though so much superior in numbers; having had with him 3000 *Peguers*, besides 100 *Portugueses*: but as there was no firing of cannon without powder, they could not keep the besiegers at a distance from the walls. All the resistance they were able to make, was to annoy them by pouring down boiling pitch and oil from the battlements. *De Brito*, to try what could be done at sea, sent out three ships against the fleet: but this enterprise was attended with very ill success: for, in one of them, all the men were slain; and the two others returned with all theirs wounded. The enemy now began to undermine the works; and
b the besieged bestirred themselves much, but to very small purpose. At length, after the siege had lasted thirty-four days, *Nicote* sent to beg mercy, but was not heard. He imagined he could prevail by means of the king of *Tangu*, whom he had robbed of his crown, his riches, and liberty. But the king of *Ava* being resolved to punish him, rejected all manner of applications in his favour.

MEAN time the king of *Arrakan*, more through jealousy of that monarch's power, than *and impaled*. in kindness to *De Brito*, who had so grievously offended him, sent fifty sail to his assistance; but they proved of no use to him, having all been taken by the besiegers. At length the king of *Ava* gives an assault, and both parties fought for three days without intermission. The issue of it was, that 700 of the besieged having been slain, *Nicote* was betrayed by one
c *Banna*, whom he had always treated with distinction, and carried to the king of *Ava*, who immediately ordered him to be impaled (G); and the stake fixed upright upon an eminence above the fort, *that*, as the victor expressed it, *he might the better look to it*. He lived two days in that dreadful misery, and then expired.

His wife, *De Luisa de Saldanna*, was kept three days in the river to be cleansed, because *His wife enslaved*; the king designed her for himself; but as she exclaimed against him, when brought into his presence, he ordered her leg to be bored; and that she should be sent to *Ava* among the other slaves. *Francis Mendez*, and a nephew of his, were treated in the same manner as *Nicote* had been. The traitor *Banna*, demanding a reward, was torn in pieces; the king saying, *that he could never be true to him, since he had betrayed the man who had done him so* *his son slain*,
d *much honour*. *Sebastian Rodriguez* was cooped up with a yoke about his neck. At first the king designed not to spare any of the inhabitants of *Sirian*; but growing calm, he sent many of them slaves to *Ava*. Then passing on to *Martaván*, he obliged that king to kill his own daughter's husband, that none of *De Brito's* race might remain. This was the end of that man's avarice; who, being naked but a few years before, was raised to be worth three millions. He had one when he went to *Goa*; he brought another from *Tangu*; and had gotten at least another since then, by prizes and merchandizing. The enemy confessed, that they lost at the siege no fewer than 30,000 men^b.

How little soever the reader may be concerned for the fate of the husband, he will be apt, *all owing to her*, no doubt, to pity that of the wife; imagining that she drew on herself the punishment which
e was inflicted on her, through conjugal affection. But indeed her sufferings are so little to be ascribed to the love she had for her husband, that she was actually one of the principal causes of his ruin: for she entertained one of his captains as her gallant; and perceiving that the *Portugueses* censured their familiarity, they persuaded *De Brito* that he had no farther need of them. This was the reason why they were dismissed; and that dismissal was the cause of his destruction, and loss of the place¹.

As soon as the viceroy heard of the danger that *Sirian* was in, he sent thither *James de* *and late succours*. *Mendez Fustado*, with five gallies. This officer had orders to strengthen himself by the way, with some ships and men: but he was not able to do any thing of the kind, till he arrived at *Martaván*; where, in the river, he found a fleet of twenty sail. These, after a sharp engagement, fled, excepting four, which were taken, with some soldiers; by whom being informed of what had happened at *Sirian*, he saw it would be to no purpose to proceed farther, and therefore returned to *Goa*.

^b DE FARIA, p. 191, & seqq.

¹ Ibid ubi supr.

(G) According to *Floris*, this happened in March 1613. See *Purchas's pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 325.

C H A P. V.

The empire of Ava.

S E C T. I.

Description of the country.

*Little known
in Europe.*

OUR informations, with regard to this great monarchy, are, in general, so scanty and imperfect, that it is proper to take notice thereof, before we enter upon either the description or history of the country; lest our readers should otherwise think that the fault is owing to us, and not to the defect of our materials.

*Disfigured in
maps.*

WE have already observed, in our general remarks concerning the farther peninsula of *India*, that no part of *Asia* has been less frequented, especially the inland countries towards *China*. Hence it is, that *Pegu*, *Ava*, and others, were so disfigured in the maps of *European* geographers, that *Du Chatz*, a Jesuit missionary, could not know them. He particularly remarks, that the *Sansons* have introduced much confusion, by deriving the great rivers, which pass through the kingdoms and capitals of *Siam*, *Pegu*, and *Ava*, from a lake called *Chiamay*, although they have all different sources^a. In these enormous errors the *Sansons* have been followed by all other geographers, till Messieurs *De Lisle* reformed them in 1700. However, the *Sansons* are not to blame on that account; but rather *Mendez Pinto*, who, though guilty of many forgeries, yet possibly in this respect was guided by reports of the *Indians*, which have misled others.

*No travellers
there.*

IF *Ava* be so little known, it is not that it has never been visited by *Europeans*: for the *Portugueses*, *Dutch*, and other nations, have been often in that country, led thither on account of war, or trade. But these are a sort of people who have seldom either the curiosity or capacity to observe and write. We have, in short, no professed travellers into the inland: at least we meet with only two journals of persons who have travelled into *Ava*, towards the end of the last century; and that not from the coast upwards, but through the continent downwards, from *China*. The first performed by four *Chineses*, down the river which passes by *Ava*: the other by the Jesuit *Du Chatz* before-mentioned, who travelled the same way, and has given a map of the course of that river from *Ava* to the sea, in which are contained almost all his remarks; for he says very little concerning either the country or inhabitants. To these may be added some observations of Mr. *Roger Alison*, who had been twice ambassador from the governor of *Fort St. George*, or his agents at *Sirian*, to the court of *Ava*, about thirty years ago.

*Materials
scanty.*

THESE three pieces, joined to some scattered remarks found in *Cæsar Frederic*, *Gaspar Balbi*, *Gaspar de Cruz*, and some other early voyagers, are the principal funds from whence we draw our materials; which, therefore, our readers must not expect to be either very copious or satisfactory.

Ava kingdom.

A^A, or *Awa*, which some write with a strong aspirate *Hava* (A), may be considered either in a restrained sense, as a single kingdom; or in a more extended sense, as enlarged by the conquest of several other dominions. But in which-ever sense it be taken, we are not able to speak with any certainty concerning its just bounds and dimensions, especially as to *Ava* as a particular kingdom: we only know, in general, that it lies inclosed with *Jangoma* or *Siam* on the east; *Pegu* on the south; and *Arrakan* on the west: what country lies to the north of it, we are not informed by travellers. *Mendez Pinto*, in place of *Ava*, puts the kingdom of *Chaleu*, whose capital he makes the city of *Ava*. He mentions also a city of the same name, which he sets on the river *Queytor* (so he calls the river of *Ava*), between *Prom* and *Ava*. He likewise gives to the inhabitants the name of *Chaleus*^b. This is all we can say touching the kingdom of *Ava*, properly so called.

*Empire of
Ava.*

WITH regard to the extent of the empire of *Ava*, including the kingdom of *Ava* with its conquests, we are able to say something more precise. A late missionary tells us, that it is twice as big as *France*^c. What we know, in general, is, that it is bounded on the west partly by the gulf of *Bengâl*, and partly by the kingdoms of *Arrakan* and *Assam*, from which last it seems to be separated by the great river of *Arrakan*: on the north by mountains

^a DU CHATZ ap. mem. acad. scien. ann. 1692, p. 399.
^c DU CHATZ, ubi supra.

^b PINTO'S Voyage, p. 136, 208, 214.

(A) Some authors write *Auwa*, as *Balbi*: others *Awaa* and *Owa*, as we find in *De Faria*, vol. iii. p. 139. 353. & *passim*. The *Chin* *se* pronounce *Yauwa*. It is called *Pamabang*, in the *Chin* *se* journey from *Siam*.

a dividing it from *Tibet* and *China*; on the east by the country of the *Laos*; and on the south by the kingdom of *Siam*, and the gulf of *Bengál*. It is situated between the 15th and 26th degrees of latitude, and between the 109th and 118th degrees of longitude: so that its length, from south to north, is about 66 geometrical, or 765 *English* miles; and its breadth, from west to east, 494 miles of the first kind, and 575 of the second (B).

THE country of *Ava*, properly so called, is, for the general, flat, especially near the great *Soil and pro-*
river. It is all fertile; producing rice, fruits, and variety of animals wild and tame, like *duce*.

Pegu. It has also mines of *Cyprian* brass, lead, and silver^d. Musk and rubies likewise come from thence to *Pegu*. As to the conquered countries lying to the north and east, excepting that of *Jangoma*, we know but little concerning them in any respect, not so much as their
b names (C). The best information we can give our readers is from the travels of four *Chineses*, in company with others, from the province of *Yun-nan* to *Siva* and *Pegu*, towards the middle of the last century. Departing from the city of *Yun-nan* (or *Yun-nan*), capital of the province of the same name, in the south-west of *China*, they went to *Yun-cham* (D), in the same province, in eighteen days; from thence to *Tien nio-theou* (E) in four; and in five more to the last village on the borders of *Yun-nan* and *China*: a fatiguing way, through woods, full of tigers, but no elephants.

AT this village, where there is a custom-house and garrison, they embarked on a river more *River Lu*
large and rapid than that of *Siam*, and in twenty days sailed down it to the city of *Ava*. *kyang*.

The first four or five days were through a desert country: afterwards they daily met with one
c or two plantations on the river, whose inhabitants, dwelling in houses made of *bambú* canes, fled into the neighbouring woods at their approach. The journey may be performed by land, but not conveniently^e. The name of the river, down which our *Chineses* passed, is not mentioned by them: but it is doubtless that which, in the Jesuits map, is called *Lu-kyang*, because of its largeness; there being no other in *Yun-nan*, on that side, so big as the river *Siam*, to which it is compared; nor perhaps capable of bearing large passage-boats. This river rises a great way to the north of *Yun-nan*, in the country of *Tibet*; so that it may well be considerable, not only at the city of *Ava*, as *Du Chatz* says it is, but even in *China* itself, from whence its course seems to be first south-west, and then south.

FROM the city of *Ava* this great river, which is there called *Menan Kiow* (F), runs south-*or Menan*
d west to the city of *Prom*, about 140 leagues distant; from whence to *Mero*, another consi-*Kiow*.
derable city, its course is almost north and south. From *Mero* it turns off almost due eastward; and, in that direction, passes on to *Sirian*, the port of *Ava* and *Pegu*, eighty leagues distant from *Mero*, and near three hundred from *Ava*. Above *Sirian* it receives the river of *Pegu*; and below it, at ten leagues distance, falls into the sea. Along the river, from *Ava* downwards, the banks are set with villages, often better than the country towns in *France*, and not above a mile and a half asunder. They sail in vessels as large as our biggest ships, though not a nail or peg is used in building them. They have only one sail, but it is much higher and broader than any which the greatest *European* ships do carry. The *Chineses* above-mentioned were one month in their passage down it from *Ava* to *Pegu*;
e and, from the first of those cities to *Siam*, it was fifteen easy days journey by land^f.

THE capital of *Ava*, which bears the same name with the kingdom, is about as large as *City of Ava*,
Rheims in *France*. The houses are high, and built of wood; and the streets are as strait as a line, with trees planted on each side^g. The reason why the houses are built of no better materials than *bambú* canes, thatched with straw or reeds, we are told, is; that criminals, if they do not appear when summoned, may be easily forced out by fire. But then that sort of structure diminishes much from the beauty of the city, which is both great and populous.

THE king's palace is very large, and built of stone; yet the buildings of it are but mean. *The palace*
It has four gates: the eastern is called the *golden gate*, because all ambassadors, who enter by it, approach him with presents: the south gate is called the *gate of justice*, for those to
f go-in at who bring petitions, accusations, or complaints, to the king: the west is the *gate of grace*, through which all who have received favours, or been acquitted of crimes, do pass-out in state; and all condemned persons are carried to execution in fetters: the north gate, fronting the river, is the *gate of state*, reserved for his majesty when he goes abroad; and by it all his provisions and water are carried into the palace^h.

^d PIMENTA ap. Purch pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1746.

^e GOUYE, ubi supra.

^f Ibid. vol. ii. p. 45, & seq.

^g GOUYE obs. math. &c. ap. mem. acad. ann. 1699,

^h HAMILTON's New account of the East Indies,

(B) Captain Hamilton, who sometimes calls this the kingdom of *Barma*, and says it lies about 500 miles up the river of *Pegu*, gives it different dimensions. According to him, it reaches from *Murazi*, near *Tanasirin*, to the province of *Yun-nan*, in *China*, and is about 800 miles long, from north to south, and 250 broad, from west to east. New account of the *East-Indies*, vol. ii. p. 38, & seq.

(C) *De Faria* tells us, from *Pinto*, that the dominions of the king of *Ava*, about the year 1539, were two months travel in extent, and contained sixty-two cities; but names none of them.

(D) In the Jesuits late map *Yong-chang*.

(E) In the same map *Teng-ye-chew*.

(F) *Mendez Pinto* calls it every-where *Queytor*.

Its splendor.

THIS is the account given by Mr. *Alison*: but *Du Chatz* describes it to more advantage. ^a He says it is gilded both within and without; and situated in a square inclosure of brick, each side no fewer than 800 paces long. The same author tells us, that he found the latitude to be twenty-one degrees; but says not with what instrument he observed it ⁱ. It is remarkable that this city is mentioned by *Antony Zeni*, so early as the year 1430. This author informs us, that passing up the river *Ganges* to *Chernowem* and *Maarazia* (G), he from thence crossed over land, in seventeen days, to the city of *Ava*, which he affirms to be fifteen miles in compass. He adds, that the inhabitants of both sexes indulge themselves much in eating and drinking. But what is most curious in this traveller, he is the first who speaks of bells being worn by the inhabitants of these countries in their privities: he says they were of gold, silver, and brass; that they were as large as nuts; and that certain old women lived by selling them ^k. ^b

Jewel trade.

THE city of *Ava* is remarkable for having a great trade in musk and jewels; that is, principally rubies and sapphires, so long ago as the time of *Edoardo Barbosa*, in 1516: who also observes that the inhabitants were excellent jewellers; and *Metbold* says, the most esteemed rubies and sapphires were brought from thence ^l. This city has, no doubt, suffered many changes, by the wars and revolutions which have happened from time to time; particularly in 1583, when it was rased by order of the king of *Pegu*, after the rebellion of his uncle, and all the inhabitants banished to the woods ^m.

Other cities.

THERE are other cities of *Ava* mentioned by authors, such as *Bakan*, *Chaleu*, and *Prom*, of which some account has been already given in the history of *Pegu*, and of which we find the names in *Du Chatz*'s map of the course of the river *Menan Kiow*. *Bakan* was the capital of a kingdom conquered by *Chaumigrem*, second *Barma* king of *Pegu*: *Prom* was the metropolis of another small kingdom, which suffered greatly in the *Barma* wars: and *Chaleu*, we are told by *Pinto*, was both a city and a kingdom; of which last he makes *Ava* itself the capital. ^c

ⁱ See GOUYE, ubi supr. p. 1017.

^k NIC. DE CONTI ap. Purchas, vol. iii. p. 158.

^l PURCHAS, vol. v.

^m BALBI, p. 114.

(G) We meet with no such place in modern travellers as *Chernowem*. *Zeni* writes *Cernowem*. As for *Maarazia*, it ought doubtless to be *Máha Rájah*, which

signifies the *Great Rájah*, that is, chief of the *Rájahs* or kings of *India*.

S E C T. II.

Account of the inhabitants of Ava.

The Barmas; of what kinds.

WHETHER the inhabitants of *Ava* were originally *Barmas*, or a different nation, ^d authors do not afford us light enough to determine. *Mendez Pinto*, indeed, mentions a people in these parts called *Chaleus*, inhabitants of a kingdom called *Chaleu*, of which he makes *Ava* the capital city. But as that author is not clear in this particular, and is besides not much to be depended on, we can venture to affirm nothing in this point upon his authority. In short, as the *Barmas* have been, for above two centuries at least, the proprietors of this country, not only of the kingdom of *Ava* in particular, but also of several other kingdoms or states which are annexed to that crown; and are the only nation within their dominions which have as yet come to our knowledge, we must here content ourselves with giving an account of them.

The Barmas;

THE *Barmas*, called by some *Baramas* and *Vermas*, but mostly *Bramas*, as to their persons and dress have been already described in our account of *Pegu*. We shall only add from *Da Cruz*, that they have a great resemblance of the *Chinese*s in their faces ^a; and some judge, from the great likeness which appears in their persons, and even their customs, that the inhabitants of all the farther peninsula of *India* are descended from the *Chinese*s. ^e

their country,

THESE *Barmas*, or *Bramas*, according to *Mendez Pinto*, originally inhabited the hills or highlands which surround *Pegu*; containing a country about 200 leagues in length, and 80 in breadth. From these quarters they, by degrees, extended themselves over the neighbouring countries, sometimes gaining, at other times losing what they had conquered. About the year 1516, when *Barbosa* was in the *Indies*, the kingdom of *Verma*, as he terms it, extended along the coast from *Bengál* southward, as far as *Pegu*; and *Arrakan* lay within land ^f to the north of it. But, not long after, they were driven out of the maritime parts, where they had no trade, nor ports fit for it, by the inhabitants of *Arrakan*, who took possession of them. In 1539 their power was so much reduced, that, though they seem to have been masters of *Ava* not long before, they were, at this time, tributary to the king of *Pegu*. However, an accident soon after gave them an opportunity not only of recovering their freedom,

and conquests.

^a DA CRUZ ap. Purch. vol. iii. p. 167, & seq.

- a but also of subjecting *Pegu* in their turn ; which they lost again for a short space of time : when recovering it about the middle of the sixteenth century, they, under the conduct of a valiant prince, over-ran almost the whole farther peninsula of *India*. In the reign of his son they lost *Pegu*, and other countries ; but recovered them again in a few years space, and have continued in possession of them ever since ^b.

^b MENDEZ PINTO'S Voy. p. 241.

S E C T. III.

The government of Ava.

- b **T**HE government in *Ava* is arbitrary : for the commands of the king are laws : but ^{How the king} then the reins are kept steady in his own hands, and managed with gentleness and attention. He severely punishes the governors of provinces or towns, if guilty of oppression, or other illegal practices : and, to inform himself how affairs go every-where, each has a deputy residing at court, which is generally kept in the present capital *Ava*. These attend ^{knows all af-} every morning, in an apartment of the palace ; to which adjoins another, whither the king ^{fairs.} repairs, who from thence can see the whole assembly, without being seen himself. A page stands without, to call whom his majesty appoints to make report of what had been transacted in his city or province ; all which is performed by the deputy, with profound reverence towards the room where the king is. If any thing be concealed, and that prince comes to know it, severe punishments are inflicted on the offender. Thus he passes his mornings, from breakfast-time, in hearing the necessary cases of his own affairs, as well as those of his subjects.

- In matters of treason, murder, or the like, the king appoints judges to try the accused ; ^{Capital pun-} and, on conviction, signs the dead warrant ; wherein he orders, that the wretch convicted ^{ishments.} shall tread no more on his ground ; and execution presently follows, either by beheading, or being thrown to his elephants, cruelly to be mashed to pieces under their feet. Sometimes criminals are banished for a term to the woods (A) ; and, when that is expired, if they are not devoured by tigers, or killed by wild elephants, they may return, and spend the remainder of their days in serving a tame elephant : and, for smaller crimes, they are only condemned d to cleanse his elephants stables for life ^a.

In civil cases the laws are very strict. With regard, particularly, to debts, there is no ^{Law of} losing any : for, one way or other, they must be paid ; and at last the debtor sold, with his ^{debtors.} family, as hath been already noted. Sometimes the *Peguers*, when they want money, will pledge not only themselves, but their wives and children, to obtain it. If payment is not made at the time limited, the creditor may then seize them all, and lock them up in his warehouse. They are so much at his disposal, that he may even lie with the insolvent's wife, if he has a mind : but then, by that action, the debt is understood to be quite discharged ^b.

- ALL cities and towns in this king's dominions are like aristocratical commonwealths. ^{Police in} The prince, or governor, seldom sits in council himself, but appoints his deputy, and twelve ^{cities.} counsellors or judges, who sit once in ten days, or oftener, if business requires it. They assemble in a large hall, mounted about three feet high, with double benches round the floor, for the people to sit or kneel on, to hear the free debates of council. The hall is raised on wooden pillars, and open on all sides. The judges are placed in the middle, on mats ; and, sitting in a ring, have no precedency one of another. There are no lawyers or ^{No lawyers,} attornies to harangue at the bar : but every body has the privilege to plead his own cause, or ^{nor fees.} send his case in writing, to be read publicly ; and he is sure to have it determined within three sittings of council at most. Neither are there any fees due to the officers of the court, which they call *rounday* ; but the charge, which is very small, is defrayed by the people of the town.

- f At the backs of the judges there are placed clerks, who write down whatever the plaintiff ^{Excellent reg-} and defendant have to say ; and the cause is determined by the judgment of the governor and ^{ulations.} council. If in the sentence there happens to be the least partiality to either party, and the king is made acquainted with it by the deputies at court, the whole is reversed, and the judges corrected for it. This good regulation is a strong check upon the council, and makes appeals very rare. On the other hand, if an appeal is not well grounded, the appellant is chastised ; which just rigour prevents vexatious suits, common in countries where are no penalties annexed to such litigious proceedings ^c.

^a HAMILT. New acc. of East Indies, vol. ii. p. 42, & seqq.

^b BALBI viag. del l'Ind. orient. p. 127.

^c HAMILT. ubi sup. p. 47, & seq.

(A) This, according to *Balbi*, is the punishment inflicted on robbers.

Ordeal trials. FOR discovering murder, theft, or perjury, also to find the truth, where the evidence is doubtful or contradictory, the ordeal is much used in *Pegu*. Of this there are several kinds: one way is to make the parties chew some raw rice, and swallow it: but they say the guilty cannot get it down, and thus he stands convicted. Another method is to oblige the accused, and the accuser, to lay hold of a stake driven into a river; and he who stays longest under water is judged fit to be credited. The guilty person (that is, he who was so unlucky as to have the shortest breath) must lie on his back for three days and nights, with his neck in the stocks or pillory, without meat or drink, and is fined to boot. Scandal, and malicious slander, is punished in this manner. They have also the custom, in case of atrocious crimes, of dipping the naked hand in boiling oil, or melted lead; and if the accuser is scalded or burnt in the trial, he must undergo the punishment due to the crime: which makes people very cautious how they calumniate one another. In short, whoever calls a woman a whore, and cannot prove the aspersions to be true, is fined severely ^d.

Differences how composed. WITH regard to little differences and disputes, which arise among neighbours, the making of them up is generally undertaken by the clergy, who never cease mediating between the parties, till there be a reconciliation; in token of which they eat *champok* (B) from one another's hand, and that seals the friendship. Nor must we omit giving the *Pegu* ecclesiastics the praises due to them on another occasion. If a stranger happens to be shipwrecked on their coast, by the laws of the country the men are the king's slaves: but, by the mediations of the church, the governors overlook that law: and when the unfortunate people repair to their temples, they are relieved both with food and raiment. If sick or wounded, they keep them till they are cured, and then give them letters of recommendation to the next convent, passing them thus from one to another, till they meet with barks to transport them to *Sirian* ^e.

^d HAMILT. p. 58.

^e Ibid. p. 61.

(B) *Champok* is a kind of tea, of a very unfavourable taste, growing, as other tea does, on bushes.

S E C T. IV.

Of the king or emperor.

Emperor's state. Reverence paid him. THE king or emperor of *Ava* gives great attention to public affairs. Soon after he has risen in the morning, he dresses himself, and then takes his breakfast. This usually consists of rice boiled in water, and relished with *prok*, of which we have already given an account in treating of *Pegu*. The *prok* used by the king is a mixture of shrimps, dried and powdered, with salt and cod-pepper, which makes a very pungent sauce, in great esteem. When his breakfast is over, he retires to hear what passes in the assembly of deputies before-mentioned, and hear the petitions of his subjects; by whom, if they may be so called, he is approached with the most abject reverence (A). The highest title which any of them assumes is to call himself his majesty's first slave. When pots of water or baskets of fruit are carried through the streets for the king's use, an officer attends them, and the people who happen to be near must fall on their knees, and let them pass by; as a good catholic does, says our ^d author, when he sees the host.

Pain titles, THAT their language may be conformable to their actions, they treat him with the most fulsome adulation. When they speak or write to him, they call him their *kiak*, or *god*: and the king himself, in his letter to foreign princes, assumes the title of "*king of kings*, to whom all other kings ought to be subject, as being near kinsman and friend to all the gods in heaven and on earth: that, by their friendship to him, all animals are fed and preserved, as well as all the seasons of the year have their constant returns: that the sun is his brother, the moon and stars his near relations: that he is lord over the ebbing and flowing of the sea: lastly, that he is king of the white elephant, and twenty-four umbrellas (B)." These are only common *China* umbrellas, covered over with thin *Chormandeel Battelaes*, with their canes lacquered and gilded. Yet because his own subjects dare not wear such umbrellas, he lays his commands on all other kings to forbear making use of them, when they go abroad, with the same air of vanity.

and assumed authority. AFTER his majesty has dined, there is a trumpet blown, to signify to all his slaves (meaning all other kings), that they may go to dinner, because their lord has already dined. And as

(A) The same with that paid to the king of *Pegu*, of whom this prince is properly no more than the successor, only residing in a different part of his dominions: so that what is related here of the king, is no more than an addition to what has been said before: but having been applied to him, as reigning in *Ava*, we have inserted it here.

(B) These being used as ensigns of dignity by the princes of this peninsula, seem to denote the number of kingdoms and states conquered by the *Barma* monarchs, and added to their dominions.

- a he terms all other kings (though ever so powerful and out of his reach), his slaves, so their subjects are considered as such, when they come into his ports to trade, or on any other occasion. When a foreign ambassador is admitted to audience in the palace, he is attended with a large troop of guards, with trumpets sounding, and heralds proclaiming the honour which he is about to receive, in being permitted to see this king of kings, the glory of the whole earth. When the ambassador is come between the gate and the head of the stairs which lead to the chamber of audience, he is attended by the master of the ceremonies, who instructs him to kneel three times in his way thither; in which posture he must continue, with his hands lifted over his head, not daring to rise, till a proclamation is read for that purpose. And because the very brutes ought to pay obedience to this universal monarch, some of his elephants are taught to fall on their bellies when his majesty passes by them^a.

b NEITHER his soldiers nor military officers have any pay: but there is a province, or city, *For as how* with lands, given to some lord or commander, who is to maintain out of it such a number *paid* of men, ready to attend the wars on all occasions; and to find the palace at *Ava* with such provisions as the providore thinks fit to demand. In time of war, however, they are all allowed pay, provisions, clothes, and arms, which are returned into the magazines as soon as the war is over. Hence it is that discipline is but little known among this king's troops; and a man of a tolerable stock of courage may pass in those parts for a hero. This is the account of our latest travellers. But some of those who went first to *Pegu* admired their discipline^b. The quality of an officer is known by his tobacco-pipe. This utensil consists of three parts, c a head or bowl, a shape or shank, and a mouth-piece. The head is either of metal or clay, with a socket to let in the shaft, which is made of a jointed reed or cane: the mouth-piece is of gold, fixed on the upper end of the shaft, and, like the reed, has joints, whose number ascertains the degree of the officer, and he is respected according to that token^c.

WHAT has been said with regard to the religion, temples, and clergy, of *Pegu*, may serve for those of *Ava*; and indeed the laws, customs, and every thing else, are nearly the same in both countries, as hath been already mentioned. It remains therefore only to add a few things concerning

^a ALLISON ap. Hamilt. ubi supr. p. 42.

^b See before, p. 275, & seqq.

^c HAMILT. p. 46, & seqq.

S E C T. V.

The history of Ava.

d WHAT we have to lay before our readers on this subject is but very inconsiderable, *Earliest no-* and little more than what hath already occurred to him in the history of *Pegu*. *Intices.* the time of *Nicolo di Conti*, about 1430, it seems to have been an independent monarchy, and in a flourishing condition^a. In 1505, when *Vertoman* or *Barthema* was there, the kings of *Ava* and *Pegu* had been at war together for two years; but coming at length to a pitch'd battle, the latter obtained the victory. However, that advantage did not oblige the king of *Ava* to submit to him: for presently after we find the lately defeated monarch moving against his enemy, with a very numerous army, although we know not whether there ensued a second engagement, or how the war terminated; our author having left *Pegu* before any action happened^b.

e WE meet with nothing after this relating to the affairs of *Ava*, till the year 1545; when *Bramas in-* *Parà Mandarà*, the *Barma* king, having conquered *Pegu*, upon advice that the king of *Ava* *vade* intended to give a passage to the emperor of *Pandalu*'s troops, ready to invade his dominions, marched with a numerous army to attack *Prom*, a city belonging to *Ava*, and governed by a king or regulo, who was married to him of *Ava*'s daughter. The *Barmas*, by treachery, became masters of the city, which they demolished, after exercising unheard-of cruelty against the king and queen. From thence the victor proceeded to *Meleytay*, a fortress twelve leagues distant, which he took, after defeating the prince of *Ava*; and then went up the river with his forces in barks, with design to attack the city of *Ava*; but finding it in a very good posture of defence, and hearing that a powerful assistance was coming to it from the mountains of *Pandalu*, he returned to *Prom*, and put off his enterprise against *Ava* till he had strengthened himself by an alliance with some other powers^c.

f PARA MANDARA, after this, being engaged in other wars, no farther attempts were made *and conquer* against *Ava* during his reign. But as soon as his successor *Cbaumigrem* was settled in the *Ava* throne, which was in the year 1553, he formed in his mind the conquest of all the neigh- *A. D. 1553.* bouring kingdoms: of which, no doubt, that of *Ava* was one of the first, although the

^a See PURCH. pilgr. vol. iii. p. 158, & seq. before, p. 255.

^b VERTOMAN ap. Willes's collect. p. 402.

^c See

precise date of this event is not marked by authors. However, it must have been precedent ^a to his expedition against *Jangoma* and the *Laos*, which latter was performed in 1585, or at farthest ^d.

Pegu empire
destroyed.

UPON the death of *Chaunigrem*, in 1583, the king of *Ava*, who was his brother, and uncle to his successor *Pranjinoko*, refused obedience to his nephew; who thereupon invaded and slew him in single combat. After this, *Ava* remained in subjection to the crown of *Pegu* during the life of this monarch: but, at his death, the kingdom of *Pegu* being quite ruined, and the monarchy dissolved, the king of *Arrakan* took possession of *Pegu*; and it is not to be doubted but that, at the same time, *Ava* became independent, under a sovereign of its own. Who this new king was, does not appear from any of the authors before us. *Naydu*, eldest son of *Pranjinoko*, and king of *Ava*, we are told, deserting his father during the siege of *Pegu*, in 1599, was slain by order of his aunt, the queen of *Tangu*. There were, indeed, two other sons, named *Shimi Kolia* and *Markettâm*, prisoners at the court of *Arrakan*; one of whom might have been advanced to the throne of *Ava* by the king of *Arrakan*. But if so, it was not till after the expedition against *Sirian* in 1603 or 4, in which those princes accompanied the prince of *Arrakan*: and it is not likely that the throne of *Ava* should have been vacant so long. Besides, if that had been the case, it may be presumed that the king of *Arrakan* would have obliged his captive to have relinquished his title to *Pegu*, as a condition of his advancement: whereas we find him no more acting as lord of *Pegu* after the year 1607. ^b

Recovers
again.

HOWEVER that be, the king of *Ava* was a *Barma*, and, in all probability, of the *Pegu* line. ^c He was likewise a prince of courage, and had begun already to extend his dominions. It is probable that the king of *Arrakan*, seeing him grown powerful, yielded up the kingdom of *Pegu* to him, without disputing his title: after which he turned his arms against the king of *Tangu*, and obliged him to become tributary. The next, and indeed only farther transaction of this prince, which occurs in our authors, is his expedition against *Sirian*, which yielded to his arms, after it had more than once baffled the united forces of the king of *Arrakan* and his confederates. The taking of *Sirian* happened in 1613: and, two or three years after, *viz.* in 1615 or 16, we find the kingdom and city of *Jangomay* or *Jangoma* recovered by the king of *Ava*, from him of *Siam*, who reduced it about 1604.

Royal seat
removed

THIS, from his martial spirit, we take to be the same king with him who had before subjugated *Tangu*, and reduced *Sirian*. We are told that he was nephew to the former king, whom he succeeded, in prejudice to that prince's children. From whence it appears that *Ava* had two kings, since the great revolution of *Pegu* in the year 1600, unless we suppose this victorious prince to have been a nephew of *Pranjinoko*, last king of *Pegu*. However that be, it is certain that he removed the imperial seat from the city of *Ava* to that of *Pegu*, which began to flourish again after its late destruction: for in 1619 the *English* found him there with his court ^e. Since that time it is probable, that the kings or emperors of both those dominions have resided sometimes at one capital, sometimes at another; but it is uncertain when they transferred it last to *Ava*, where it at present is, and seems to have been fixed for above a century past: possibly because, being more towards the centre of the empire, the king ^e is nearer at hand to keep the conquered countries in obedience.

to Ava city.

HOWEVER that be, the court seems to have been at *Ava* about that time: for we are told that the *Lanjans*, or *Laos*, who had been carried into *Pegu* by the *Barma* conqueror, in process of time took arms, and forced their way home, with the destruction of all the *Peguers* who opposed them. Hereupon the king of *Ava*, perceiving it difficult to reduce them again by force, designed to surprise them under colour of amity; but died in 1647, before he could execute his intentions: and, to prevent his successor, they invaded his dominions, committing great spoil on the frontiers of *Pegu*, which they carried away without any opposition from the king of *Ava*; who, being hated by his subjects, feared they might take that opportunity to revolt. Notwithstanding this, they must have been obliged to submit shortly after: for in 1652 we find them tributary to *Ava*, as will appear in our account of those people ^f.

^a See PURCH. pilgr. vol. iii. p. 168. also before, p. 262.
deser. Tonquin, &c. p. 368.

^c See before, p. 271, & seq.

^f MARINI

C H A P. VI.

The country or kingdom of Jangoma.

- a **I**T hath been already observed, that *Europeans* know little or nothing of the dominions of the *Avan* empire, from its capital northwards, to the borders of *China*, either as to the different kingdoms and states it contains, or even the country and inhabitants. We only find, in general, from the journal of the four *Chineses* above-mentioned, that after they passed out of the provinces of *Yun-nan* they met with nothing but deserts for five days together: but from thenceforward the country put on another aspect; and they found plantations along the river every day. Whether this be the condition of the country along the frontiers of the two empires of *China* and *Ava*, as far as the territories of the *Laos*, which bounds the latter step eastward, we cannot determine, for want of sufficient information. We only know, in general, from the observations of the latitudes made at the capital of *Ava*, and along the borders of *China*, joined to the surveys of *Tibet* and *Yun-nan*, communicated by the Jesuits, that there must be a large space of country within the above-mentioned limits; and that, according to the tradition of the *Siamites*, the *Laos* and the other neighbouring empires, it was formerly inhabited by a very powerful people, who had formed a dominion of vast extent.

- THESE people were named *Tay yay*, that is, *the great freemen*, or *Franks*; so they are called at present, both by the *Chineses* and *Siameses*. They were situated to the north of these latter; who acknowledging themselves to be descended from them, take the name of *Tay me*, or *the little freemen*. Their country is called by the *Chineses*, *Ko-sang-pye*, and was, according to them, three months journey in length, and governed by priests^a. These people were probably called by the *Peguers*, *Sions* or *Siams*; which, in their language, we are told signifies *tree*: and from them, doubtless, the *Portugueses* took the name of *Siam*, for it is not known in the country itself. It is probable, likewise, that the *Laos* are descended from the same people; and hence they might have gotten the name of *Sions*, or *Siams Maons*; and the rather, as the *Siamites* are alleged to be derived from the *Laos*^b.

- HOWEVER that be, we think we may here find the original of *Mendez Pinto*'s two mighty empires of the *Siamon* and *Kalaminbam*, which he places in the region in question. He had heard some reports concerning the *Sions Maons*, or *the great Siams*; and of a country governed by priests: and, from these slender notices, has formed two mighty empires out of his own fertile imagination, as existing at the time when he was in *Pegu*^c. But not knowing the just distance of *China*, and other bordering countries, has made them larger than is consistent with the at present tolerably well known limits of this part of the *Avan* empire.

PERE DU HALDE, from the circumstance of this country being governed by priests, takes *Tay-yay* for *Lassa*, and *Ko-sang-pyi* for *Barantola*, where the Grand Lama of *Tibet* resides^d. But there is no manner of occasion for removing *Tibet* out of its place, in order to account for this singularity; since it is enough to suppose that one of the *Khûtuktûs*, or deputies of the Great Lama, resided formerly in these parts: and indeed the religion professed all over the farther peninsula of the *Indies* is evidently derived from that of *Tibet*.

- THE *Chinese* memoir places *Ko-sang-pyi*, or the country of the *Tay-yay*, to the west of *Leng*, one of the northern provinces of the *Laos*; and says that it is, at present, no more than a vast forest, contiguous to that of *Pabima Pan*, which lies to the west of the other^e. Whether this be fact, or only agreeable to the imperfect ideas which those strangers may have conceived of these parts, we know not: but this is certain, that *Jangoma* is the only country, in all the large region in question, which travellers have brought us acquainted with.

THE kingdom of *Jangoma*, or *Jangomay* (A), lies in the most south part of the above-mentioned region, directly north of *Siam*; having the territories of the *Laos* on the east, and the kingdom of *Ava proper* on the west. As to its extent we are quite at a loss, no traveller having mentioned it. However, we may conclude it not to be very inconsiderable, from the number of forces which we are told its king could raise; namely, ordinarily 350,000, and, upon occasion, one million^f.

- MENDEZ PINTO pretends, that, in the year 1545, he passed thro' the kingdom of *Janguma*, in his fictitious journey to the court of the *Kalaminban*: but we have more reason to believe our *Fitch* was there, who, in 1587, travelled from the city of *Pegu*, shaping his

^a LOUPIERE relat. Siam, p. 7. DU HALDE's descr. China, vol. i. p. 62.

^b LOUPIERE, ubi sup.

^c See before, p. 247 & 255.

^d DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 62.

^e Ibid.

^f HAYLS de reb. Japon.

&c. p. 748.

(A) *Pinto* writes, *Janguma*; *Meth. Li*, *Zangomay*; some *Jagoman*, and *Jang-m-m*.

course north-east, through many fruitful countries; and, at the end of twenty-five days, with the Karawân, arrived at the city of *Jamabey*. He found the country very flat, and full of rivers. Wild buffaloes and elephants were numerous: and the houses in the villages very ordinary, being made of canes, and covered with straw.

Jamabey, or Chiamay, city.

THE city of *Jamabey* is very populous, fair, and large: the houses built with stone, and the streets very wide^a. This is all the account *Fitch* gives us of this city, which we conceive to be the same called by *Mendez Pinto* and others *Chiamay*. According to the *Siameses*, this last is situated on the river *Menin*, which crosses *Jangoma*, as well as *Siam*, from north to south, about sixteen days journey more north than the frontiers of that kingdom: but, as the journies are by water, and against the stream, *Loubiere* computes the distance to be between sixty and seventy leagues at most^b. However, we reckon the distance to be much exaggerated by these foreigners; and, deducting for the windings of the river, judge *Chiamay* to lie north from *Siam*, in a direct line, not above ninety miles; nor to exceed the latitude of twenty degrees thirty minutes (B).

MENDEZ PINTO, and *Le Blanc* after him, makes a lake of the same name, called also by him *Kunabetee* and *Singapamor*; from whence he derives the *Menan*, which he terms *Ventrau*, and other great rivers^c: but the *Siameses*, who had been at the taking of *Chiamay* about 1657, knew nothing of the aforesaid lake.

The inhabitants.

FITCH says that *Jamabey* is in the country of the *Lanjoyannes* (or *Lenjeyans*), whom Europeans call *Jangomas*; by which he would intimate that these are different names for the same people, which may possibly be the case: but we may rather suppose them two different nations: for *Jangoma* lying between two great powers, those of *Ava* and the *Lanjans*, who are a branch of the *Laos*, has sometimes been subject to one, sometimes to the other. Before it was conquered by *Chaumigrem*, king of *Pegu*, about 1551, it had probably been, for a long series of years, in the hands of the *Lanjans*, who might have become more numerous than the old possessors, or even extirpated them. But whether *Jangomas* be the name of the old inhabitants, or only an appellation given to the *Lanjans* by the *Peguers*, *Siamites*, or some other of their neighbours, this is certain, that *Jangoma* is a different country from that of *Lanjang*; and the city of *Jamabey*, or *Chiamay*, 200 miles, perhaps, distant from its capital, which bears the same name^d.

Dress and diet.

THE inhabitants of *Jamabey*, or *Chiamay*, are well-set and strong. Their dress is very simple, consisting only in a cloth wrapped about them: and they wear bells in their privy members, like the people of *Pegu* and *Ava*. They go both with their head and feet bare; for, in all these countries, they wear no shoes. The women are fairer than those of *Pegu*. Provisions are exceeding plenty: but they make use of rice-cakes instead of bread; there being no wheat in all those parts.

Their funerals.

WHEN any are sick in these countries, they make a vow to offer meat to the devil in case they recover. On which occasion they then prepare a banquet, and invite their friends, who bring presents of fruit: and while they are dancing to the sound of drums, pipes, and other instruments, they offer meat to the devil, accompanied with much shouting, in order to drive him away. During their illness, a *Talepoy* or two sit by them every night, and sing, with a view to sooth the devil, that he may not do them hurt. When a person dies, his corpse is carried on a sort of frame-work, made of canes, with a covering at top, which is gilt all over. This machine, carried by fourteen or sixteen men, is preceded by several sorts of music, and accompanied by the male friends of the deceased; in which order being conveyed to a place out of town, it is there burnt. On this occasion the priests have a present of mats and linen. After the funeral is over, a feast is made, which is kept for two days; and then the wife of the deceased, attended with all her she-friends and neighbours, go to the place where the body was burned, and there lamenting, while they pick up the pieces of bones which remain unburned, bury them. This is all their mourning, excepting that both men and women shave their heads, in case the defunct be some very dear friend; otherwise not, for they are very fond of their hair^e.

Trade and commodities.

PIMENTA says the country of *Jangoma* (of which we suppose *Jamabey* or *Chiamay* to be the capital) abounds with musk, pepper, silk, silver, gold, and copper^f. But *Fitch* confines its native commodities to copper and benjamin: however making the rest to be brought in by the *Chineses*, who trade thither^g. In 1613 *Floris* sent goods from *Siam* to *Jangomay*, to try the trade there; and, in 1615 or 16, one *Thomas Samuel* was sent thither from the same country, upon the same account: at which time the king of *Pegu* and *Ava* invading *Jangomay*, con-

^a FITCH ap. Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1740. & 165.

^b FITCH, ubi sup. p. 1740.

^c LOUBIERE, ubi sup. p. 3.

^d Ibid. ubi sup.

^e Ibid. p. 1746.

^f PINTO's Voy. p. 40.

^g Ibid. ubi sup.

(B) This is as much, we think, as can be allowed for its latitude; since then it will lie mid-way between the frontiers of *Siam* and *Yun-nan* in *China*. Whereas

Loubiere's map puts it in twenty-five degrees; which is three degrees more north than the borders of *Yun-nan*, under the same meridian with *Chiamay*, really are.

a quered it from the king of *Siam*, and carried *Samuel*, with all other strangers, prisoners to *Pegu* °.

JANGOMA, or *Jangomay*, was formerly an independent kingdom; but when it first became subject to some of the neighbouring powers, does not appear from history. It seems to have been under a prince of its own in 1556, when *Cbaumigrem*, the great *Barma* king of *Pegu*, reduced it under his dominion, before he subdued the *Laos* ^p. It continued in this state during the reign of that monarch and his successor, whose brother was made governor of it, with the title of king, probably in the reign of their father, as we find another of his sons was, at his death, king or regulo of *Ava*. In the midst of the distractions which afflicted *Pegu* in 1598, the king of *Jangoma* was persuaded by the priests to dethrone his brother *Pranjinoko*: this he might easily have done, if, as it is said, he was able to bring into the field 350,000 men; and even a million in case of necessity^q. But while he delayed putting his design in execution (if, in reality, he had formed it), the kings of *Tangu* and *Arrakan* joining their forces, took the work out of his hands, and destroyed the kingdom of *Pegu*. However, to be revenged for the disappointment, as well as get share of the spoil, he, in the year 1600, joined with the *Rajah Api*, called the black king of *Siam*, against him of *Tangu*, whom they invaded together^r. But it does not appear what was the issue of that war. Possibly the king of *Tangu* bought his peace, by giving them part of the plunder, as he did the king of *Arrakan*.

c Not long after this, the king of *Siam* falling out with him of *Jangoma*, who, on the destruction of *Pegu*, was become independent, conquered his country, and also that of *Lan-jang*. This must happened between the years 1600 and 1605, in which last *Rajah Api* died. *Jangoma* continued as a province of *Siam* during the reign of his successor, who died in 1610; but, in 1612, we find the king of *Ava* and *Pegu* attempting the recovery of those countries^s; and about three years after got *Jangoma* into his possession^t. What changes have happened afterwards in this country we are not sufficiently acquainted with: we only know that, about the year 1657, the king of *Siam* took *Chiamay*, and carried away the inhabitants; with whom it was soon after repeopled by the king of *Ava* ^u. But, in 1690, we find it in the hands of its old masters the *Laos*; since we are told that *Lanjang* and *Chiamay* were then two principal cities^x.

° New collect. voy. vol. i. p. 441.
ap. Hayes, de reb. Japan. &c. p. 748.
ap. Purch. vol. v. p. 1006.

^p DA CRUZ ap. Purch. vol. iii. p. 168, & seq.
^r Ibid. ^s FLORIS, ubi supr. p. 439.
^u KEMP. ibid. ^x LOUBIERE, p. 3. KEMP. p. 26.

^q PIMENTA
^t METHOLD.

C H A P. VII.

The kingdom of Lawhos, or Laos

S E C T. I.

The bounds, name, mountains, rivers, provinces, and cities. Errors of geographers.

a **T**HE country of *Lawhos*, *Lao*, or of the *Laos*; of which *Jangoma* was originally, or by conquest, a part; taken in its largest sense, is bounded on the west by the dominions of *Ava* and *Siam*; on the north, with the province of *Yun-nan*, or *Jun-nan*, in *China* (A); on the east, with *Tong-king*; and on the south, with *Kamboja*. It is situated between the 15th or 16th and the 22d degrees (B) of latitude, and between the 119th and 122d degrees of longitude; so that the territories of the *Laos*, taken all together, may extend in length from south to north about 420 geographic miles, and in breadth from west to east about 180 (C), although most geographers make it scarce half so much. It is surrounded on all sides by moun-

(A) *Marini* places on the west *Pegu*, on the north *Ava*, with the province named *U and Lu*; extending it still more north, to the borders of the people called *Gnay*.

(B) *Marini* makes it extend from 14° to 22° 30', the space of 500 geographic miles from south to north. *Marini* hist. de *Tunq.* et de *Lao*, p. 329.

(C) That is, 483 *English* miles one way, and 203 the other; its extent northward, along the borders of *China*, is marked in the *Jesuits* map at above one degree and a half.

tains covered with forests (D), which serve as ramparts to secure it, and break the force of a rapid torrents which descend from thence into the plains^a.

Name.

THE name generally given by travellers to this region is *Lao*, or the country of the *Laos*; by some, as *Pinto*, written *Laubos*, or *Lawbos* (E). *Da Cruz* says^b, the *Laos* are by some (but whom he nameth not) called *Siones Maons* (F); and *Marini* says, that this country is more properly called the kingdom of the *Lanjens*, than of *Lao*^c. But we apprehend that this is giving to the whole, what belongs only to a part, which has for its capital *Lanjan*, or *Lan-jang*; as the northern part, or perhaps the whole, has for its metropolis *Leng*. With regard to the name of *Siones Maons*, it seems to be given to the *Laos* on account of the great *Siams*, called *Tay-yay*^d, who possessed the country to the west of *Lao*, and of whom the *Laos* probably are the remains.

Mountains and rivers.

THE country of *Lao*, or of the *Laos*, seems to be for the general flat, and to have scarce any hills or mountains but those which encompass it on all sides, and serve as barriers against the potent kingdoms with which it is inclosed. From these mountains descend infinite rivulets, which drain into one large river, that crosses the whole region from north to south (G). The source of this river has been but little known to former geographers; but the Jesuits, of late, have fixed it with great precision. According to their map of *China*, it rises in the north-west borders of the province of *Yun-nan* (H). Near its source it is called *Lan-tsan Kyang*; and where it enters the kingdom of *Lao*, within ten miles of the east border (I), it bears the name of *Ku-long Kyang*. The *Laos* calls it *Menan Kong*; in its passage southwards it washes the cities of *Lê*, *Kyong-kong*, *Kyang-seng*, and *Lan-chang* (K) (or *Lang-jang*); afterwards it enters the kingdom of *Kamboja*, which it crosses, and falls into the sea at *Bonsak*.

The Menan Kong.

FROM *Kyang-kong*, downwards to its mouth, it carries large barks: but from *Lê*, upwards, it bears none: so that one is obliged to travel from thence to *Yun-nan* by land^e. Although such a number of streams fall into this river, yet, we are told, that it never overflows, by reason of a causey, fifteen or sixteen feet high, which runs along its banks, and prevents inundations, even in those years when the rains have fallen in the greatest abundance. As soon as this river enters *Kamboja*, its waters seem to change their qualities; so that the fish, which pass the frontiers, die immediately: in like manner, such as ascend the stream from *Kamboja* into *Lao*, feel the same effect; which surprising circumstance has given occasion to the proverb,

Strange effect.

Each in his own kingdom. The rivers usually swell with the heavy rains, which begin to fall in *May*; and sometimes with the quantity of snow, when it melts on the mountains of *Tibet*, which are seen from *Lao*. This great increase of water continues commonly from *September* to *January*, yet without interrupting commerce, or the transportation of merchandizes. It is true, that they who are obliged to ascend the stream are extremely incommoded, not only on account of haling the bark along, but also from the rays of the sun, which cast a heat like that of a furnace.

Navigation dangerous.

FOR all this, it is much safer to sail against the stream than with it; for the current is so rapid, that the bark seems to fly as swift as an arrow out of a bow; and, by the violence of the motion, is often overset, or sunk downright, and all the goods lost. For this reason, when they arrive at the place which separates the two kingdoms, it is necessary to unload the bark, destroy one part of it, and make use of waggons to convey the commodities for the space of three miles over land; while the barge-men employ ten days in haling up the residue of the vessel through the falls by force of arms. A missionary proposed to remedy this inconvenience by means of sluices; but the king would not consent to destroy what he deemed a strong barrier.

Errors about it.

TRAVELLERS have fallen into errors, with regard to the course of this river, misled, doubtless, by the reports of the people in these parts. *Marini* says, that a few leagues beyond *Lao* it begins to carry boats, and divides into two great branches (L): one, running west, passes through *Pegu* into the gulf of *Bengâl*; the other, forcing through rocks, spreads in several

^a MARINI hist. Tunq. & Lao, p. 331. p. 329.

^d See before, p. 283.

^b Ap. PURCH. vol. iii. p. 168.

^c DU HALDE descript. China, vol. i. p. 63.

^e MARINI, ubi supr.

(D) *Kämpfer* says, it is separated from the neighbouring states by forests and defarts. Voy. to Japan, p. 26.

(E) The *Chineses* call them *Lau*, and their country *Lau Chwa*, or kingdom of *Lau*. *Lao* is the Portuguese pronunciation.

(F) From this name, possibly, *Pinto* has made his *Siamon* and *Mons*, as before has been observed. *Sion*, is the Portuguese way of pronouncing *Siam*.

(G) Much after the same manner that the *Nile* does *Egypt*, to which this country bears some resemblance, excepting that the *Menan Kong* does not overflow the neighbouring lands. Hence it is perhaps, that, as *Kämpfer* observes, the soil, being a fat clay, is so hard in summer that they thresh their rice on it.

(H) Latitude 27° 30' Long. from *Paris* 96° 40' and 27° 20' west of *Peking*.

(I) Lat 21° 40' Long. 99° 5'

(K) Afterwards, p. 64. a different river is said to pass by *Kyang Kong* and *Lanjang*. But the memoir, whence our account is taken, is not very exact.

(L) Mention is made of other rivers in *Lao*, as the *Menan Tay*, or *Lay*, which is full of rocks; it rises in a mountain near the city *Kemarat*, and falls into the *Menan Kong* near *Bankiop*. 2. The river of *Siam*, rises in mount *Kyang-Daw*. 3. The *Kyanghay*, or *Lay*, falls into the principal river of *Siam*, called *Menan*. *Du Halde* China, vol. i. p. 62.

a chanel through the kingdom of *Lao*, and divides it from north to south¹. On the other hand, *Kämpfer* tells us, that a branch of the *Ganges* runs through this country, and falling into the river of *Kamboja* renders it navigable². But the map of the Jesuits, above-mentioned, discovers these informations to be false, no less than that of *Mendez Pinto*, who derives all the great rivers of this peninsula from a fictitious lake.

We meet with very little in authors touching either the cities or provinces of this kingdom. *Marini* indeed tells us, that it contains seven provinces³; but mentions not the name of one. *cities.* As to cities, besides *Jamabay*, or *Chiamay*, the capital of *Jangoma*, we find the names of several others; with an account of some of them, and their distances one from another, in a journal of some *Chinese* merchants, of the road they took from *Siam* to *China* in the year 1652.

b Whether all the names of places are those used in the country, or by the *Chinese* only, we cannot resolve: but, as that journal contains nearly all which we have relating to the geography of this region, we shall give our readers some extracts from it.

THESE merchants set out on horieback from *Kyang-hay* (M), or *Kyau*, on the borders of *Siam*, and in seven days got to *Kyang-seng*; in seven others they came to *Kemerat*; and in eight more to *Leng*, capital of *Laos*. The way hitherto was full of woods, rivers, and settlements, for the most part impassable for waggons (N); but free from either wild beasts or robbers. From *Leng* they were seven days going to *Lé*, and eleven more on the road to *Meng*; in all forty stages: here they turned northward to get into *Tun-nan* (O), from whence, in a short time, they arrived in *China*⁴. Here then we have an account of a road almost through the whole extent of *Lao*; from south to north. It is true, that this itinerary is defective, inasmuch as the situation neither of *Kyang hay* nor *Meng* (the two terms of the journey) is fixed, by their distance being marked from some known place. For all that, it is of considerable use, as the positions of the intermediate places are in good measure ascertained; the rather as we find two of them, *Lé* and *Kyang-seng*, are seated on the *Menan Kong*. To these may be added *Kyang-kong*, lying between those two cities, and *Lan-chang* (or *Lan-jang*), standing lower down than *Kyang-seng*, upon the same river. More than this, we have the latitude of *Lan-jang* (if it may be depended on) to regulate the position of the whole. So that, by means of these materials, joined to the description which is given of the above-mentioned places, we may be said to know more of the inland parts of *Lao*, than of any other country in the farther peninsula of *India*, *Siam* and *Pegu* excepted.

BUT, before we proceed farther, it will be necessary to say something more with respect to the situation and dimensions of *Lao*, which the geographers seem to have been much mistaken in. Mr. *De L'Isle*, it is true, has given this country its due extent from south to north; but has reduced its bounds from east to west to a narrow gut of land. He has likewise placed *Lanchang* in twenty degrees of latitude (P); in consequence of which situation *Kyang-seng*, *Leng*, and other cities, are placed too much northward; and the distance between *Kyang-hay* and *Meng*, which is forty days journey, is reduced to less than half that measure. This was owing to his relying too much on *Loubiere's* map of *Siam*, which places the northern borders of that country in twenty-three degrees of latitude; and consequently near one degree and a half more northward than the southern bounds of *China*. Mr. *Bellin*, in his late map (Q), has given *Siam* the same extent; but, that the frontiers of the two kingdoms might not appear to break-in upon each other, he has taken care to make those of *China* give way, by removing them two or three degrees more eastward than they ought.

THIS procedure in Mr. *Bellin* is the more surprising, as he could not but know the bounds of *China* had been determined both by measures and astronomical observations (R); whereas it does not appear that those of *Siam* towards the north were at all regulated mathematically, or that the map, published by *Loubiere*, was drawn with any accuracy; on the contrary, that author declares himself, that he does not think it correct. Methinks therefore Mr. *Bellin* ought to have taken the contrary course; and, instead of altering the bounds of *China*, as laid down in the Jesuits map, have placed those of *Siam* three or four degrees more to the south. By this way only room can be made for inserting the places mentioned in the *Chinese* journal: and, in this case, *Lan-chang* must be removed lower. Which shews that the latitude

¹ MARINI, ubi supr. p. 333, & seq.

² DU HALDE, ubi supr. p. 61.

³ KÄMPFER hist. Japan. p. 27.

⁴ MARINI, p. 359.

(M) In the journal, the word *Meang* is prefixed to the name of each place; but as it signifies no more than city, or colony, we have omitted it. This word is variously written by authors, *Moang*, *Muang*, *Mong*, *Meuang*, *Mehang*, *Moan*, and the like.

(N) *Kämpfer* observes, p. 26. that the road from *Siam* to *Lao* is troublesome by land, on account of the high mountains; and by water, on account of the rocks and cataracts in the river *Menan*, which runs through *Siam*.

(O) In the original *Vi-nan*, which, with the *Vi* reversed, makes *Yun-nan*.

(P) Mr. *Bellin*, in his map of *Siam*, *Tonquin*, &c. inserted in Mr. *Prevost's* hist. gen. des voy. tom. ix. puts *Lan-chang* near half a degree higher.

(Q) Mentioned in the foregoing note.

(R) As the map of the Jesuits was not published till after the time of Mr. *De L'Isle*, he is the more excusable.

of eighteen degrees, giving to it by *Marini*, must be much nearer the truth than that assigned either by him or Mr. *De L'Isle*.

Account of
travellers

THE country of *Lao* considered at large, is commonly represented as subject to a single monarch; and *Marini* expressly affirms as much, informing us farther, that *Lao* contains seven provinces; that the royal seat was at *Lanjan*; and that the proper name of *Lao* is *Lanjans*^k. On the other hand, we find by the journal of the *Chinese* merchants, who travelled through the country much about the same time when the missionary was there; that there were two kingdoms within the region of *Labos*, or *Laos*, namely, *Kemerat* and *Leng*: which latter, they tell us, is more properly called *Labos*; and that its chief city is the capital of *Labos*: and a third author names a fourth kingdom, named *Tbiem*, with a certain wild people called *Ke-moy*, who have neither king nor religion; both bordering on *Kochinchina* to the north-west^l. To reconcile these different accounts, we must suppose the following things, viz. that *Marini* ascribes to the whole what only belongs to a part of the country: that the whole is divided into several distinct kingdoms or parts: that it is inhabited by several nations; different, at least, in name and interest: that the *Lanjans* are, in this sense, a distinct people from the *Labos*; although originally they might have been all the same people, going under the name of *Labos*, or *Laos*, till they came to be divided under different princes.

very defective.

MARINI is not the only traveller who has applied to the whole what only belongs to a part. *Kæmpfer*, speaking of the *Laos*, informs us, that their two chief cities are *Lanjang* and *Cbiamay*^m. But if *Lao* was here to be understood in its full extent, we should imagine *Leng* would have been joined with *Lanjang*; and not *Cbiamay*, which is a city of *Jangomay*, a province or part belonging to the jurisdiction of *Lanjang*. It is evident from hence, that *Kæmpfer* knew nothing of the provinces of *Lao*, to the north of *Lanjan*; and although *Marini* extends the country of *Lao* as far as *China*, yet he supposes the whole to be under the jurisdiction of the king of *Lanjan*; and to be inhabited by *Lanjans*. At the same time both these authors acknowledge *Lanjan* to be inhabited by the *Laos*; only the latter says, that the name of *Lanjans* more properly belongs to them.

Division of
Lao.

THE defects of *European* travellers is in good measure supplied by the *Chinese* memoirs: but although *Lanchang*, or *Lanjang*, is therein occasionally spoken of, it is not said to be the capital of a kingdom; nor is any mention made of the kingdom of *Lanjang*, because the author of it does not enter into the description of any place which he was not at; and therefore, there may have been other kingdoms or states in *Labos*, besides those two specified in the journal: for this reason we shall not pretend to divide this country into its particular kingdoms or provinces, but content ourselves with dividing it into two great parts only; one called the northern, or proper *Lao*; the other, the southern *Lao*, or kingdom of *Lanjang*.

^k MARINI hist. Tunq. & Lao, p. 329, 359.

^l CHOISY voy. de Siam, p. 563.

^m KÆMPFER, p. 27.

S E C T. II.

The southern Lao, or kingdom of Lanjang.

The name.

THE kingdom of *Lanjan*, *Lanjang*, or *Lanchang*, as others pronounce it, would seem to most persons to derive its name from that of its capital city: but we are told, it takes that denomination from the great numbers of elephants with which the country abounds; the word *Lanjens*, or *Lanjans*, signifying properly, *thousands of elephants*ⁿ.

Its dimensions.

WE cannot precisely determine the extent of this southern *Lao*, or *Lau*, from south to north, authors not having so much as mentioned any city subordinate to that of its capital; or indeed in the whole country, excepting *Cbiamay* may be considered as one. However, upon a supposition that *Kyang-seng*, which is situated on the *Menan Kong*, to the north of *Lanjang*, belongs to the northern province, and is not far from the frontiers of the southern; this latter will extend to near the nineteenth degree of latitude, and consequently, containing almost four degrees in extent from north to south, will have the larger half of *Lao* to its share; as its breadth from west to east will be equal to that of the other; but, in case we comprise *Jangoma* within its limits, the breadth will be augmented perhaps a hundred miles, or more. Upon this footing, the province or kingdom of *Lanjang* will be near twice as large as the northern *Lao*.

Climate very
healthy.

THE climate of this country is somewhat more temperate than that of *Tongking*, but exceedingly more healthful: so that one meets with old men, of a hundred and a hundred-and-twenty years of age, who are as robust and vigorous as if they were but fifty.

ⁿ MARINI, p. 337.

(S) The *Chinese* in about 1652, and *Marini* in 1657 or 1658.

a^r THE soil is generally very good, being rendered fruitful by a great number of canals cut from the great river (*Menan Kong*); which serve both to water the lands on each side, and drain-off the streams, made either by the torrents descending from the hills, or the great rains which fall at stated times, so that they never make any marshes or stagnant pools in the country. It is remarkable, that the lands on the eastern side of the river are vastly better and more fertile than those on the western side: the very animals, such as elephants and unicorns (A), are larger. The rice too is incomparable, and of a particular scent as well as flavour. The forest and other trees are high, strait, and, for the general, incorruptible; qualities wanting in those on the western side, where they are ill-shaped, and the rice so hard that it is scarce fit for boiling. As soon as the rains begin to cease, certain southerly winds blow, and the lands, which had been sow with rice immediately after the harvest, produce a kind of scum, which, covering this champain like snow for several miles, is hardened with the sun, and becomes solid salt. There is so great a quantity of it produced in this manner, that not only the whole kingdom is supplied with it, at a very trifling expence, but enough is left to serve strangers, who come every year and carry away as much as they think fit. Then the new rains, which succeed this second gathering, cleanse and meliorate the soil in such a manner as gives the rice that delicious taste above-mentioned, which the rice of other countries hath not.

THE principal drugs found in this kingdom are *benjamin* and *lakka* ^b.

THE *benjamin* is reckoned the best in the east, and is found in great abundance. The tree, Benjamin, from which it distils, grows mostly in the mountains. The leaves are like those of the chestnut-tree, and the flower very beautiful, being white and odoriferous like those of orange-trees. The fruit likewise is sweet scented, of the shape and bigness of an acorn, but very ill-tasted, and degenerates when planted in foreign soils; yet, as the gum produces a great revenue to the king, the *Lanjans* are forbidden to sell the fruit to strangers.

THE *lakka*, or *lakre*, which is used in making *Spanish* wax, is nothing but a certain kind of earth, found in forests round about the ant-hills, and with which those insects cover the surface of their little territories for the use of their magazines.

THERE is not better ivory, nor greater plenty of it, in any country than this; and no wonder, since it has its name from the number of elephants found in it, as hath been already mentioned. But the unicorn's (or rather rhinoceros's) horn, is the thing most prized by the *Lanjans*; from a belief, that whoever is possessed of one may command fortune. And as some have more virtue than others, when a person is advanced to a new post, he sells the horn which he had before, and buys another, of a better kind, at the expence of several hundred crowns. His next care is to hide it so effectually that he shall be in no danger of having it stolen, and so deprived of all the good-luck which they think inseparable from it ^c.

As the forests are of great extent, and the plains enamelled with variety of flowers, they make abundance of honey, wax, and cotton. One meets also with several mines of iron, lead, and tin, in which they are at work. Gold and silver also are found here; but the inhabitants gather those metals out of certain places of the river, by means of iron nets. The utensils which are made with what they thus fish up, bring great advantages to the kingdom, but not so much as the king could wish. From the neighbouring countries they have red amber and musk, with which they drive a great trade. The amber comes from the kingdom of *Ava*, and is found in the forests at the roots of certain very old trees, which grow among the rocks and inaccessible places. The musk is brought from the kingdom of *Gnay* (B), and taken from a bag joined to the navel of an animal, which the *Chineses* call *ye hyang*, or the *musk* stag. The *Lanjans* make likewise a counterfeit musk, with ambergris, and the juice drawn from the body of a cat, which they call *algalia*. This mixture yields a more agreeable and mild smell than the pure musk; and this kind of musk is what first appeared in Europe ^d.

THE *Lanjans* make great advantage of several other animals, particularly buffaloes and oxen; whose number is almost infinite, and which are employed in the service of the plains. Their garden fruit is likewise very profitable to them, as well as their excellent rice. Their rivers abound with fish of several kinds; some so large and heavy, that two men can hardly carry one of them. The smaller sorts are caught in such plenty, that a hundred-weight of them may be had for the value of five-pence. They pickle them, as we do herrings, and the poor eat them with their rice; which is their ordinary food ^e. According to *Kæmpfer*, *Lao* produces precious stones, especially rubies; also pearls, called by the *Siamites*, *muk*; which that author esteems

^a MARINI, p. 337.

^b Ibid. hist. Tunq. & Lao, p. 332, 335, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 337, & seq.

^d Ibid. p. 337, & seq.

^e Ibid. p. 341.

(A) By *unicorns*, probably, are to be understood *rhinoceroses*.

(B) The *Gnay* are a nation bordering on *China*,

with which they have much commerce. *Marini*, p. 331. They seem to lie on the north-west part of the upper *Lao*.

the more strange, as the country does not lie near any salt sea^f: but probably his surprize a would have ceased, had he known of the above-mentioned saline quality of the land, which must needs be communicated to the flooding waters.

Provinces.

THE kingdom of *Lanjans* contains seven provinces, and several considerable cities; for what *Marini* ascribes to *Lao* in general^g, we apply, for the reason already taken notice of, to *Lanjan* in particular. But this correction, if it be one, is of no great advantage to us, since that author neither describes, nor so much as mentions the name of any one of them all, excepting the capital *Lanjan*. On this occasion, we cannot forbear censuring the negligence of travellers, especially the missionaries, who have frequented this, and the neighbouring countries (C); yet in their relations treat of them so superficially, that the reader is no way benefited by what they publish. Thus geography receives little or no improvement from the b persons from whom only it can expect any; and is more obliged to the small journal of some *Chinese* merchants, so often mentioned, than the united informations of all the *European* missionaries, who have spent several years in travelling over the country. It is this silence of *Marini*, the almost sole author who treats expressly of *Lao* (D), which supports our division of that region into upper and lower, as well as our opinion, that his relation is to be confined to the latter only, although he would make it extend to the whole. For we impute his silence to his want of knowing the country; and, on his want of knowledge, we found our dissent from him. However, if *Marini* has mentioned but one city, amongst a great number (for one author says, there are no fewer than thirty-eight cities^h in the kingdom of *Lanjang*); other travellers have not done more; and what gives him the preference to all the rest, he is c the only one we meet with who describes it.

City of Lanjan.

LANJAN, written also *Lanjang*, and *Lan-chang*, according to the *Chinese* pronunciation, is by *Marini*, *Choisy*, and *Kæmpfer*, reckoned the capital of the kingdom of *Lao*; which words we restrain however to the territories of the *Lanjans*, for the reasons already mentioned. It is the city where the king usually resides, in the latitude of eighteen degrees. It is defended on one side by good ditches, and walls exceeding high; on the other by the great river (E).

King's palace.

The king's palace is of so vast extent that it may well pass for a city, both with respect to its magnitude, and the number of people who inhabit it. It appears to the view at a great distance; and is admirable, as well for its structure, as the symmetry of the buildings which compose it. The royal apartment is adorned with a magnificent portal, and a great number d of beautiful chambers, accompanied with a grand salon or hall: the whole, built with incorruptible wood, is adorned both on the inside and outside with excellent bas-reliefs, all so delicately gilded, that they seem to be covered rather with plates, than leaves of gold.

FROM the king's apartment you enter into very spacious courts, where you behold a long series of houses, all of bricks, and covered with tiles, in which usually dwell his wives of the second class; and beyond them another range of buildings, equally neat and uniform, for the officers belonging to the court. It would require a volume, says *Marini*, to give an exact account of the riches, gardens, and other quarters, of this sumptuous mansion.

The houses.

THE houses of the grandees, and persons of condition, are very high and fair, well contrived and ornamented: but those of the inferior people are no better than huts. The priests e alone have the privilege of building their houses and convents with brick or stone. People of fashion, instead of carpets and other furniture, make use of certain mats made of reeds, so very finely wrought, and adorned with figures of various kinds, that, in our author's opinion, nothing looks more beautiful or agreeable to the sight. With them they commonly hang the walls of their houses and their chambers, both within and without. Their apartments are exceeding neat; and they take more than ordinary care to keep them soⁱ.

^f KÆMPFER, ubi supr. p. 26.

^g MARINI, p. 348, & 359.

^h DE FARIA, *Asia Portug.* vol. ii. p. 11.

ⁱ MARINI, p. 341, & seq.

(C) The like may be said with regard to his account of *Tong-king*; also *Borri's* of *Kochin-china*; in short, the voyages of *Alexander de Rhodes*, and other missionaries, into those countries.

(D) *Gio. Philip. Marini*, a Jesuit, published several relations in *Italian*, in five books: among which those of *Tonquin* and *Lao* have been translated into *French*,

and published in 1666. From a note of Mr. *La Croze*, *hist. du Christ.* p. 51. the account of *Lao* seems to have been written by *Leria*, a Jesuit; for we have not seen the *Italian* of *Marini*.

(E) Or the *Menan Kong*; which, according to the *Chinese* journal, afterwards enters *Kamboja*, as if at no great distance.

S E C T. III.

The Northern Lao, or Laho.

a **W**E consider the territories within these limits as the proper country of the people called *Extant*. *Lao, Lau, or Labo* (A), distinct from that of the *Lan-jans*, which bounds it on the south. Its extent, from south to north, is about three degrees, or 21⁰ *English* miles; and its breadth the same with the whole country in general, already mentioned.

THE country, soil, and produce, are much of the same nature with those of *Lan-jiang*. However, every province seems to have something peculiar to it in those respects. But the number of provinces is not mentioned by authors, unless we suppose *Marini's* seven to be comprehended in both the northern and southern *Lao*. All the account we have, relating to them, is contained in the *Chinese* memoir or journal, so often before cited; and that only mentions two or three large provinces at most, each of which has under it several lesser provinces or districts, whereof we find the names, with some light concerning their situations: the whole subject to *Ava*.

b 'The most southern of the provinces or districts mentioned in the *Chinese* journal, is *Kyang-seng*, seven days journey from *Kyang-bay*, or *Kyay*, on the frontiers of *Siam*. This is all we meet with relating to this province, excepting that, as to its situation, it lies north of the province, excepting that, as to its situation, it lies north of the province or district of *Kyang-bay*, and south of that of *Kemerat*. The chief city of that name also stands on the river *Menân Kong*, which from thence flows southward, into the kingdom of *Lan-chang* or *Lanjan*. The denomination of *Mohang* is prefixed to all the local names inserted in the journal, and signifies, as it is applied, either province, district, colony, or city (B): but we have omitted c it, to avoid a needless repetition^a.

THE province of *Kemerat* next occurs. It is bounded on the east by that of *Lé*, on the north by *Lang* (C), on the south by *Kyang-seng* and *Kyang-bay*. After this account of its bounds there is subjoined another; for, we are told, *Vay, Rong, Ngong, Labi, Maa, and Laa*, lie to the east; *Hang, Kroa, Loey, Jang, and Pen*, to the north. Possibly the first bounds respect the province of *Kemerat* in general, and the latter relate to the district of *Kemerat* in particular; for it is added, that these eleven cities or colonies are in the jurisdiction of *Kemerat*. We are farther informed, that it is one day's journey from the city of *Hang* to *Kroa*; and the same from *Loey* to *Jang*. This province of *Kemerat* is said to be 400 *senes* (D) in compass, and eight days journey in length: its capital city, of the same name, seven days d journey from *Kyang-sang*, is situate on the river *Menân-tay*, or *Menân-lay*, which falls into the *Menân-kong* towards the town of *Bankiop*; lying, as we judge, to the south-east from *Kemerat*, and between the cities of *Kyang-kong* and *Kyang-seng*. When the *Chinese* passed through it, a king resided there, named *Prachyau Otang*, who was tributary to *Hawa* or *Ava*, and sent ambassadors thither every year with his acknowledgements, consisting of two small shrubs, one having its leaves and flowers of gold, and the other of silver.

In this country they have the use of fire-arms, great and small cannon, muskets, *zagays* (or darts), and cross-bows^b. While the *Tartars* were subduing *China*, in the last century, a great number of *Chinese* fugitives out of *Yun-nan* (E) fell upon, and reduced, the neighbouring territories, among which was *Kemerat*, whose inhabitants abandoned the city. Before e the *Chinese* drove those people out, they went every year to trade with them, carrying velvets, and other silks, camblets, carpets, hair, blue and black callico, musk, quicksilver, kori shells, and bonnets (or hats); kettles, and other utensils of copper; precious stones of a green colour, emeralds, gold, silver, and china-ware. In exchange for these commodities they returned with cotton-thread, ivory, an earth or medicinal paste called *zhadam*; a sort of medicinal wood named *ingo* by the *Portugueses*, and *maha ing* by the *Siameses*; likewise opium; *kotso*, a kind of medicinal root so called; and white linen cloth. All these commodities were brought from *Ava*; and the *Chinese* repaired to *Kemerat* in the three first months, in order to carry them home in *April*^c.

^a DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 61.^b MARINI, p. 52, & seq.^c Ibid. p. 64, & seq.(A) Or terminating with an *s*, *Laos, Laus, Labos*, to denote more precisely the plural in our language. The country itself is also called *Laos*.(B) *Moang, Mohang, Mubang, or Merg*, signifies also kingdom sometimes, in the language of these countries.(C) By *Lang*, perhaps, is to be understood *Leng*.(D) This must be but a small circumference, and no way consistent with the length of eight stages; since we are told these *senes*, or cords, are but of eight fathoms each.(E) If this be not an interpolation of the missionaries, *Pi-nan* must be a different province or district from that of *Yun nan*.

Leng king-
dom.

THE kingdom of *Leng*, or more properly *Labos* (F), has on the south *Kemerat*; on the east *Luan* and *Rong-faa*; on the north *Put*, *Pling*, *Ken*, *Kaam*, *Paa*, *Saa*, *Boonoy*, *Ningneha*, *Kaan*, and *Gbin-tay*, cities all depending on it; on the west it is bounded by *Ko-fang-pyi*, the country formerly possessed by the *Tay-yay*, or great *Siams*; and farther west is the great forest of *Pabima pan*. They reckon eight cities or places in this kingdom, each containing a garrison of 1000 men.

Soil and pro-
duce.

THE country of *Leng* produces rice in abundance; buffaloes, stags, and other animals, are common, and their flesh cheap; but fish is scarce. Five days journey north from *Mobang Leng*, there are mines of gold, silver, and copper; also a kind of red sulphur, which has a very stinking smell. Two hundred *senes* or cords from the city, on the same side, is a pit or mine of precious stones, full 100 *senes* deep, out of which they get rubies, some of them as big as a walnut; also emeralds, or green stones, of which the king of *Labos* has one as large as an orange. There are stones likewise of other colours: and a brook, which runs through the mine, carries several down its stream, which sometimes weigh two or three *mas*, that is, a quarter or third part of an ounce. The king draws from the silver mine above 360 *katis* annually. They are *Chinese*s who work in, and direct it. The merchants of *Kemerat*, *Lê*, *May*, *Teng*, *Maa*, *Meng*, *Daa*, and *Pan*, repair to this mine, which is inclosed by mountains, 300 *senes* in height, covered with grass, preserved continually fresh and green by the dew.

Mines of gold,
silver, rubies.

THERE is found here a medicinal root, called *tong-quey* by the *Chinese*s, and by the *Siamese*s *kot-wba-bwa*. Also a tree named *vendez-bang*, which bears flowers about the thickness of one's finger, of a very agreeable smell, and of various colours, as red, yellow, white, and black. The fruit, when come to perfection, has the shape of a duck; and the dew falls in greatest quantity in the parts where the trees most abound.

Trade and com-
modities.

THE inhabitants of *Leng* traffick with these neighbours, who come to fetch their commodities, consisting in precious stones, gold, silver, tin, lead, sulphur, both red and common; cotton spun and unspun, tea, lak, japan, or brazil-wood, and the medicinal root above-mentioned. The merchants of *Mobang* (G) bring them elephants; the *Chinese*s raw and manufactured silk, with white hair, as fine as silk, and civet. Of this hair, taken from a certain animal (H), the great tufts are made which adorn the elephant's ears, on which the king of *Siam* rides, and hang down to the ground; also the tufts worn by the *Chinese*s on their bonnets. The western merchants from *Tay-yay* and *Pama-bang* (or *Ava*) bring iron, yellow and red sanders, linen, chints, or painted calicoes, venison, a kind of red medicinal paste, opium, and other commodities of *Hindûstân*; which they exchange for gold, silver, precious stones, &c. Lastly, those of *Kemerat* and *Kyang-hay* bring cows and buffaloes, to barter for silver, tin, and sulphur^d.

City of Leng.

THE city of *Leng*, capital of the *Labos*, is eight days journey from *Kemerat*, and situated on both sides of the river *Menân Tay*, or *Menân Lay*, which runs thence to *Kemerat*. It has neither walls nor fortrefs; being inclosed only with palisades; and in circuit about 400 *senes* or cords, each twenty *Chinese* fathoms. Rice is so plenty in this city, that one may have fifty or sixty pounds of it for a few halfpence. Fish, indeed, is scarce; but, to make amends, the markets abound with the flesh of buffaloes, stags, and other animals. The months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, are the season for fruit, of which all sorts may be had there, found in the kingdom of *Siam*, excepting the *Tbûrian*, or *Dûrian*, and the *Mangûstan*. The king of *Leng*, or *Laos*, is tributary to *Hawa*, or *Pama-bang*; and an ambassador is sent annually from this capital to pay the tribute. This does not hinder the *Labos* (I) from appointing a successor, when their king dies; but they are obliged to notify it to the king of *Hawa*, or *Ava*. The king of *Labos* employs but one minister of state; and, for his revenue, besides 360 *katis*, which he receives yearly from the mine, to the north of *Leng*, he raised 860 more out of the rest of his territories.

Tributary to
Ava.

Lê province.

THE *Chinese* memoir gives no account of *Lê*, and its province or district, farther than that the city is seven days journey distant from *Leng*, towards *China*, and situate on the *Menân Kong*^e. According to our estimation it seems to lie north-eastward from *Leng*.

Meng pro-
vince.

THE next place mentioned in the journal is *Meng*, eleven days journey from *Lê*. This, we are told, is the capital of a particular province (K), which has on the west *Pan* and *Kaa*, on the south *Tse*, and on the east *Chiong* and *Kûi*, both dependent on *Vinan*, or *Tun-nan*. It is

^d MARINI, p. 62, & seqq.

^e Ibid.

(F) According to this explanation, the name of *Labos*, or *Laos*, is peculiar to this province; and from thence extended to the whole country.

(G) The name of the city or province is here omitted; but what it should be we cannot determine, excepting perhaps *Lan-chang*, the country of elephants.

(H) Perhaps the oxen; which, of the country of

Koko Nor, between *China* and *Tibet*, are famous for their fine hair.

(I) It is observable, that the *Labos* are no-where called *Lanjans* through all this journal.

(K) There seems to be some mistake here; for there is not room for so large a country in these quarters.

a seventeen days journey in length, from north to south, and about seven from east to west. The whole country is without the tropic; for the inhabitants never see the sun directly over their heads. A river crosses this province, which rises from a mountain in the north, and falls into the *Men-in Kong*. They reckon in it eighteen cities, which depend on the capital.

THE soil of *Meng* produces all sorts of fruits which are found in *Siam*, excepting the *Durian* *Scil* and *pro-* and *Mangist.in*. There are mines of *kalin*, or tin, on the west side; of silver, copper, and *ducc*. iron, towards the north; and on the south side there is one of salt. The musk animal is found in this province, but chiefly about *Pang*, *Chay-daw*, and *Kong*, all three depending on *Vinan*. Many also are caught in the district of *Tay-yay*. It is as big as a young goat, with a purse under his belly, three or four inches thick; which, when cut, seems to be a piece *Musk animal* of fat, or bacon. They dry it till it may be reduced to powder; and then sell it in the country for its weight in silver. The natives being prohibited from selling the true bags to strangers, they make counterfeit ones, which they fill with its blood, rotten wood, and other ingredients. The peasants bring great quantities of them to *Meng*, which they exchange for things of small value: but the buyers sell them again to foreigners at a pretty dear rate.

THIS is all which is contained in the *Chinese* memoir or journal relating to *Lahos* or *Laos*, except a few particulars touching *Moang Chay*, or *Vinan*, a district belonging to a province of *China*, and probably to *Yun-nan*; if it be not, according to the missionaries, *Yun-nan* itself^f.

^f MARINI, p. 63, & seqq.

S E C T. IV.

Inhabitants of Lahos, particularly the Lanjans, their manners and customs.

c **T**HE *Lanjans* are well-shaped and robust, rather fat than lean, and of an olive-colour. *Their persons.* They are good-natured, affable, courteous, and obliging^a (A). The *Laos* resemble the *Chineses* in shape and mien, but are more tawny and slender, consequently of a much handsomer appearance (B) than the *Siameses*. They have long ear-laps, like the *Peguers*, and inhabitants of the sea-coast^b. They are of a very sprightly genius, and sound understanding. They are fond of strangers, and value themselves on being sincere. They are free from deceit, and of great integrity; never breaking their promise or their trust. This character they are zealous to acquire; and the rather, as they are subject to covet what belongs to another. When they see any thing which pleases their fancy, they never cease importuning the owner till they get the whole, or some part of it. However, in case of refusal, they never offer to d take it by force.

THE *Lanjans* are extremely honest; so that there are no thieves to be met with throughout *Their virtues:* the whole kingdom. In case there is any report of a robbery or murder being committed on the highway, all the inquiry imaginable is made after the criminal: because, if he be not found, the neighbouring towns or villages are obliged to indemnify the parties injured; and thus both the lives and goods of people are secured throughout the kingdom of *Lao*. But the cities are not altogether so free from these inconveniences, which our author wisely ascribes to the power of forcerers; who, by their art, can throw the people of any house into a dead sleep, and keep them in that condition till they have robbed it^c.

e As the kingdom of *Lanjan* enjoys a very wholesome air, and abounds with the necessaries *Very numerous.* of life, it is very populous, and the inhabitants live to a very great age. In a numberment which was made of them about the middle of the last century, there were reckoned above 500,000 able to bear arms, without taking in the old men; who are so numerous and robust, that even out of those aged 100 years, a very considerable army might be formed, for the defence of the king. For all this the *Lanjans* are not of a warlike disposition, nor expert in the use of arms: which may be owing to the advantageous situation of their country, inclosed with mountains and steep precipices; serving as so many natural fortifications, sufficient to defend them against the insults of their enemies: and should any such break through those ramparts, they have a way to get rid of them, by poisoning their rivers. It was thus that the king of *Tong-king* was obliged to retreat, after having lost a great number of his army, with f which, about the year 1650, he proposed to annex this monarchy to his own. Before this, several petty kings joining their forces with the same design, against the inhabitants of *Lao*, lost so many of their men and beasts, by drinking the water of a river along which they encamped;

^a MARINI, p. 345—350.

^b KÆMPFER, p. 26.

^c MARINI, p. 345, & seqq.

(A) In one place, *De Faria* says the *Laos* are very good-natured; but, in another, that they are very brutal and uncivilized: he allows however that they are honest, and have no thieves among them. See

Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 178. and vol. ii. p. 12.

(B) *De Faria* says, their colour is white, and the women very beautiful. *Portug. Asia*, vol. iii. p. 178.

that they were at last compelled to retreat, without daring to cross the stream and fight their enemies, who insulted them on the other side of it^a.

Their vices.

IN effect, the *Lanjans* are very slothful, and averse to business. They apply themselves to nothing but agriculture and fishing. They quite neglect all arts and sciences: so that they lead an indolent life, without troubling themselves about matters which require any great attention of the mind. They are much addicted to women (C), which is the bane of many. But their belief in witchcraft and magic is still more pernicious, especially as it prevails among people of rank. Some great men have a notion, that if the head of their elephant be rubbed with wine, in which a drop or two of human gall be put, the beast will become more robust, and themselves more courageous; so that ever after they may assure themselves of victory, either in war or on any other occasion. In this ridiculous conceit the governors sometimes, though but rarely, employ desperate fellows, who, for 25 or 30 crowns, will go into the forests to hunt their own species; and the first they meet with, of either sex, whether young or old, priest or layman, open his belly and stomach while alive; and, taking out the gall-bladder, cut off his head, to convince the more savage purchaser that he has not deceived him. In case the assassin does not perform his engagement in the limited time, he is obliged to kill either himself, his wife or a child, that his employer may take out the gall of the unhappy victim. The *Lanjans* would be an almost faultless people, and free from reproach, could this most horrid and cruel practice be once rooted out of the country: but although the king had used all means imaginable to effect it, he had not been able to succeed when our author wrote, because the most considerable people of his kingdom, and even the magistrates themselves, were addicted to that stupid, as well as execrable, superstition.

Their diet.

THE diet of the *Lanjans* consists in rice, fish, divers kinds of legumes, and the flesh of buffaloes. This is their usual meat; for they seldom eat any other sort, not even veal or poultry. They kill animals designed for food by knocking them on the head with sticks or clubs, and not by cutting their throats: for they hold it very barbarous and criminal to shed the blood of living creatures, and take away their lives in that manner. They make four meals a day; and roast their fowls, which they have in plenty, with all their feathers on; notwithstanding the insufferable stink arising from that kind of cookery (D). They have, indeed, excellent stomachs; but much cannot be said in praise of their cleanliness: for the vessels they keep their water in, and even those they drink out of, are commonly hung up in their smoaky chimnies^e.

Their dress.

THE *Laos* wear gowns close to their bodies. They go with their feet bare, and the head commonly uncovered. Their hair is clipped round and short, like a lay-brother's; excepting one lock on the temples, which is left to grow, and run through holes made in the ears for that purpose^f. One author says, their bodies are adorned with blue figures, made with hot irons, down to the knees^g: another, that they paint their legs from the ankle to the knee with flowers, and branches of trees, like the *Siameses*, as a badge of their religion and manhood. The women wear pieces of gold in the holes of their ears, until they are married; after which they lay them aside: but the men wear none at all^h.

Monogamy.

THE *Lanjans* approve of having only one wife; and say, that a man ought not to marry any more: but this they do rather from a principle of covetousness, to avoid charges, than of virtue. Accordingly in their songs, they rally the magistrates, and officers of state, who are content with only one wife. Nor is this so great a piece of self-denial, since they make their she-slaves subservient to their pleasures, maintaining great numbers of them, according to their quality, as well for sake of indulging their passions as for grandeur. The king who reigned in 1658 had two hundred women; but there is only one of the number who is named the principal, as being the first with whom the man is contracted; and the rest are considered only as second wives. Their marriages are for life, and performed in this manner. They choose out the oldest married couple they can find, who have lived in perfect agreement together, and promise, before them, to do the same till death. But often these fair promises are not long binding; and the parties have recourse to very frivolous reasons to separate, and marry with others. This conduct is, in good measure, owing to the loose education given their children, whom they abandon to their own inclinations; permitting even the boys and girls to live together, and frequently visit one another, without considering the consequences which may arise from such familiarities. The most dangerous opportunities are the rendezvous's,

Their marriages.

^a MARINI, p. 343, & seq.
^g Ibid. vol. ii. p. 12.

• Ibid. p. 347, & seqq.
^h KÆMPFER Japan. vol. i. p. 27.

^f DE FARIA, vol. iii. p. 178.

(C) We are told by our author, p. 451, that sodomy, the great vice of *Asia*, is quite unknown to them; and yet some authors, as *Fitch*, who was among the *Lanjans*, assure us otherwise; and that they wore bells inserted in their privities, like the *Peguers*, and other

neighbouring nations, in order to prevent that crime. But this story of the bells is suspicious.

(D) *De Faria* tells us, that they eat vermin; and that the people of *Tong-king* despise them on that account. *Portug. Asia*, ubi sup.

a which continue for a month in the house of a new lain-in woman, where all the family and relations meet, to divert themselves with dancing, and other kinds of merriment; in order to drive away the forcerers, and prevent them from making the mother lose her milk, and the child from being bewitched by them, as they often are, says the sagacious Jesuit, to such a degree, that they die^l. These revels are the more dangerous, as fornication is tolerated among the laity. But a woman convicted of adultery becomes a slave to her husband, who treats her in what manner he thinks fit; and may even oblige her to pay a sum of money^k.

WHEN any of their relations die, they make a feast also, which holds for a month; and *Their Lurais*. celebrate their funeral with great magnificence. The corpse is put in a coffin, daubed over with a kind of bitumen, to hinder any offensive smell from getting out. None are invited to wake the dead, but the *Talepoy*, or priests, who attend less to weep over the corpse, than for the sake of good cheer. However, they employ a great part of their time in repeating certain hymns, adapted to the occasion; by means of which the soul, as they say, is taught the way to heaven, to the end it might not stray in those unknown regions. When the month is expired, they raise a curious pyramid, according to the quality of the defunct, set-off with a number of ornaments, and elegant bas-reliefs. Then, after they have deposited the corpse therein, they set fire to, and reduce it to ashes. These ashes, being carefully gathered up, are carried into one of their temples, which is filled with very sumptuous monuments; in erecting which, wealthy persons spend several thousand of crowns.

AFTER this ceremony is over, the relations think no more of the defunct, nor ever name *State of the* him: because, according to the doctrine of transmigration, which is received in the coun-*soul*. try, they believe the soul is gone to the place destined for it, and consequently belongs no longer to them. It is certain that they would willingly avoid those great expences, if they were not obliged to conform themselves to an ancient custom, and afraid to offend their *Talepoy*; who, to secure the gain arising from thence, have inserted it in their ceremonial, as an indispensable law, to be observed by all. And the people are the rather inclined to comply with this usage, as they are told that, by neglecting to render the last duties to their predecessors, their survivors may be induced to refuse paying the same honour to them^l.

WE have already taken notice of the trade and commodities, both exported and imported, *Their com-* of the particular kingdoms or provinces into which the upper and lower *Labos* or *Laos* are *merce*. divided. It remains only to observe, in general, that the commerce of these countries has passed into different chanel, according to the vicissitudes of affairs. We are told by *Da Cruz*, that musk and gold were carried to *Sion* (or *Siam*), before the *Bramas* (or rather *Barmas*,) conquered *Pegu*^m: after which it was removed thither. The trade with *Siam*, in process of time, was restored: but the king of *Siam* having invaded the *Laos*, and taken a province from them, which he kept not long (E), ruined the good understanding, which had subsisted between the two nations, and caused the trade to be removed to *Kamboja*; whither the *Laos* carried their benjamin and lak, which meets with a good vent there, because better than the kinds which grow in the countryⁿ.

THE language of the *Laos*, or *Lanjans*, as well as their characters, are much the same with *Language and* those of the *Siameses*; who, they say, have had the art of writing, and their sacred language, *characters*. from them: but they cannot pronounce the letters *l* and *r*. They write on the leaves of trees, like the *Peguers* and *Malabars*; and in the manner which the *Siameses* write their religious books. But matters relating to civil affairs are inscribed on a sort of coarse paper, with earthen pins^o.

^l MARINI, p. 351, & seqq.
ap. Purch. vol. iii. p. 161.

^k Ibid. p. 351.

^l Ibid. p. 354, & seq.
ⁿ KÆMPF. Japan. vol. i. p. 26.

^m DA CRUZ,

^o Ibid.

(E) This perhaps was *Jangoma*; which was taken about the year 1672, by the *Siameses* from the *Lanjans*, to whom this remark more particularly relates.

S E C T. V.

Religion of the Lanjans.

§ 1. Primitive religion, providence, origin of things, &c.

f THE religion of the *Lanjans*, and probably of all the *Labos* or *Laos*, is the same at *Their primi-* bottom with that which prevails in all the countries comprised in the farther peninsula of *tive religion*. the *Ganges*. They lived a long time in form of a republic, and observed the laws of nature, rather than those of the *Chineses* their neighbours, which they, in part, followed, before they had kings, and were subject to their empire. The worship of images was, in those times, unknown to them; uncorrupted as they were with the superstitions of other nations. The open

open sky was their temple; and they adored one being, whom they esteemed above all things, under the name of *commander*. They had some imperfect notions touching the origin of things: but held that this inferior world would be renewed; and that there were sixteen other worlds or kingdoms under heaven, one subordinate to the other.

corrupted by
Shaka.

In this simple and corrupted state the *Lanjans* continued, till such time as the disciples of *Shaka* began to spread their doctrines over the east. Some will have it that they received this polluted religion from the *Chineses*; but our author rather follows those who think they had it from *Siam*. However that be, the Jesuit speaks of it as a most impious and idolatrous religion; not considering, at the same time, that it is the very counter part of his own. Presently after the disciples of *Shaka* arrived in this kingdom, the *Lanjans* saw themselves surrounded with temples consecrated to idols, and priests named *Talapoy*, destined to their service. These priests, soon getting the ascendant over the minds of the people, prescribed laws to them; and introduced books written in *Indian* characters, which the *Lanjans* did not understand; in order to render their doctrines the more mysterious and sacred, for appearing in their original dress, as coming from the hands of *Shaka* ^a.

Notion of pro-
vidence.

HOWEVER, this new religion could not so thoroughly root out the old, but that the *Lanjans* still preserved the first impressions which they had received, concerning the immortality of the soul; and a particular providence which continually directs affairs in this life: for they hold that the commanders, or intellectual beings, who are above all the sixteen worlds, direct and governs this lower world which we inhabit, as a part dependent on them. Yet these tenets, being mixed with opinions of the different sects, are much corrupted, and far from appearing in their original simplicity. ^b

Their schools.

THE schools of those who pass for doctors, and heads of their religion, consist in three principal classes, which are filled with laymen, as well as clergy. The doctrines taught in the first class concern the origin of the world, of men, and the gods; mixed with a thousand fabulous and ridiculous circumstances, which extravagances are substituted in place of the antient law. In the second class they treat of the religion of *Shaka*, which passes for the new law. In the third they are employed to reconcile the opposite principles, to solve doubtful passages, with the opinions of those who have written about them; and to square the antient doctrine with the new. ^c

THE authors of this third class assume the titled of *illuminated*, and their authority is revered by the name of *concord*, although nothing is farther from it than their writings: in which the sense of words is so strained and distorted, to make contradictory doctrines and opinions agree, that this third decretal is full of obscurity, confusion, and unintelligible explanation ^d.

Origin of the
world

ACCORDING to this new theology, the *Lanjans* believe that the heavens are from all eternity; and that, perpendicularly under them, lie sixteen terrestrial worlds, containing all the pleasures of life, which, in the highest, are in greatest perfection. They hold likewise that this earth, which we inhabit, is eternal; but that, after a certain revolution of years, fire will descend from heaven, and reduce the whole mass to water. Yet things are not to continue in this state: for they who dwell in the first heaven, and of whose care this earth is the peculiar object, will re-unite the scattered parts together, and establish it in the condition it was before. In effect, they hold that it hath already undergone a great many such revolutions. ^e

and present
earth.

WITH regard to the original of the present world or earth, which had its beginning 18,000 years before the age of *Shaka*, they say, that, having been reduced to water after the manner above related, a commander, or divinity (F), descended from the first of the sixteen worlds, armed with a simitar; and perceiving a flower floating on the water, cut it in two. Immediately there springs out a beautiful maiden, with whom being enamoured, he longed to marry her, in order to get a brood of children, to people the earth: but the innocent maid preferring her chastity to the quality of a mother, rejected his courtship. Although he burnt with amorous flames; yet, judging it to be unbecoming a man of his condition, descended from the gods, to use force, he gave over the pursuit, and took another method to obtain children by her, to answer his design. To effect this, he placed himself at a certain distance from her, that they might reciprocally look at each other; insomuch that, by the intense glances from his eyes, she at length conceived, and became a mother, without losing her virginity ^f.

How peopled.

By this contrivance they had soon a numerous issue: but as cares and uneasiness are the usual consequences of a great many children, the commander, though a god, found himself violently attacked by them. To free himself, therefore, from these disquietudes, he resolved to make use of his power, and supply his family with all the conveniencies of life. In order to this, he furnished the earth with mountains and vallies, spacious plains, and agreeable hills. He like-

^a MARINI, p. 376, & seqq.

^b Ibid, p. 378, & seqq.

^c Ibid. p. 380, & seqq.

(F) Named *Pon, Ta, Bo, Bá, Mi, Swan*.

a wife created trees, bearing various kinds of fruits ; and rivers, abounding with all sorts of fish. Nor were mines of precious stones and metals forgotten. In short, nothing was omitted, which might contribute to the benefit and delights of life. Yet for all he approved of what he had newly created, and made the earth a most delicious mansion, of which he was the lord, he could not resolve to continue here : but panting after the etherial abodes which he had quitted, and were vastly preferable to this inferior world, he determined to return to heaven : without having foreseen, that he could not get thither with the same facility which he came from thence. In a word, he was obliged to remain without : where he suffered so severe a penance, that the other commanders, or sovereign divinities of heaven, were at length moved with compassion, and admitted him into their society, to enjoy with them the highest kind of beatitude.

b THE *Lanjans* have another opinion concerning the peopling of the earth. They say that the inhabitants of heaven, having divided themselves into two parties, on account of the women, ^{thence the blacks.} began a furious war, and fought several bloody battles. At length one party becoming victorious, to punish their enemies, they banished them into the great desert island, which was the earth : and as it was, at that juncture, reduced to water, they dried it, so that it became firm land again. The worst of it was, there were no women to be found. To supply this want, they got upon the highest mountain in the island, and from a tree of prodigious height, called out to their wives : who, to testify the affection which they bore to their husbands, came down from heaven to them. But as the number of women exceeded that of the males, each of these latter took several of the former ; by which means their offspring, in a short space of time, c multiplied to such a degree, that, taking up arms, they went about to extirpate certain black men, who were demons, and had by force lain with several of those white women, whose children were as black as their fathers. Nay, those whom afterwards they had by their white husbands, were as sooty as those begotten by the demons. And thus the blackmoors became so numerous in several parts of the earth ^d.

SOME account for the origin of black people another way. They say that the commanders ^{Another opi-} (or divinities) of heaven, having shut themselves up in a great stone which was upon this ^{nion.} isle, the angels and demons, who heard that there were men within it, were resolved to know if it was fact. Accordingly the demons made a great fire round the stone ; that being softened by the heat, the angels might enter it with greater facility. On the first impressions of the d fire, some of the commanders rushed out, but as black as charcoal : whilst others, who were not in such a hurry, escaped, without being incommoded by either the fire or the smoke. After this, falling in love with women, whom they had never conversed with before, the black commanders associated with black women, who were the wives of demons ; and the whites with white women, whom the angels loved. To compass their design, after levying troops, they made war on the angels and demons, whom they drove out of the island ; and obliged the women, who remained behind, to surrender at discretion.

e THE *Lanjans* have a third tradition for the origin of the white and black people, not more ^{A third tradi-} romantic than either of the two former. They tell us, that formerly a buffalo, one of the most ^{nion.} deformed creatures which ever was seen, lame, ill-shaped, extremely fearful, weak, and apt to start, fell from heaven into the sea ; where, by the mere strength of imagination, he conceived a monster, and soon after brought forth a gourd full of white and black men.

§ 2. Government of the world. Reign of Shaka.

f THIS is the substance of the *Lanjan* belief concerning the origin of the world. With regard to the government of it they relate, that, 18,000 years before the renewal thereof, ^{Government of the world.} there were four gods ; three of whom, after they had governed the space of fifty years, being weary of so great a trouble, retired into a very high and spacious pillar, situated towards the north, where they enjoy all the sweetness of life, which a man who loves his ease can desire. At present, they say, the god *Shaka* governs the world, and is to reign 5000 years, of which ^{Reign of Shaka.} 3000 are yet to come. That, after he had raised himself to a degree of perfection, greater than any person ever can attain, he resolved to pass to a still higher degree, never heard of before, which was to *annihilate* himself. But for fear this perfect state of *nothingness*, to which he was arrived, should be attended with any bad consequences, and the world suffer inconveniences by being deprived of his protection ; he, before his annihilation, commanded temples to be erected in several kingdoms, and an infinite number of statues to be made (A) in brass and marble, with a design to honour them with his presence on solemn festivals, where-ever great numbers of people should be assembled ; and, by blowing on them before all the congregation, communicate to them his divinity, which might supply his place, by assisting them

^d MARINI, p. 382, & seqq.

(A) Almost the same thing is said of *Sammna Kodom* by the *Siameses*. See hereafter the history of that law-giver.

who should pray to him in their necessities. For all this, says *Marini*, it is certain that the breath of *Shaka* has never animated those images; and that they are at present dumb, unless some demon makes them speak^a: which is, in effect, to confess the fact which he denies.

His successor.

AFTER the 5000 years of *Shaka*'s government are expired, the *Lanjans* expect another god, whom they name *Fa-mit-Tay*. This deity, says our author, like an *Antichrist* against *Shaka*, will demolish all the temples which he finds standing, throw down and break in pieces the images, burn the books, persecute and prohibit the exercise of all religions, particularly that of *Shaka*: he will also prescribe new laws, opposite to those of his predecessor; promulgate other sacred books; choose other *Talapoy*; in one word, change and reform every thing a-new.

God of Christians

IN a conference held with the *Romish* missionaries, some *Talapoy* advanced an odd kind of theology, possibly invented to mortify the Jesuits. They said that, 5000 years before the birth of *Shaka*, the world had been governed by the god of the missionaries; who finding himself very old, when his successor appeared, and no longer able to discharge so many cares, began to think seriously of the course he had best to take for his interest. As he could not dispense with obeying the orders of this new god, from whom he apprehended some violent treatment; and was desirous to avoid the reproaches due to his ill conduct, for having used some with too much lenity, and others with too much severity, he assumed the form of a very poor and despicable person, in order to move *Shaka* to compassion. In this abject condition he presented a petition, by which he begged leave to continue one year longer in discharging the functions of his office. *Shaka*, who was very benevolent and generous, signed the petition in a very obliging manner; but under this condition, that the missionaries god should quit the rich and pompous kingdoms of the east, to retire into those of the west, which are miserable and barren. By this division of the empire and sovereign power, the jurisdiction of each god was much weakened, but that of *Shaka* infinitely surpassed the other in beauty and wealth^b.

quits the east,

removes to the west.

ACCORDING to this agreement, the god of the missionaries left the east, in a very poor habit, accompanied with only a small number of people, his followers being very few. He was so confounded on this occasion, that, from thenceforth, he began to perform some extraordinary things, as manifested his greatness: so that he entered his kingdom of the west with an equipage suitable to his merit; and appeared as rich as if he had found immense treasures, or opened mines of gold and silver. This great and sudden change in his condition made the inhabitants of the east conclude him to be some notorious robber, who had acquired so much wealth by unjust means. To discover the truth of this, they hired some about him, as spies, to observe all his motions; till such time as having detected him in some theft, they should put him to death for his crimes. He was accordingly watched, and often caught in the very fact; but the moment they were about to arrest him, he vanished out of their sight. However, in revenge for this disappointment, they seized his only son, and put him to death on a cross, in stead of his father, who had merited the same punishment, for withdrawing into heaven. Notwithstanding all these disgraces, the occidentals cease not to render him worship, and acknowledge him for a god: because that, in voluntarily delivering himself up to death, although innocent, to expiate the transgressions of his father, he, by such great submission, shewed himself to be more than man, and that his father, as well as he, deserved to be adored as deities.

His son crucified.

His law defective.

IT is thus the *Lanjan* priests treat the god of the Christians, as represented to them by the *Romish* missionaries; and turn into ridicule the history of the birth and crucifixion of Christ. They add, that, after the coming of *Shaka*, the Christian law, which had prevailed over the east for 5000 years before, ceased to be practised: and that it is defective, because those who profess it can expect from it neither gold nor silver, nor prosperity, nor the enjoyment of pleasure, nor several women (B). On the contrary, it seems to draw advantage from confusion and affronts; to consider poverty as real wealth, and death as the greatest of all goods. But because *Shaka* is an enemy to such rigours, and the course which he prescribes is very commodious, broad, and accompanied with all the delights of life; therefore his sectaries have him in infinite esteem, and consider him as a more indulgent deity^c.

^a MARINI, p. 385, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 388, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 389, & seqq.

(B) If they cannot have these things by the indulgence of their religion, they find ways to obtain them; and by their licentious way of living become odious to the orientals, as hath been often remarked from the

writings of the missionaries themselves: so that our author may be suspected, as to what he says here, and in other places, upon the same subject.

§ 3. State of the soul, hell, and paradise.

- a **A**LTHOUGH the *Talapoy* have some knowledge of hell, yet they do not care to speak of it, for fear of disturbing the thoughts of their followers, immersed in sensuality, with the consideration of those dreadful and eternal pains. They who still adhere to the doctrines of the antient law, and deny the transmigration of souls, say, that those of the wicked are annihilated at their death : but that the souls of good persons assume a body of air, as pure and simple as the light of the sun. After this, passing through the sixteen heavens, where they enjoy all the pleasures with which they abound, they return at length, very happy, to re-unite themselves with their bodies, and become men, in the same condition which they enjoyed before ; but so replenished with goods of every kind, as, by their means, to obtain the rank of kings. *Ancient doctrine of souls.*
- b **O**N the contrary, the followers of the doctrine of *Shaka*, and the fabulous histories of the priests, hold that the souls of bad men have no retreat after this life but hell, where they must expiate their crimes by suffering inconceivable torments. Their hell is divided into six wards, where there are so many degrees of punishments ; and is situated under that vast column of the sixteen worlds, which are the paradises of the blessed. They, who are condemned to go thither, languish in torments for the space of some ages ; after which they return to this world. But before they re-animate a human body, they are obliged to enter those of animals, beginning with the most contemptible, and gradually transmigrating into the more noble, till at length they assume a human shape, as before, but yet in the most deplorable circumstances ; in hopes, however, of being raised to a more prosperous state, provided they give liberally to the *Talapoy*. In this case, when they come to die a second time, they shall obtain a pass to be admitted into one of the sixteen paradises, without being obliged to do any farther penance. From thence likewise, when tired with delights, they may return to this world ; not indeed in the form of deified men, but infirm and imperfect like those who are here at present : however with these advantageous circumstances, that they had carested and honoured on account of the riches they shall be possessed of both in this world and in heaven, which will shower down gold upon them in profusion, to answer the several occasions of life^a. *The present doctrine.*
- c **I**N this case, when they come to die a second time, they shall obtain a pass to be admitted into one of the sixteen paradises, without being obliged to do any farther penance. From thence likewise, when tired with delights, they may return to this world ; not indeed in the form of deified men, but infirm and imperfect like those who are here at present : however with these advantageous circumstances, that they had carested and honoured on account of the riches they shall be possessed of both in this world and in heaven, which will shower down gold upon them in profusion, to answer the several occasions of life^a. *Hell and paradise.*

- B**UT whereas losses, disgraces, and other misfortunes, attend their most zealous devotees and benefactors, no less than others ; to solve this difficulty, they pretend that such afflictions are the punishment of the crimes committed by them in a former life, although they have no remembrance thereof (C). These impostors likewise promise a mansion in the sixteenth heaven to those who shall be charitable to them : on the other hand, they declare that the evils which happen to those, who either cannot or will not bestow alms on them, as well as to infidels, are a just punishment for their avarice : and because they have preferred riches to the joys of heaven, therefore the idol begins to chastise them in this life : but let a man be ever so vicious, dishonest, or wicked, all is well, provided he is but charitable, and gives alms to the priests. *Talapoy impostors.*

- W**E must not omit another superstitious conceit of the *Lanjans*, which is, that the souls, after their separation from the body, retire into a corner of the house ; and that the heirs are severely punished, in case they fail to render them the honours due to their quality, such as making a pompous feast, and performing other ceremonies, established by the antient customs. *Souls retire into a corner.*
- e **O**N the contrary, they who acquit themselves punctually, with regard to these duties, shall receive great temporal rewards. As the *Lanjans* are very fond of life, and afraid to die, when they find themselves in the least out of order, they immediately implore the assistance of these souls, making them presents ; and setting victuals of several kinds before them, they invite them to eat with them, and talk to them, as if they understood and saw every thing which is said or done. The entertainment is accompanied with music and singing, which continues day and night, till the sick person either recovers or dies. They do all this, in a belief that, by such means, the souls lodged in the house are appeased ; and that, if they do them no good, they will at least do them no harm. The people of this persuasion believe nothing, says our author, either of hell or paradise, angels or devils ; but live in the most dissolute manner imaginable^c.

ON a certain day several of the most understanding *Talapoy*, or priests, of different sects, meet in presence of one of the missionaries, in order to reconcile so many various opinions, and bring people to one way of thinking. After a long conference, they came to this decision : that there was, for certain, another life ; that the reward to be expected in it was a plurality of wives, and the punishment to be feared consisted in not having any. The Jesuit hereupon asked them, if a charitable man was to be rewarded with several wives, how many husbands

^a MARINI, p. 391, & seqq.^c Ibid. p. 394, & seqq.

(C) Is this worse than the evasion of *Papi/b* priests ; who, when the diseased people, after praying to their saints, find no relief, to solve the objection, pretend it is because they had not faith.

was the woman to have, who gave considerable alms? These learned doctors of the law, a it seems, were so nonplus'd with this unforeseen question, that they went back to their convents, and turned over their books: but not meeting with any thing to the purpose, came to this resolution among themselves; that such a woman, for her reward, would be changed into a man; and they who were covetous, would become the wives of devils, or of some *Talapoy*, black, filthy, old, and deformed; in short, more horrible than the devil himself.

Gain to the
priests.

THESE imposing priests promise those who are kind, and assist them in their necessities, that they shall have as many wives as all the alms which they had bestowed on them during their lives, were able to purchase: and that the particulars of their good actions, recorded in the book of life, should be made known, when it came to be opened. The *Lanjans*, b charmed with doctrines so agreeable to their sensual inclinations, think they can never give their priests too much: and this infatuation so universally prevails, that the good missionaries, who took a great deal of pains to open their eyes, could never dissuade any of them from squandering their money in such ill bestowed charities.

A shameful
doctrine.

FOR all the *Talapoy* have no conversation with women, from whom, by the rules of their profession, they are obliged to abstain; yet they affirm, that such of their order as observe continence in his life, will have the power to create, and produce from nothing, as many women as they have a mind, and dispose of them at pleasure: while they, who in this life are addicted to the sex, shall, after their death, be doomed to hell torments, and not have the disposal of any women. As if what is a vice on earth, could be a virtue in heaven; or c that men could be rewarded there, for what they are punished here. When these things are objected to the priests, and they are asked how they can condemn, as a shameful practice in this world, that which is tolerated as a commendable action in the other, their answer is: that although the incontinence of a *Talapoy* be a crime in his life, and a sin against the divine precept, yet God dispenses with it in heaven; and that chastity, which is a meritorious action in this world, is, in the next, the punishment of the damned. A theology and doctrines which *Epicurus* himself would have been ashamed to publish^z.

§ 4. The priests, orders, habits, exercises.

Priests their
name.

ALTHOUGH the priests of *Lao* are called *Talapoy*, a name borrowed from *Pegu*, d yet, in the language of the country, they are named *Fé*. This class of men are reckoned the most perfidious in all the kingdom, as well as the very dregs of the people; alazy, slothful race, and the sworn enemies of industry. Their convents, says our author (but it is a priest of another religion, though not much different from theirs, who speaks), are so many seminaries of very profligate men, retreats of vagabonds and drones; in a word, schools of all sorts of wickedness and abominations. The baser their extractoin, the more proud and insolent they become, when raised to that dignity. They are hard-hearted and inhuman beyond expression; more merciless and cruel than the wild beasts. But what can be expected from men, who sacrifice every-thing to their interests, and devote all their wit and vigour to debauchery^a. This is the picture of the priests of *Lao*, painted by the Jesuits, exactly like e that which the protestants draw for the priests of *Rome*.

The novices

THE *Talapoy* begin to embrace a religious life in their most tender age, and inure themselves to the rigours of the profession, during their noviciate, which continues till they are twenty-three. After this they are examined on the subjects of their theology, and ceremonies, by persons appointed by the community, who, on their report, receive the novice into their body, by majority of voices. The first thing the new *Talapoy* does, is to seek out some magistrate, who is rich, and well related, to assist him in quality of godfather. Although this office is expensive, yet as it is reckoned an honour to be applied to on that account, nobody refuses it. On the contrary, the invitation is received with great complaisance; and the person who accepts it, always acquits himself with the greatest pomp, in order to gain the f applause of the people, as well as the approbation of the *Talapoy*.

Lao become
professed;

IN the first place, the magistrate, chosen godfather, presents the novice, who is going to be professed, with rich habits. Then, on the day appointed, he orders his best trained elephant to be pompously harnessed, and, with a little house on his back, led to the convent: where the novice, bloated with vanity, mounts the animal, and issues forth, at the head of the principal lords of the city, richly drest, followed by several regiments of foot, and a multitude of people. In this order they march through the principal streets, to the temple, where the novice is to make his profession; the ceremony often lasting till night. After this, a feast is made in the temple, whose altars serve for tables, on which are served the costliest viands; and, for three days, nothing passes there but revelling. During this time, all

^z MARINI, p. 395—399.

^a Ibid. p. 341.

a distinction of persons is laid aside, and a man of quality makes no difficulty to eat off the same plate with a mechanic. This expence, though exceeding great, does not come up to that which the present costs, made by the magistrate to the new-professed.

WHAT is very singular on this occasion, the person, after making so solemn a profession, may, *may quit the* if he has a mind, return to, a secular state; as many do, who marry, and live with their wives, *convent,* so long as the substance lasts which they gathered while *Talapoy*s; and, when their stock is out, quit them, and retire again to their convents, where they are admitted without any opposition by the elders, who perhaps had experienced the same indulgence themselves. *and return.* And this they do as often as they please.

THE *Talapoy* wear a short cassock of yellow linen, which reaches to their knees, and is *Their habit.* b girt about them with a red cloth. They go with their feet and the right arm bare, carrying in their hand a fan, with some device, to denote their rank. They shave their heads, even to their eye-brows, twice a month, on the first days of the new and full moon ^b.

THEIR convents, where they live in community, are like those of the *Chartreusians*, and *Their convents,* *St. Romuald*, among the *Romish* orders. All the cells are separate, in which they have several little apartments, made with boards: whereas the superior's cell is built with bricks, and the chambers very magnificently furnished, as well as decorated with curious ornaments, finely gilded. His throne stands very high, and is set off on the sides with curtains of very *a d superiors.* costly silk. This officer is always chosen from among those *Talapoy* who are of an established reputation, and have devotees of both sexes; who cram them with necessaries, and never c let them want for any-thing.

THESE religious rise at a certain hour; and, before the sun is high, walk out by two and *Their employ-* two, very modestly, and with profound silence: then separate to beg alms in different parts *ments,* of the city. This they do by signs; and, at their return, laying up the daintiest morsels for themselves, give the rest to their servants, or send it to the prisoners, after throwing a part to feed the poultry. When this distribution is over, they break silence, and each repairs to his cell, where he breakfasts. After this, they go to sleep for three hours; and then repair to the common refectory, where they find a table covered with all sorts of provisions, which are generally well dressed. As they live at the expence of others, they usually dine on small birds, fowl, and game. If the victuals which their friends send them do not please them, *and meals.* d they break the plates; and have the insolence to threaten them, in very injurious language.

AFTER dinner they sleep for an hour; then rise, and go to their respective exercises. The novices fall to study their ceremonies; the scholars to read and write. This they do in two languages: one the vulgar or common language of the country; the other peculiar to the *Talapoy*, and may be called the learned language, as *Latin* is in *Europe*. The rest apply themselves to other amusements. Some learn to sing; others pass their time in conversation, at the door of the convent, where they receive visits, and learn the news of the town. Towards evening they make a light supper, without candles; and, having said grace, repair all to the temple, none daring to be absent. There they sing certain prayers, which sometimes they contract, or hurry over, that they may go take the air after sun-set: because then e they are at liberty to do what they please ^c.

THEY exert as much authority over the people, as if they were their subjects. They *Pride and ar-* always appear very serious; and affect a proud disdainful air, with a great deal of gravity. *rogance.* They behave very haughtily to those who are not liberal to them, scarce deigning to look at them. They are extremely ambitious of honour; and very desirous of having much respect paid them, without returning any. Their eyes are in perpetual motion; and their brows being shaved (A), adds to the severity of their looks. When they want any-thing, they do not civilly ask, but imperiously demand, it: for with them the virtue of humility is reckoned meanness, and civility subjection. They pretend to lord it over others, and expect a blind submission to their opinions; considering the least objection as want of the respect due to f them.

IN a word, they surpass other people in nothing but pride and wickedness. A young man *Instance of* being in great haste to finish some affair of importance to him, happened to pass unawares *cruelty;* before a *Talapoy*, without alighting, as is the custom; which so enraged the priest, that he sent persons to seize him, and had him so cruelly bastinado'd in his presence, that he died of his wounds next day. What is more shocking, when this outrage was complained of, many had the insolence to take the part of the *Talapoy*, and engage the judge to determine the matter in their favour; praising the murder as a generous action, done by the priest in defence of his religion and order. Thus the more mischief they do to others, the more they are feared and respected.

^b MARINI, p. 401, & seqq.

^c Ibid. p. 405, & seqq.

(A) This was customary among the *Roman* priests, according to the sarcasm of *Cicero*: *Capite et superciliis semper est rasus, ne unum pilum boni viri habere dicas.*

how punished.

THE *Talapoy* who are in their convents are not suffered to commit any debauchery : but if any of them is convicted thereof, especially of having solicited and attempted to force a woman, a strict enquiry is made into the affair, and the aggressor punished according to the nature of the offence. As all matters relating to this insolent rabble are brought before the king, the accused appears at his tribunal : and however positively the crime may be proved upon him, yet if he has any thing at all to say in his defence, the king readily acquits him, in order to engage those religious in his interests, as having so great an influence over the people. But in case the crime be so flagrant and notorious, as not to admit of any palliation, the offender is condemned for life to serve the elephants, which is the most infamous of all employments. Was his majesty to punish with equal severity all those who are caught in the fact, there would not, in a little time, be left one *Talapoy* among the *Lanjans* : but as he calls himself their protector, and bears the title of general of their order, he is not willing to destroy the jurisdiction which he has over their sanctuary : besides, he is afraid, in case he should not be favourable to them, that they would raise a rebellion against him^a.

for crimes,

Confession.

AMONG other rules of the *Talapoy*, they are obliged to go to confession fourteen days in every month. Their manner is like that observed in the *Romish* convents. They assemble in a great hall, where being seated, according to their rank, the oldest leave their places one after another, and going into the midst of the company, on their knees, declare aloud the faults which they have committed in the preceding month, with regard to eating, drinking, diversions, anger, doing injury to others, speaking untruths, or the like. Absolution immediately follows the confession, each of them having power to give it : but where the satisfaction is so easy (B), they never scruple repeating the crimes.

Holy water.

THEY likewise make a kind of holy water : but our author is at a loss to know how that usage came among them ; unless from *Ethiopia* or *India*, by means of the disciples of *St. Thomas* (C). They send it to the sick, as a sovereign remedy, and keep good store for the purpose ; because in return, they get so many bottles of good wine. But although the people receive no benefit from it, they have great faith in its virtue (D).

Offerings to images,

THE honour which they give to the idols or images, does not consist in sacrifices : they only offer flowers to them, accompanied with perfumes, and a little rice, which they lay upon the altars ; where solely on such occasions they light up tapers. They carry in their hands certain bracelets, consisting of an hundred beads strung together like rosaries : these they connect over, standing before the image, and continually repeating their hymns.

Beads.

Talapoy of the woods.

WHAT has been said relates to the *Talapoy* who reside in the towns : but there are others who lead a more solitary life, in caves made in the woods and forests ; the horrors of which, according to our author, are proper to conceal the enormity of their crimes (E). They retire to such places to pursue their debauched inclinations with more freedom : and, by degrees, the resort of women has become so great, that the solitude of these hermits is at present become a populous colony, and the deserts may be said to vie with the cities ; with this difference, that, in the latter, the children know their parents, which is not the case of those who are born in these solitudes. These hermits receive more alms than the *Talapoy* of cities. They admit a fast of three months, to dispose them to celebrate their *Easter*. I would say, says our author, that they have three months of *Easter*, with two feasts a day : one of flesh, which is eaten in private, and cooked in the house ; the other of fish, which is sent by their friends, and eaten publicly^e.

Lao an university.

OUR author passes over several other particularities, because they are either the same, or very little different from those mentioned in several relations, and in the history of the Bonzas of *Japan* ; who according to some authors, say they are the disciples of the *Talapoy* who were the followers of *Shaka*, and passed thither from *Lao* or *Siam*. However that be, at present they of *Siam* go to *Lao*, as into an university, there to learn the maxims of *Shaka* ; which are at least more in reputation than the ancient doctrine, if they are not intirely conformable to it.

Talapoy knavery.

To conclude, the number of these *Talapoy* is so greatly increased, that, fearing they shall in time fall short of necessaries, they learn all sorts of trades, and work at them in their convents, which seem to be changed at present into so many shops of mechanics and merchants, whom they even circumvent in their business. For if an artisan in the city has contrived any extraordinary piece of work, or invented some new fashion, they labour secretly to get the model and draught ; and, having effected it, give themselves out for the inventors : so that

^a MARINI, p. 408, & seqq.^e Ibid. p. 412, & seqq.(B) May not the same be applied to the *Romanists* ?(C) This is not probable, since the religion of *Shaka* was in the world 1000 years before *Christ* : more probably therefore, that the church of *Rome* borrowed this, and many other ceremonies, from thence.

(D) One would think our author is reflecting on

those of his own religion ; since this is as much the case with them as the *Lanjans*.(E) This Jesuit draws a frightful picture of them ; as it were to exceed what is reported to the *Romish* monks and hermits, in these parts of the world.

a when the author thinks to surprize the town with something new in its kind, they produce the model, to shew they were beforehand with him; and in case the true proprietor disputes the invention with them, the king is sure to ascribe it to the *Talapoy*.

THE great credit which the *Talapoy* have acquired in *Lao*, is owing chiefly to two causes, *The king's supremacy.* their skill in magic, and the king's protection. His majesty, who is, as it were, the general or grand-master of their religion, loads them with honours, and, at the same time, takes care to govern them. He continually admonishes them to observe their rules, and sets before them the obligation of monthly confessions. He appoints the days for fasts and festivals; the ceremonies of which are regulated by him. He resolves all doubts, and reconciles the different scriptures; explains the difficulties found in their book; and never suffers any-thing
b to be printed (F), without his approbation. He likewise corrects the faults of such pieces. In a word, he is the sovereign judge of whatever relates to the conduct of the *Talapoy*, and punishes them for their offences: but, as if there was something sacred in them, suffers none to vex them on any account.

WHENEVER the king sees any of them, his majesty salutes him first, by raising the right *Talapoy indulged.* hand, which is the usual mark of civility. He makes slaves of his vassals, and obliges them to serve in their temples, in lieu of the tribute due to him. He sometimes gives up whole town and villages to them, obliging the inhabitants to maintain the convents within their precincts; which they always submit to with reluctance, on account of the insatiableness and insolence of such masters: for they would choose to be slaves to others, rather than be dependent on them. However, the king, for the reasons above-mentioned, takes care to preserve their friendship, and overlooks many of their transgressions. In 1640 a *Talapoy* and his disciples having been detected in coining and uttering abundance of false money, the informations were carried before the council: but the king caused the indictment to be quashed by an order, in which, after taxing the laity with avarice, he praised the piety of the *Talapoy*; who, for want of being relieved in their necessities, and finding their temples to be quite deserted, had been obliged to invent a way of relieving themselves, by coining money, and, out of a little, making a great deal^f.

BUT this piece of lenity was infinitely more excusable than that which he shewed on another occasion. A *Talapoy* having cast a covetous eye upon the gold bracelets which two young *Instance in an assassin.* ladies, who were sisters, wore upon their arms, under some pretence got access to them, about nine or ten at night, and, thinking they were alone, murdered them both with a dagger. After this he fell to romage the chamber; in doing which, to his surprize, he found a servant girl hidden in a corner; and, to prevent a discovery, aimed to dispatch her also: but the maid, having made shift to avoid the blow, got out of the window into the street, and gave the alarm. The villain hereupon thought it time to withdraw: but was seen in his passage by three other servants, who, next morning, along with the girl, went to a magistrate, and gave evidence of the horrid fact. On this information the *Talapoy* was cited before the king, in the hall of audience: where, on protesting his innocence, and offering, *who escapes punishment.* in test of it, to undergo the ordeal trial, his majesty commanded, that he should remain seven
e days in the woods; and if, in that time, he received no hurt, either from the wild beasts or venomous serpents, he should be declared innocent. The assassin accordingly repaired to the woods; but took care to engage a company of slaves to attend him as his guard; so that he came off unhurt. Upon this the king, though convinced of his guilt, said, that the devil, in shape of a *Talapoy*, must have been the author of that execrable deed, in malice to those priests, that they might no longer be considered as fathers and masters. After this acquittal, the murderer, to be revenged on the poor girl who was his accuser, prosecuted her so violently, that she was condemned to lose her liberty: nor did the king interpose in her favour^g.

As to magic and forcery, the other means by which the *Talapoy* have gained authority and *Pretend to magic.* reputation, our author represents them as greatly skilled therein. He says they do things which seem miraculous; yet blames the credulity of the people, who, on that account, think them to be more than men: that they make use of their art to hurt people, and often merely to divert themselves: that they catch and tame wild elephants, by means of a plaister or ointment put on the back and crupper of a female, whom they follow from the forests into the cities, without doing any harm; and that, as soon as the plaister is taken off they grow wild again, till made tractable by management and confinement: that they do not scruple to exercise their forcery on their benefactors, in order to obtain more by that means, than they could hope from their liberality; and frequently bewitch those who assist them, as well as those who do not, to oblige both parties to have recourse to them for relief: that when any person is seized with any distemper or sickness, the *Talapoy* is sent for, who cures him, only

^f MARINI, p. 415, & seqq.^g Ibid. p. 419, & seqq.(1) Marini does not explain what sort of printing is in use with the *Lanjans*.

by taking off the charm. Our author is so weak as to believe all this stuff; and tells of a great man, no less silly than himself, who after taking medicines for some disorder without effect, fancied himself bewitched, and applied to the *Talapoy*. Those magicians, it seems, recovered him: but, as he was extremely liberal to them, they laid the spell on him, from time to time, in order to make their farther advantage of him.

Abuse the credulous.
Impose on the sick.

WHEN a poor man is sick, they agree to cure him for his weight in rice; and then send him one of their cast-off habits to wear, as a sovereign remedy. As they believe there is something sacred in the very touch of a *Talapoy*, the patient often sends a new garment for the priests to sanctify, by putting it on his back: but, instead of returning it, the priest sends him one of his own old ones; assuring him, that there is no remedy comparable to their tattered gowns. And, as daily experience shews that those sorts of relicks do not work miracles; the *Talapoy*, to save their credit, ascribe the cause to the poor man's covetousness, and want of faith^h.

Served by noblemen.

OFTENTIMES the chief officers of state do not disdain to serve the *Talapoy* in the most servile offices. They go in winter into the woods, fell timber, carry it on their shoulders to the city, and through the streets, to the convents, in order to let the people see, that it is an honour to serve those religious men; and that the sure way to recommend them to the favour of the king, is to imitate their own example. During the great heats, these great men carry also to the *Talapoy* vessels full of medicinal waters: accompanied with simples, and choice perfumes, for their use, when they go to bathe themselves.

Festival or jubilee.

THE principal revenue of the *Talapoy* arises from the offerings which are made in honour of *Shaka*, in *April*, which is the month of their jubilee, and plenary indulgence. On this occasion the idol *Shaka* is exposed to view upon an eminence, in a great court, accompanied with *Talapoy*; who receive the immense offerings which are made of gold, silver, rice, cloth, stuff, and all sorts of necessaries. Nor does our author doubt, but that the priests, who are appointed to guard the statue, purloin a large quantity of gold and silver, without being missed; the sums which they receive are so prodigiously great. All these alms and offerings are hung up in the temple; so that when the inferior *Talapoy* come to sweep it, they take a good share, over and above what they find on the ground.

Shaka's statue.

OUR author learned from a *Tong-king* lord, who was ambassador at the court of *Lanjang*, in the time of this great solemnity, that he observed a tower in the middle of the temple, about 100 cubits high, pierced on all sides, and adorned with many large windows, for the better view of *Shaka's* statue; which is placed in the middle, and surrounded with numerous leaves of fine gold, like tinsel, which hang about it, and, with the gentle motion of the air, make such a sweet and agreeable harmony, that one would imagine it was a concert of several musical instruments: they were hung there to serve as so many little veils, to hinder insects from getting to the idol. The ambassador informed *Marini* likewise, that the great altar was decorated with two pillars of solid gold, ten cubits high, and proportionably thick, which were always exposed to view, without danger of being stolen: although a missionary, from whom our author had a great deal of what he relates, never mentioned that particular.

Piety of the Lanjans.

NOTHING is more surprising than the piety and devotion of the *Lanjans*; who are so far from the thoughts of robbing temples, that they exhaust themselves with making presents, without desiring any-thing more than to have them acceptable to their false god, as they are assured by the *Talapoy*: whose words are as firmly believed as an oracle, or a revelation from heaven, out of a persuasion that it is impossible their priests should deceive them in an article of so great importanceⁱ. A persuasion which prevails no less among the *Romanists*: and almost every-where else.

§ 5. Preaching and commandments.

Art of the Talapoys.

THEY preach every day in the temple, during this month, to multitudes of people, and never change their text; which is to endeavour to persuade their auditors, that there is no time in the year so proper to render themselves worthy of the benefits both of this life and the next. In this hope they make every day a holiday: all business, as well public as private, is laid aside; and people mind nothing but to make presents, and visit the temples, which, at that time, are always open. To render the visit more agreeable, and draw even those whom devotion could not move, the *Talapoy* provide all sorts of diversions in the courts and porches of the temple, which are finely adorned. There the people are entertained with comedians, who recite verses, and act very agreeable farces. Others expose to view several sorts of workmanship. And, in short, every one does what pleases him most: some sing; others dance, or play on instruments: all in view of *Shaka*, annihilated.

Way of preaching.

To put an end to this feast with more pomp and magnificence, one of the most famous preachers among the *Talapoy* mounts the chair; where, having recapitulated all which had

^h MARINI, p. 416, 421. & seqq.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 427. & seqq.

a been advanced on the subject, during the whole month, he adds an elegant discourse. The way of preaching here, as well as in *Tong-king*, is to stand up, motionless, like statues, the arms across the breast, held in that posture with great modesty (A), and never once stirring them. On these occasions they endeavour to persuade their hearers to renounce the world, and take the *Talapoy* habit, in order to preserve religion in its splendor, and prevent its ever failing. It is incredible how many advantages they promise, as well as how much fervour and zeal (B) they express on this occasion, so far as to load, with grace and benedictions from *Shaka*, the families which sacrifice their children, by devoting them to their convents. To excite them to this, they instance the example of their most ancient and pious *Talapoy*; who, when they have neither brothers nor nephews of the order, buy children of their nearest relations: that so their family may not want the imaginary blessings of *Shaka*, and may always boast of having one belonging to it in his service.

TOWARDS the end of the sermon, the preacher exhorts his auditors to an exact observance of the law, which consists in five negative precepts: 1. Not to kill any-thing which has life. 2. Not to commit adultery. 3. Not to lye (or deny the truth). 4. Not to steal. 5. Not to drink wine. But however obligatory these commandments may be, there is none who keeps them: and the *Talapoy*, who assume the power of giving dispensations, sell them at no small rate to such as solicit them, in order to avoid the guilt and punishment of breaking the commands. But the crafty priests never grant them for more than one precept at once; and that only for a certain term (C): so that when the time is expired, they are obliged to apply for a new licence to sin. These instruments, issued from this chancery, are written with an iron style, on palm tree leaves, in characters which none, perhaps, can read, but he who traces them.

IN one word, all the fruit of the *Talapoy's* preachment turns to the profit of him and the convent; never to the advantage of the auditors: because reducing the five precepts to one, the infamous priest, says our author, returns to his first lesson, and insists on the necessity of doing alms, from which there can be no dispensation. To enforce this the more, these cheats are continually telling the people, that if they will not observe this single precept, which is so easy to be performed, it is a sure sign that they do not believe in *Shaka*: that it is indifferent to them whether their holy faith and religion be preserved in the kingdom, or whether there be any *Talapoy* there to teach it, and pray for them. So that the poor *Lanjan* laity, to avoid such reproachful imputations, as well as the wrath of *Shaka*, pay to the priests, under the title of alms, not only yearly, but every month, the tithe of all which they get by the sweat of their brows.

THE better to secure themselves, and augment such considerable revenues, they have introduced a custom, seemingly to do honour to their benefactors; but, in reality, the more effectually to pick their pockets, and suck the very blood of the people. The day before the full moon, from whence they begin their month, according to their rubricks, is always consecrated to offerings, which, pursuant to their infamous policy, they accompany with the following ceremonies: first, they require, that every one should carry his present on his head, so that all may see it; and, as the people assemble on that occasion, the *Talapoy* send persons to sound the trumpet, and play on several other instruments: in order, as they pretend, not so much to do honour to the people who make the offerings, as to solicit the governors of heaven to receive them as alms given the *Talapoy*, in honour of *Shaka*. When they are going to offer them, they must raise them three times upon the head, to signify, 1. that both their mind and eyes are turned towards heaven: 2. that they implore aid from the ministers of its justice: and 3. that they pray to them not to refuse their protection, but to be kind to them in necessity. Lastly, they deliver the offering into the hands of the *Talapoy*; and then retire perfectly well satisfied^a.

WE have dwelt the longer on this subject, to give our reader as full an account as we could of the religion of *Shaka*, known, in the hither peninsula, by the name of *Budda*; in *China* by that of *Fo*, or *She-kya*; and in *Tibet*, whence it had its original, by the name of *La*. For although this religion is spread over the farther peninsle, it flourishes in no part of it so much as it does in *Lao*, or among the *Lanjans*; and our author *Marini* is the only one who has spoken of it in any detail, though neither so particularly, nor with such exactness, as could be wished. We shall therefore, before we quit it, add a few remarks more.

THE *Indians*, that is, the original inhabitants of all the countries and islands eastward of *Persia*, as far as the oriental ocean, seem to be divided between two religions, each of very

^a MARINI, p. 430—436.

(A) This, which the *Romish* clergy would have pass, and, among the laity, does pass, as almost an infallible proof of the holiness both of the priest and his religion, in their church; is here treated by the Jesuit as it ought to be, that is, no proof at all.

(B) Yet remember, for all these signs of religion

and piety, that they are idolatrous priests, and of profligate morals: so that a sanctified outside may be consistent with a wicked heart, and is no proof of goodness.

(C) The *Romish* priests are more indulgent, and give much more extensive dispensations.

vastly ex-
tended.

great extent. For distinction sake, we shall call one that of the *Brámmans*; the other that of the *Lamas*. That of the *Brámmans* prevails over *Hindistán*, and the hither peninsula: where, although the *Mogols* are become almost wholly masters, yet it is computed that, in *Hindistán* itself, there are at least 100 idolaters, or image-worshippers, to one *Mohammedan*; consequently their numbers must be much greater in the peninsula, several countries of which are yet intirely under the dominion of the *Rijabs*. On the other hand, the religion of the *Lamas* is the established religion of *Tibet*, of all that part of *Great Tartary* called *Western Tartary*, of the whole farther peninsula of *India*, and of *Japan*. It has likewise spread over most of the oriental islands: and although it is not the established religion of *China*, yet it seems to be embraced by much the greater part of its inhabitants. So that the religion of the *Lamas* may be said to be extended over three or four times as much ground as that of the *Brámmans*.

Differs from
the Brámmans.

THESE two religions, though agreeing in the moral precepts, the doctrine of the soul's transmigration, and the use of images (D), yet differ in several essential points: as the distinction of people into tribes, eating of flesh, frequent washings, and the like; but especially in the article relating to the Supreme Being (E): for the *Lamas* hold, that God himself assumed flesh, and actually dwells among them in a human shape; whereas the three incarnated deities of the *Brámmans* are inferior and created beings. Not but the sects which hold *Wishnú* or *Isburen* to be the Supreme God, seem, in this point, to differ but little from the *Lamas*.

Origin from
Tibet.

WE have already spoken of the original of the *Brámmans* religion, in our description of the hither *India*: as to that of the *Lamas*, it seems to have had its rise in *Tibet*, where it has, at present, its principal seat. For there, we are told, that God himself, as the head of this religion, reigns in a human shape; so that the inhabitants of *Tibet* may be said to live under a real *theocracy*, according to their own belief. This god, in human form, is, in *Tibet*, named *La*; in *China* *She kya*, and also *Fo*; which name he assumed after his apotheosis, or deification: he is, in his own country, called *Lama-Konjû* (or *Konchok*), that is, *the eternal father*: he is also styled *Dalay Lama*, or *the grand Lama*, that is, *high priest*, *pope*, or *head*, of the religion^b.

Its several
branches.

FROM this fountain all the other gods, or founders of religion, in the several countries professing the same, seem to be derived: as the *Budda*, or *Boutta*, of the hither *Indians*; the *Shaka* of *Labo*, or *Lao*, and *Japan*; the *She-kya* of *China*; *Thikka* of *Tong-king*; and *Sommona Kodom* of *Siam*. Some of these gods, or legislators, seem to be acknowledged the same with him of *Tibet*, particularly *She-kya*, or *Shaka*: the account likewise which is given by authors, of their origin and doctrines, internal and external, is nearly the same. It is true, none of those nations seem to acknowledge him for their god, who is at present adored in *Tibet*; although they derive their gods from some part of *India*, west of *China* (F): but rather consider him as coming from a distant country, and taking up his abode among them. Thus the *Ho-shang*, or priests of *China*, called, by *Europeans*, *Bonzas*, do not recognize the god of *Tibet* for the head of their religion; and bear a great enmity to the *Lamas*, whose footing in *China* they strenuously oppose. The worshippers, therefore, of *She-kya*, or *Shaka*, must look on the great *Lama* of *Tibet* as an impostor, and not as the real *Shaka*, whom they adore: for it does not appear, that they hold him to be existing any-where on earth visibly, and in a human shape.

Budda, the
same

WITH regard to *Budda*, and *Sommona Kodom*, who seem to be the same, their votaries refer his original to the island of *Seylan*, or *Ceylon*; if they are not rather at a loss from what country to derive him. According to a *Balli* book, cited by *Loubiere*, the father of *Sommona Kodom*, called also *Pouti Sat*, that is, *lord Pouti* (*Bouta*, or *Budda*, as we conjecture), was a king of *Seylan*^c; whence it may be presumed, *Kodom* himself was a native of that island: although the *Chingalasses* of *Seylan*, who worship *Buda*, or *Budda*, as an inferior deity, say he was not born in that island, and that he died on the continent^d.

with Som-
mona Ko-
dom.

Budda and *Sommona Kodom* seem to be the same, for two reasons: first, that the latter is, by the *Siameses*, called also *Pouti Sat*, or *lord Pouti*, which is doubtless the same with *Budda*: for, as M. *La Croze* well remarks, throughout the *Indies* his name is given to *Wednesday*; which, in the *Samskret*, or *Samskrotam* language, is called *Boutta-varam*; in that of *Seylan*, *Bouda-dina*; in that of *Siam*, *Van Pouti*; and in the *Malabáric*, *Boudèn Kirúmei*^e. The second argument (which we are surprised to find has escaped M. *La Croze*) is taken from the prænomen *Sommona*, which, in the *Balli* language, signifies *a religious man of the woods*^f; and answers both in term and signification to *Sammanín*, or *Shammanín*, a sect

^b See New gen. collect. of voyages and travels, vol. iv. p. 461. hist. Ceylon, aliquo loco.

^c LA CROZE Chret. des Ind. p. 500.

^d Relat. of Siam, p. 136.

^e KNOX,

^f LOUBIERE, part i. c. xxii. p. 130.

(D) See the conformity more at large in *Loubiere's* relation of *Siam*, p. 135.

(E) M. *La Croze* says, they differed in this point only.

(F) *Alex. de Rhodes* thinks, *Shaka* came from *Siam*: *Navarrete* says, from *Ceylon*.

a formerly in *Malabâr*, and other parts of the hither peninsula, who dwelt in woods, and adored *Boudda*, or *Budda*.

FROM what has been said in the preceding paragraph, it may be inferred, that *Sommona* ^{his origin.} *Kodom* is not only the same with *Budda*, of the western *Indians*, but that his worship was brought into *Siam* by the *Sammanins*, possibly on their expulsion out of the hither peninsula, whence they were driven by the *Brâmmans*, about 500 years ago^s.

b AFTER all, our knowledge of the *Indians*, and their histories, is so very imperfect, that we cannot determine whether *Budda* be the very same person with *Shaka*, and the god of *Tibet*; ^{anti-} *guty*. or whether he was not a different person, pretending to the same divine extraction, who possibly came out of *Tibet*, and introduced the religion of that country among the western *Indians*. However, this is certain, that his origin is of great antiquity: probably long before the birth of *Christ*. For, not to mention what authors say from the tradition of these eastern countries, we find him spoken of by several of the ancient writers, particularly *Clemens Alexandrinus*; who calls him *Boutta*, or *Butta*, and says he was worshipped as a god by the *Sarmanes*^b. *St. Jerom*, and others, writes *Boudda*, or *Budda*; and says he came into the world through the side of his mother, who still remained a virginⁱ: in the same manner as the *Indians*, at present, relate of him, of *Shaka*, and of *Fo*.

c THAT this *Butta*, or *Budda*, was not a person newly sprung up in the days of those pri- ^{The Sha-} mitive doctors, appears from hence; that, according to the first of them, he was worshipped ^{manes.} as a god, on account of his holy life, by the *Sarmanes*, of whom he gives the following account: "There are two kinds of *Indian* gymnosophists, or philosophers, one called " *Sarmanes*, the other *Brachmans*. Those of the *Sarmanes*, who are termed *solitaries*, " neither dwell in cities, nor make use of houses; but cover themselves with the barks of " trees, and feed on fruits. Water is their only liquor, which they drink out of their hand. " They abstain from marriage, and live after the manner of the *Encratites*^k (G). They " obey the commandments of *Butta*, and honour him as a god, on account of his holy life." These *Sarmanes* are the same with the *Germanes*, mentioned by *Strabo*^l, after *Megasthenes*, however the name came to be corrupted; for he speaks of them in nearly the same terms.

d THIS is a remarkable testimony of the antiquity, as well as eminency, of the sect of *Sar-* ^{Their learn-} *manes*, in the hither *India*; and a confirmation of what the *Indians* of *Malabâr* relate con- ^{ing.} cerning the *Shammanes*, or *Shammanins*, who, without dispute, are the same people. These *Shammanes*, according to the *Malabâr* authors, were the antient inhabitants of *India*, and anterior to the *Brâmmans* in the hither peninsula. They were skilled in arts and sciences; which the *Malabârs* had from them. Several of their books, still remaining, are in great esteem; and quoted by the modern *Indians*, in the same manner as the *Greek* and *Roman* authors are with us.

e THE *Shammanes* were divided into two sects, *Buddergueuls*, that is, the adorers of *Budda*, ^{Their sects.} and *Shammanergueuls*. They openly blasphemed the religion of *Wishtnû* and *Isburen*: they detested the sacred books of the *Brâmmans*; and compelled the *Malabârs* to embrace their doctrines^m. This accusation, perhaps, is brought to justify the proceedings of the *Brâmmans* against them. However that be, it is certain, that these latter, by degrees, gained over the *Indians* to their way of worship: and, as soon as they found themselves the stronger party, began to persecute the *Shammanes*, whom they at length drove beyond the *Ganges*, into the farther peninsula of the *Indies*. On this occasion, doubtless, it was, that the *Brâm-* ^{Extirpated by} *mans* have invented the fable of *Wishtnu*'s sixth incarnation, into the *Brâmmann Vegoud Dova* ^{the Brâm-} *Avataram*, who, by means of twelve disciples, destroyed the two above-mentioned sectsⁿ (H). ^{mans.} But we learn from another quarter, that this great revolution was brought about by the *Brâmmans*, who, in several kingdoms of *India*, stirred up the princes to make a horrible massacre of them^o. Considering that the *Malabârs* have no regular cycle of years, and that their history is so blended with fables, it is hard to determine when this bloody tragedy f happened: but, as it appears by the books of the *Shammanes*, that 500 years ago there were yet some remains of them, on the *Choromandel* coast, it is probable that the idolatry of the *Brâmmans* hath not had the absolute dominion in that country above five centuries. However that be, we are told the religion of the *Shammanes*, at present, is to be found neither there, nor on the coast of *Malabâr*^p.

^s See LA CROZE, ubi supra.

^b CLEM. ALEX. STROM. l. i. p. 529. edit. Potteri. ap. LA CROZE, p. 492.

ⁱ Lib. i. adv. Jovin.

^k CLEM. ALEX. ubi supra.

^l Lib. xv.

^m ZIEGEN BALG. ap. La Croze

Chret. des Indes, p. 493, & seqq.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 497.

^o PONS ap. Lettr. Ediff. tom. xxvi. p. 247.

^p LA CROZE, ubi supra, p. 497, 499.

(G) Who are the followers of *Tatian*, and *Justin Martyr*.

(H) It seems not a little odd to us, that the end of *Wishtnu*'s sixth incarnation should be to preach down

the religion of *Budda*, and yet that he should personate him, or assume his form, in the ninth, as if he found no fault with *Budda*, but his worshippers.

Sommona
Kodom.

ALTHOUGH, from the name of *Sommona Kodom*, chief lawgiver and idol among the *Siameses*, a we are inclinable to believe, that he was a *Shamman*, from the coast of *Malabar*, or *Choromandel*; yet his arrival in *Siam* is not to be dated from the expulsion of the *Shammans*, by the *Brámmans*: for the *Siameses* place his death from whence their æra is computed, about the year 544 before *Christ* (1). Neither must we conclude, although he established the worship and law of *Budda* in *Siam*, and seems to bear the name of *Budda* in that of *Pouti Sat*, or lord *Pouti*, as hath been before observed, that he was really *Budda* himself: for *Budda* seems to have been worshipped in the hither *India*, many centuries antecedent to that æra; and his religion settled in that peninsula long before the *Brámmans* entered the country. It must, therefore, be thought, either that the name of *Pouti Sat* was given to him, on account of having introduced the doctrine of *Budda* into *Siam*; or that he pretended to be *Budda*, b regenerated in the person of *Sommona Kodom*.

(1) M. *Loubiere* informs us, in his relation of *Siam*, chap. iii. that the year 1689, beginning in December 1688, was the 2233 from *Sommona Kodom's* death.

S E C T. VI.

Government and history of Lanjang.

§. 1. Government of Lanjang.

Chief officers.

THE country of *Laos*, as hath been already observed, is divided among several kings; c concerning whom we meet with nothing more than what hath been related, excepting him of *Lanjang*.

THE principal dignities and offices of this kingdom are eight. The first is that of viceroy-general, who manages one part of state affairs, and assists the king in all matters which concern the government. On the demise of his majesty, it is his business to assemble the council, convene the states, and, in short, take on him the quality of regent, until the successor is enthroned; all other officers or ministers being obliged to obey him. And, because the kingdom is divided into seven provinces, there are appointed seven other viceroys, with equal power, for the government of them: but they reside continually at court, as the king's companions in office, and his counsellors, where they enjoy the revenues, and other benefits, of d their respective departments, which they commit to the care of their lieutenants, or deputy-governors. Besides the provinces, there are other lesser governments, which depend on the greater, in respect both to civil and military affairs.

EACH province has its own militia, consisting of both horse and foot; whose officers depend on the viceroy or governor, he on the prime viceroy, and this last on the king. The troops subsist on revenues assigned them in each province, and are obliged to serve, on that consideration, on all occasions which the kingdom may require^a.

Their state.

THE governors appear with large retinues, and often oppress the people, seizing by force whatever they take a fancy to, especially of foreign merchandize: nor dare any oppose such violences. However, the king does not countenance such acts of injustice; and they are e punishable by the laws. His majesty, far from abusing his power in that manner, as soon as he is informed that a merchant has brought any curiosity into his kingdom, which he has a mind for, immediately orders him not to expose it to sale, and sends the full value of it, to prevent the ruin of commerce; the duties arising from which are of great advantage to his revenue^b. What is still more barbarous in these governors, they often enter into measures to destroy particular men: for, being infatuated with the belief in magic and witchcraft, they hire assassins to hunt and kill men in the woods, in order to procure their gall, for making charms^c, as hath been before related.

Laws few.

WITH regard to laws, the *Lanjans* have very few; nor need they many, where they have the customs of the country for the guide and rule of their conduct. Besides, the will of the king stands in place of laws, where they are wanting: nor does he exert that authority to the detriment of his subjects. And, in matters of dispute between the people, the opinion of the judges in former cases is made use of, as precedents. There is one custom almost peculiar to this country; for, though tolerated in *Siam*, it is not established there: this is, a certain subjection and dependence which every family has on one person, as the chief or superior: so that all the *Lanjans*, excepting the *Talapoy*, who do not descend in a right line from the principal branch of any family (be their condition what it will, dignified or not, rich or poor), must depend thereon during their lives, without ever having it in their power to free themselves. f

^a MARINI hist. de Tunq. & La, p. 358, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 346, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 349.

a WHEN they, who issue directly from the main branch, come to marry, the family divides itself in such sort, that the male descendants follow the degree and branch of the father, the female race those of the mother. This dependence or subjection is very strict and incommo- *Subjection of families*
dious. First, they are obliged, twice a year, to pay their acknowledgements, and make presents, to the head of the family: secondly, they are obliged to serve their chief in whatever he commands them, whether he wants to build a house, to celebrate an idol-feast, or take a journey, they are obliged to attend him at their own expence, to obey his orders, and contribute to the expence of the work. On the road some must serve him as soldiers, for his guard, and others as his domestics. This custom proves of great use to the king; who, in a short time, may raise a considerable army: for he has nothing to do but to gain over the chiefs of families. The worst of all is, that, by the same custom, if the chief happens to be convicted of any enormous crime, all those who, in the least degree of affinity, belong to him, are, at the same time, stripp'd of all their rights, and become more miserable than ever; for they are destined thenceforth to serve the king's elephants, to gather herbs for them every day, to keep them clean, and watch them in the night. *to their chief.*

b JUSTICE is not altogether well administered; and, because crimes are very rarely committed here, many laws are not required: however, they have a few, which prove sufficient to pre- *Justice how administered.*
serve peace and union among them. The severity, for instance, with which not only blows, but angry words, are punished, is a great means of keeping people in awe. With regard to civil matters, justice is in a very languid state. They have no comments to explain their laws: c so that they are all subject to the interpretation of the judges, who are not without their pre- judices, and may, on the slightest grounds, condemn the parties; who cannot appeal from their sentence, but must suffer the penalty which custom has established ^d.

THE king of *Lanjan* is an absolute independant prince, and acknowledges no superior either in temporal or spiritual affairs. The property of lands lies wholly in him; who disposes at pleasure of the effects belonging to his subjects: nor can any family in the kingdom inherit or possess any thing left them by will. *The king.*

ONE here meets with no kind of nobility; nor is it to be acquired either by birth, riches, or virtuous actions. Employments, honours, and wealth, depend solely on the king, who confers those benefits on whom he pleaseth; and resumes them at their deaths. The most he does in favour of their children, is to leave them in possession of the moveable effects: as for houses and lands, money and arms, they all return into the exchequer. No man can say he is master of one foot of land; only the *Talapoy*s can dispose of such spots as are inhabited: but as for the rest, the king distributes them among the governors and commanders, to some more, to others less. These farm them out for three years only to persons, who agree to give one half of the third year's produce to the king. *No nobility.*

EVERY viceroy has a very numerous retinue: but the court of the king, whose splendor is vastly set off by the magnificence of these grandees, appears chiefly in the incredible number of pages who compose it. These are always at hand to solicit for vacant places, to which they are promoted according to the years which they have served: but, generally speaking, they are advanced through favour, more than merit, as is the case in other countries. Besides the above-mentioned officers, there is an infinite number of others, who have their different occupations. The rank of all courtiers is distinguished by certain gold or silver boxes, which their pages carry after them where-ever they go. The prime viceroy has the privilege of riding upon an elephant richly harnessed, whenever he goes abroad; but the rest are allowed only to be carried in little chairs, adorned with cloth of gold, and accompanied with several footmen in handsome liveries. The other officers, let their quality be what it will, are obliged to go on foot; and although they have their boxes also, yet they must not be carried after them exposed to public view ^e. *Viceroy's.*

WHATEVER other monarchs may think of the king of *Lanjan*, he thinks them all his inferiors; nor will yield the superiority to the emperor of *China* himself. To inspire his subjects with the greater veneration for his person, he appears but seldom in public; and daily withdraws himself more and more from the eyes of his subjects, as if he was of a species something more than human. He is distinguished from others only by the holes made in the fleshy part of his ears, which are of an extraordinary size: they are made so wide by stretching the holes with pipes, putting in a larger every month, till at length the tips of his majesty's ears touch his shoulders. He wears no crown, but such as the ancient emperors used, which is a gold band or ribband, which serves also to bind his hair. *King of Lan- jan*

HIS *Lanjan* majesty shews himself but twice a year to his subjects: who, in return for that honour done them, strive all they can to divert him, by means of elephants trained to do a thousand little tricks; and wild beasts, which they set a fighting. They have also wrestlers and gladiators on this occasion, who exert their strength and utmost skill to please the king. *seldom appears.*

^d MARINI, p. 370, & seqq.^e Ibid. p. 357, & seq.

Visits temples. BUT the time to see the court in all its splendor, is when the king goes to visit some temple; on which occasion all the magnificence of the kingdom is display'd in the dress and equipage of the officers, as well as of his majesty himself, mounted on a lofty elephant most richly accoutred. The king is preceded by his chief officers, and followed by a multitude of horsemen, armed with muskets, and in good order. The cavalcade is closed with several beasts loaded with presents, which his majesty, in behalf of his people, is to make to the idol; whose temple, on that occasion, resembles an exchange, rather than a place of devotion. On this day the women are not permitted to stir out of their houses: but, when the king passes by, they appear at the windows, and sprinkle both him and his presents with the perfumed waters of *Naffe*; which wetting is very agreeable to him. His majesty is met at some distance from the temple by the *Talapoy*, dressed in their most pompous habits, who attend him through the ceremony, and, at the end, divide the most valuable offerings among themselves.

His audience. THE magnificence which appears in this festival exceeds that which is displayed at court, when an ambassador is to have his audience, or the petty kings, who are his tributaries, come to pay him homage. On this occasion he receives them in a great hall, sitting on a very high throne, and dressed in his robes of ceremony. He returns their compliments by the mouth of his chancellor; and never speaks to them but by an interpreter^f.

§. 2. History of Lanjang.

Ancient state, WE meet with very little in authors concerning the history and affairs of the *Lanjans*. It has been already remarked, that they were, many centuries ago, in subjection to *China*; as were all the other countries of the farther *Indian* peninsula: but, after they had shaken off the yoke, and were powerful, they formed themselves into a kind of republic, which continued till the year of *Christ* 600, when their state became a monarchy.

free and independent. For the country having become more populous by the great resort of *Siameses*, who, for that end, had leave to settle there; the *Lanjans*, to secure the power to themselves, elected a chief or commander, whom they invested with all the authority, and acknowledged for their sovereign. But factions arising among them, through the intrigues of the *Siameses*; these latter, having had a powerful party, procured one to be raised to the throne, who was of the family of the kings of *Siam*. From this prince the kings of *Lao*, or rather *Lanjan*, have been lineally descended, for above a thousand years; insomuch that they still retain both the language and dress of their ancestors. From this time, likewise, they seem to have continued independent, although some authors report that they pay tribute to the king of *Tong-king*^a. But that is a mistake, arising from a circumstance which they were not sufficiently acquainted with, and is as follows.

Subject to Ava. THE governor of a province of *Lao* having usurped the sovereignty, the king of *Tong-king*, to whom that province formerly belonged, invaded and obliged him by force to pay him tribute. This he did for some time: but, towards the end of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century, the king of *Ava*, after conquering *Pegu* and *Siam*, made himself master, not only of that province, but of all *Lao* (or *Lanjan*), whose inhabitants he carried to *Pegu*, in order to people that country. The *Lanjans*, who bore their captivity with the utmost impatience, at length formed a general conspiracy, to recover their liberty; and rising on a day appointed, put the *Peguers* to the sword, where-ever they met with them. Their enterprise was attended with so great success, that, had they pursued their good fortune, they might easily have reduced the whole kingdom under their subjection: but the desire they had to return to their own country made them hasten thither, from whence they quickly expelled their enemies, who had it in possession. The news of this revolution coming to the ears of the natives, who had fled for shelter into the neighbouring mountains and forests, they presently returned, and re-peopled *Lanjan*, the capital of this kingdom, which soon recovered its former splendor, under its legitimate king.

Throne off the yoke, THE king of *Ava* and *Pegu* not being able, at that juncture, to revenge the insult, dissembled his resentment; and the better to compass his design by fraud, pretended to relinquish his right to the kingdom, and make an alliance with the *Lanjans*; contenting himself with a very small acknowledgement on their side. Mean time he, under-hand, made great preparations for war: but his death, which happened in the year 1647, frustrated his intentions. However, his successor, pursuing the same scheme, sent ambassadors to the *Lanjans*, with rich presents, and very obliging letters; by which he demanded, but in very moderate terms, a yearly tribute of only one choice elephant, and a beautiful maiden. The king of *Lao*, far from agreeing to the proposal, was so provoked, that he caused the ambassadors and their equipage to be seized as spies. At the same time he sent some of his best troops towards the

^f MARINI, p. 361, & seqq.

^a Ibid. ubi supra, p. 356.

^a frontiers of *Pegu*, where the king of *Ava* had his magazines filled with warlike stores, ready for his intended enterprise : but as he left them unguarded, in order to take off all suspicion, the *Lanjans* came on them by surprise, and burnt them to the ground. This unexpected blow ruined all the measures of that formidable monarch, who durst neither attack them, nor pursue their retreat, as well for want of ammunition, as for fear of a rebellion, knowing that his subjects hated him ^b.

THIS is all the account we are able to give of the affairs of *Lanjan*; as having received very little information from that country, since the middle of the last century, when the missionaries found it impracticable to propagate their religion among the inhabitants, who were too much under the influence of their *Talapoy*, or priests.

^b MARINI, p. 366, & seqq.

C H A P. VIII.

The kingdom of Siam.

S E C T. I.

Name, extent, mountains, rivers, soil, and produce.

^a **T**HE name of *Siam* came into *Europe* by the *Portugueses*, who write also *Sion*, and had ^{its name.} it probably from the people of *Pegu*, or the *Malayans*, who call it *Tsiam*^a. This is not the appellation given to the country by the natives : but as *Tsiam* or *Siam* signifies *free* in the *Peguan* language, it seems to be a translation of the indigenous name of the inhabitants, which is *Tay* : and hence the country is called *Mouang* or *Muang* (A) *Tay*, that is, *the kingdom of freemen*, or *Franks*. They also call themselves *Tay-noe*, *the little Tay*, or *Siams* ; to distinguish them from the *Tay-yay*, or *great Siams* (B), who inhabit the northern mountains, and are reputed savages ^b. *Pinto* says, the true name of *Siam* is *Sornau*, or the empire of the *Sornau*^c : but we do not find that what he asserts has been confirmed by any traveller since his time.

^b SIAM is surrounded by high mountains, which, on the east side, separate it from the king- ^{Bounds.} doms of *Kamboja* and *Lahos*, or *Laos* ; on the west from *Pegu* ; and on the north from *Ava*, or, more properly, from *Jangoma*, which is subject to *Ava* ; on the south it is washed by the gulf of *Siam*, and has the peninsula of *Malakka* ; the north part (C) whereof is under its dominion.

THE general situation of *Siam* has been determined by the observations made in 1688 by ^{Situation and} the Jesuit missionaries, at the city of *Siam* and *Louvo* ; but its dimensions are uncertain. The ^{extent.} *Abbe Choisy* promised to draw an exact map of it^d ; and we are told, the king of *Siam* would have engaged the missionaries to have made a map of his own and the neighbouring kingdoms, but they were obliged to proceed for *China*^e. However, Mr. *Loubiere* has published ^c one at the head of his description of *Siam*, made by an *Englishman*, who went up the *Menan*, as far as the northern frontiers^f ; which, according to this map, are placed in the latitude of 22° 30'. This Mr. *De l'Isle* has followed in his maps ; and Mr. *Bellin*, in his map of the farther peninsula (D), extends them to the 23d degree. But the late map of *China*, published ^{Mistakes about} by the Jesuits, shews this to be a very great error : for in that case, instead of leaving room ^{them.} for the kingdom of *Jangoma*, and other provinces of *Ava*, which lie to the north of *Siam*, between it and *China*, its northern borders will be carried one whole degree within those of *China*. To avoid this error, Mr. *Bellin* has run into another, equally injurious to geography, by contracting the bounds of the province of *Tun-nan*, in *China*, above four degrees from

^a KAMPFER hist. Japan. p. 25.

^b LOUBIERE hist. Siam, p. 6, & seq.

^c MENDEZ PINTO'S

voyage, ch. 47. p. 269.

^d CHOISY voy. de Siam, p. 552.

^e TACHARD voy. de Siam, p. 265.

^f LOUBIERE, p. 3.

(A) It is also written *Meüang*, or *Mewang*, *Moang*, *Moan*, *Mong*, and the like. *Ger-vaise* says, p. 42. that *Meüang Thay*, signifies a country of great strength ; they call it also the circuit of the visitations of the gods. *Kampfer Japan*, p. 25.

(B) Of these an account has been given before, p. 283.

(C) In consequence of this, it may be said to be washed on the west side by the gulf of *Bengál* : where it has some good ports, as *Merguy*, *Junfalim*, &c.

(D) Inserted in the *Histoire generale des voyages*, tome ix. under the title of *Cartes des royaumes de Siam*, *Tunquin*, *Pegu*, &c.

west to east. Would it not have been better to make *Siam* contiguous with *China*, since a *Loubiere's* map is not to be compared with that of the Jesuits for accuracy? On the contrary, that author confesses, that the person who made the map of *Siam* was not skilled enough to give the positions entirely exact. He should have gone farther, and said he had not taken any latitudes; at least he observed none on the northern frontiers, the situation of which, above all things, ought to have been settled.

Loubiere's
map faulty.

LOUBIERE places the southern borders of *Siam* in thirteen degrees of latitude; by that means curtailing it more on that side than he has enlarged it on the other. *Joost Schuten* (E), with more propriety, extends it northward only to the eighteenth degree, and southward to the seventh; where it confines with the kingdoms of *Patane* and *Queda*, which are its tributaries. However, we make its northern limits to touch the nineteenth parallel; nor durst we venture to give them a greater elevation; since, in so doing, we leave no more than three degrees for the countries lying between *Siam* and *China*. According then to our computation, *Siam* is situated between the seventh and nineteenth degrees of latitude, containing twelve degrees, or about 834 *English* miles in length from south to north; and between the 115th and 121st degrees of longitude: so that its greatest breadth from west to east is about 400 miles; but, towards the north, it is not much above half that breadth.

The mountains

SIAM being, as hath been already observed, surrounded with mountains, and having very few hills within the intermediate country, may be said to be one wide extended plain, with a great river, and its branches, running through it from north to south. It is remarkable, that these great mountains, which make two huge chains, one on the west and the other on the east side, diminish gradually as they advance southward. That on the west side, having passed along the borders of *Pegu*, runs through the middle of the peninsula of *Malakka*, and terminates at the cape of *Sinkapura*, the most southern point of all *Asia*, which separates the gulf or bay of *Bengál* from that of *Siam*. The eastern chain, which divides *Siam* from *Labos* and *Kamboja*, terminates at the cape of this last name, which makes the most eastern point of the gulf of *Siam*^b. The kingdom of *Siam* extends on each side of the gulf like a horseshoe, beginning on the east side at the river of *Chantabon*, which divides it from *Kamboja*: on the opposite side it reaches as far south as *Quedab* and *Patana* in the territories of the *Malayans*, of which *Malakka* was formerly the capital. Thus the coast runs about 200 leagues along the gulf of *Siam*, and 180 along that of *Bengál*, affording great conveniency for trade to the kingdom.

which sur-
round it.

SEVERAL rivers, descending from these chains of mountains, fall into both gulfs, and render the coasts inhabitable. Hence the coast of *Siam*, in the gulf of *Bengál*, has ports and roads, which the opposite coast of *Choromandel* wants^b.

The river
Menâm.

THE principal river of all *Siam* is called *Menâm*, *Menân*, or *Meynâm*, that is, *the mother of waters*, by way of excellency; *Menâm* being an appellation given to all great rivers through the farther *Indian* peninsle. The source of this river is either unknown to most of the inhabitants of these parts, or they misrepresent it, in order to magnify its origin. Hence travellers have given such different accounts: some, as *Mendez Pinto*, say, it rises in a lake called *Chiamay*, near a city of that name, several days journey to the north of *Siam*; but *Loubiere* could not hear of any such lake^c. *Gervaise* says, it probably has its source in a great lake, discovered some years since in the country of *Laos*^k; which, if there be any such, may be the lake of *Chiamay*. According to *Kæmpfer*, the *Siameses* derive it from the high mountains of *Imaus*; and report that it divides into several arms, which run through *Kamboja*, *Siam*, and *Pegu*, into the sea. They farther pretend, that these arms are joined by other smaller branches, not only among themselves, but also with the *Ganges*, rising in the same mountains, if they are not rather to be deemed branches of this last river; and hence a passage might be opened for vessels to go from *Siam* into *Bengál*. But our author will not vouch for the truth of this account^l; and he is in the right of it, for it is contrary to experience.

Its origin.

As some make it a branch of the *Ganges*^m, so others derive it, still more extravagantly, from the *Indus*ⁿ. But we are told that M. *Le Clerc*, a missionary, who ascended the *Menâm* as far as the frontiers of *Lao* (F), found it there very narrow; and the inhabitants assured him, that three days higher it was no more than a small brook descending from the mountains^o. This seems to be the most likely account of its origin; and agrees with what Mr. *Loubiere* relates, that it is so small at its entrance into the kingdom of *Siam*, that for fifty leagues it carries only little boats, holding no more than four or five persons^p.

^b See LOUBIERE. p. 3 & 7.
Siam, p. 8.
ubi sup.

^c KÆMPFER, p. 43.

^o CHOISY, ubi sup.

^b LOUBIERE, ibid.

^l Ibid. p. 3.

^m CHOISY voy. de Siam, p. 536.

^p LOUBIERE, ubi sup.

^k GERVAISE relat. de

ⁿ See GERVAISE,

(E) He was director of the *Dutch* company in those parts, and wrote in the year 1636.

(F) Rather perhaps *Jungama*, then probably dependant on *Lao*, or *Lanjang*, a part of *Lao*.

- a Its course is from north to south, through the whole country of *Siam*. As it advances *Its course.* towards the sea, it is increased by other rivers, especially on the east side, and becomes very large at last, as it approaches the capital; from whence upwards, it is embarrassed with rocks and cataracts; but their *praws* (or large boats) may be taken to pieces, and carried by land till those obstructions are past ^a. This river, descending from the city of *Ubiamay* (G), and entering *Siam*, passes by the following cities: *Me-tak*, the first towards the north-north-west; then, successively, *Tian-tong*, *Kampeng*, or *Kampeng-pet* (H), which some pronounce *Kampingue*, *Lakon-sevan*, *Chaynat*, *Siam* (or *Siyuthia*), *Talakoan*, *Talagueow*, and *Bangkok* (or *Fon*); seven miles below which it falls into the gulf of *Siam* by three mouths, the most navigable of which is that towards the east ^r.
- b AT the mouth, by the *Siameses* called *Pagnam Taufia* ^s, it is a league wide; higher up it *Bar at the* diminishes to one fourth of that breadth; and every-where above, as far as the capital city, *mouth.* it is 200 paces over. Its channel all that way is deep, and pretty equal (I), carrying up vessels of 3 or 400 tons; and was it not for the bank or bar at its mouth, which has but eleven or twelve feet water in the highest floods, great ships might sail up it; but, on account of that obstruction, they are obliged to remain in the road, which is very safe. Its course from the city downwards is very winding, making several agreeable isles: the water is very clear, light, and good. It is full of fish, but has not such variety as the rivers of *France*. The chief of them is called by the *Europeans* *kaboche*, about a foot and half long, and ten or twelve thick, with a kind of flat and square head: there are two sorts; one ash-coloured, the other black: this last is best for keeping. They dry them in the sun, and have a great trade for them with the neighbouring countries. The fish of this river are not like those of *France*, but then they are rather more delicious. One often meets with crocodiles of a monstrous size; and a little venomous fish, which, on being provoked, swells like a toad. It is delightful sailing on this river, whose banks are green and very populous; but one is sadly tormented with gnats: in a word, its waters annually swell and overflow ^t. This *Overflow* happens in *March*, at which time the country is drowned for above 120 miles in circuit. To *yearly.* this periodical event the kingdom not only owes its yearly fertility, but has sometimes been obliged for its preservation: as it happened in 1587, when the vast army of *Pegu*, which besieged the capital city, was on a sudden surprised by the inundation, and the greater part of
- c it destroyed ^u.
- d THE map published by Mr. *Loubiere* exhibits another river called also *Menán*, which rising *Other rivers* in the mountains on the western borders of *Labos* or *Laos*, runs southward, almost parallel with the former; and passing through *Menang Fang*, *Pichay*, *Porse'ouk*, and *Pichit*, falls into the great river at *Lakon-sevan*. The journal of the *Chinese* merchants, often quoted before, mentions two rivers of this country which have their sources in the kingdom of *Laos*; one called the river of *Siam*, which rises in the mountain *Kyang Darw*, the other *Kyang-hay*, or *Kyang-lay*, which falls into the great river ^v: but which of these, or whether either of them, is the river passing by *Muang Fang*, we cannot pretend to determine.
- e THERE are two other rivers of note which fall into the *great Menám*, near its mouth; one *falling into it.* on the west-side, which rises near the city of *Kambori*, to the south-west of *Lakon-sevan*; and from thence descending towards *Papri*, divides into two branches; the most northern, called *Mahapram*, joins the *great Menám*, a little to the north of the capital of *Siam*; the other falls into the sea, near *Pipeli*, towards the western mouth of the same river.
- f THE river on the east side has its source a little above the city of *Karazema*, on the frontiers of the *Laos*: and, having passed by *Kanayot* and *Perion*, enters the sea at *Banplasoy*, near the eastern branch of the *Menán*.
- BESIDES the above-mentioned rivers, we meet with two other considerable ones, which *That of Te-* are, at present, within the bounds of this kingdom. The first is that of *Tenassarim*, which *nasserim.* comes from the mountains of *Ava*, and is of great length; but the navigation is rendered difficult, by rocks and branches of trees, with which its channel is full. It is likewise so rapid, that one cannot ascend it above three or four leagues a day: it passes almost due south to the city of *Tenassarim*; and then turning suddenly to the north-west, about thirteen leagues from thence, falls into the bay of *Bengál*, at the port of *Mergbey*.
- THE other river is that of *Chantebon*, which, though not so large as some of those before-mentioned, carries large vessels with greater ease than any of them; and notwithstanding *River of Chantebon.* there is a great bank of mud at the entrance, yet you have always fourteen or fifteen feet water ^y.

^a KÆMPFER, ubi supra, p. 26.^r LOUBIERE, ubi supra, p. 3.^s KÆMPFER, p. 13.^t GER-^v AISE, ubi supra, p. 7, & seqq.^u See PIMENTA apud Purch. pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1746.^x DU

HALDE's description of China, vol. i. p. 62.

^y GERVAISE, ubi supr. p. 11, & seqq.(G) Doubtless *Jamabay*, capital of *Jangama*.(H) Probably the *Kapimpr* of *Mendez Pinto*.(I) *Kæmpfer*, p. 43. says it is very deep, rapid, full, and broader than the *Elbe*.

Soil and pro-
duce.

THE country of *Siam* may be divided into cultivated and uncultivated lands; of which latter it for the most part consists; being covered with woods of *bambû*, and other trees. The most profitable to the *Siameses* are those which produce cotton, oil, and varnish. These oils, mixed with plasters, render the walls of their houses as white, hard, and well polished, as marble. Their varnish is very good, but they know not how to make use of it. The forests afford timber for building ships and houses, for wainscoting and carving. There is both light and heavy wood; some easy to cleave, others which will not cleave at all: this is called *Wood Mary*, and is better than any other for the ribs of ships. Here is also the *iron wood*, very heavy and tough, of which anchors are made. It is said to have the quality of corroding iron in time. There is a wood as light as fir, and of the same colour, but more fit for carving, as it never splinters under the chissel.

Useful timber.

ABOVE all, the *Siameses* have trees so tall and strait, that one alone is sufficient to make a boat, or *balon*, sixteen or twenty fathom long. They have also the cinnamon-tree, the best next to that of *Seylan*; *Sapan*, and other woods proper for dyeing; the *aquila*, or aloes wood, better than what other countries produce, though not so good as the *Kalamba* of *Kochinchina*. This wood is found only in pieces; being nothing but rotten parts of certain trees. All trees of the kind have it not; nor is it always to be met with in the same part of those which have it: so that it requires a tedious search in the woods^a.

Mines.

No country has a greater reputation for being rich in mines than *Siam*: this appears from the multitude of statues, and other cast works; great numbers of which are of gold. The wainscot also, and roofs of their temples, are gilded. However, they have of late sought in vain for mines, either of gold or silver. The king had made a metal called *tambuk*, by mixing a little gold with copper. Mr. *Vincent*, a *French* physician, discovered a mine of very good steel, and another of chrystal; also of antimony, emeril, and other minerals: besides a quarry of white marble, and a rich gold mine; but concealed it from the *Siameses*, whom yet he instructed in many things, relating to the smelting and extracting metals from the ore. They have plenty of lead and tin, called *kalin*, which is sold throughout *India*. It is soft, and not well purified; but, to render it whiter and harder, they mix it with *kadmia*, a mineral easily reduced to powder; and it is this white tin which is called *toutinague*. The *kadmia*, melted with copper, makes it yellow: but both metals become more brittle by the mixture.

Tambuk
metal.

Kalin and
toutinague.

Loadstone.

THERE is a mountain of loadstone near the city of *Louvo*; and another near the city of *Jonsalam*, on the bay of *Bengâl*: but the latter (and perhaps the former) loses its virtue in three or four months. The mountains afford very curious agate; and Mr. *Vincent* saw some pieces of sapphires and diamonds, with the *Talapoy*s, who busy themselves much in such kinds of searches. They have mines of iron, which they know how to smelt, but are bad forgers. They use wooden anchors to their galleys; and have neither chissels, saws, nor nails, nor even pins nor needles: for in building they use only pins made of *bambû*. They have some iron and copper padlocks, the first good, the latter very naught; but both sorts brought from *Japan*, for they make none themselves^a.

Overflowings
advantage of.

THE land of *Siam* seems to be formed by the mud descending from the mountains; to which mud, and the overflowings of the river, the soil owes its fertility: for in the higher places, and parts not reached by the inundation, all is dried up and burnt with the sun, soon after the rains are over. Those parts are likewise subject to contagious distempers, and the annoyance of insects, which the overflowings destroy. However, the ants, to avoid them, make their nests in trees; and, for the same reason, partridges and pigeons, which do not perch in other countries, instructed by nature, do all perch in this. Among the insects are the white ants, the *marin-gowins*, a kind of gnats; the *millipede*, or *palmer-worm*, which carries a sting both in its head and tail. Lastly, little shining flies, with four wings: they have some light in their eyes: but their greatest splendor proceeds from under their wings when they fly.

Insects.

Three seasons.

THE *Siameses* reckon only three seasons in the year, winter, little summer, and great summer. The first, which lasts but two months, answers to those of our *December* and *January*. The second season is composed of the three following months: and the other seven form the great summer. Thus their winter happens nearly at the same time with ours; because, like us, they inhabit to the north of the line; but then it is as hot as our warmest summer: so that they always cover their garden plants against the heat of the sun, as we do against the cold in winter-nights: and yet the diminution appears to them not a little incommodious. The little summer is their spring; but they have no autumn. And as for their great summer, they might well make two of it, in imitation of the antient authors, who speak of the *Indies*; since they have the sun directly over their heads twice during that hot season^b.

Winter.

^a LOUBIERE, ubi supr. p. 11, & seqq.

^a Ibid. p. 13, & seqq.

^b Ibid. p. 15, & seqq.

a THEIR winter is dry, and their summer rainy. Was it not that the sun draws clouds and rain, and that the wind blows from one pole, when the sun is declined towards the other, the torrid zone would doubtless be uninhabitable. Thus in *Siam*, that great luminary being to the south of the line during winter, the north winds blow continually, and cool the air. On the contrary, in the summer, while he is to the north of the line, and vertical to the *Siameses*, the south winds reign in their turn; and thus either cause incessant rains, or dispose the weather to be rainy. It is this constant law of the winds which the *Portugueses* call *Monçaos* (K), and *Monsoons*, other nations after them *Monsoons*. From hence also it is that ships can hardly get to the bar of *Siam*, during the six months of north winds; or depart from it for the other six months, in which the south winds command.

b THE *Siameses* have no word to express week; but, like us, they call the seven days after the planets (L), and their *Monday* corresponds with ours; but the day begins six hours sooner there than here. They begin their year on the first day of the moon in *November* or *December*, according to certain rules; and make use of a cycle of sixty years, like most of the other eastern nations, which is composed of a lesser cycle of twelve years, to each of which they give a name (M), five times repeated. Their months are twelve, consisting each of thirty days; neither of which are expressed by names, but by numbers^c. Account of time.

c RICE, called *Kaow*, is the principal harvest, and chief food, of the *Siameses*: this is the produce of the low-lands; but wheat grows in those which escape the inundation. These lands they water with watering pots, or by overflowing them with rain water, kept in cisterns, raised on higher grounds. But whether it costs more to rear it, or is not so well liked as rice, the king only uses it; and that perhaps more out of curiosity, than for any other reason. What our author ate of the king's bread was so dry, that he preferred the rice boiled in water: however, some *Europeans* assured him, that the wheaten bread of *Siam* is good; and that its dryness might proceed from rice-flower being mixed with it. Their grain.

d THE *Siameses*, in their agriculture, employ both buffaloes and oxen: which they guide by means of a cord, run through the gristle of their nose, with a knot on each side, that it may not slip in drawing. It also passes through a hole or ring, at the end of the draught-tree of the plough. Nothing is more simple than this machine, which consists of three pieces of wood: one is a long beam, which serves for the draught-tree or pole; another is crooked, serving for the handle; the third is a shorter and stronger piece, which is fastened underneath, at the end of the handle. It is this which bears the share; and these four pieces are tied together with leathern thongs.

e ONE meets with *Turkey* wheat in *Siam*, but it is reared only in gardens. Their way is to boil or parch the whole ear, and then eat the inside. They have pease and other legumes, but different from ours. Mr. *Loubiere* saw excellent potatoes of the size and shape of parsnips; which, roasted under ashes, eat like a chestnut. He likewise met with *siboules*; but neither onions, garlick, cucumbers, citruls, water-melons, parsley, baum, nor sorrel. They have no true melons, strawberries, raspberries, nor artichokes; although they have plenty of asparagus, which yet they do not eat. They have no fellery, cauliflowers, coleworts, turnips, parsnips, carrots, leeks, lettuce: in short, most of the herbs, whereof we compose our fallads, are unknown to them. However, the soil of *Siam* may be proper for them, since they thrive about *Batavia*. Pulse.

f TUBEROSES and gilliflowers, amaranthus's and tricolors, are common in *Siam*; but roses and jessamins are very scarce. Excepting these, most of our flowers and plants are strangers there: nor have they so full a scent as those of *Europe*; the excessive heat dissipating the fragrant smell, as well as the rank taste of vegetables. And hence no good grapes can be produced in this country^d. This is all which we think necessary to relate concerning the natural history of *Siam*. As to animals, such as elephants, rhinoceros's, and tigers, scorpions, and serpents, which last are of a monstrous size, we shall pass them over, as common to other countries; and shall only take notice of certain birds, called by the *Siameses* *Noktho*, which are larger than ostriches, and whose bill is three feet long. *Tachard* saw one of a middling size, whose length, from the end of its bill to its feet, was four feet ten inches; and its wings, when extended, spread seven feet and a half. The colour of its feathers, on the neck and belly, was white; those on the back, partly inclining to grey, partly to red. The wings a mixture of grey and white, but the great feathers at the end of them were black^e. Flowers. Animals and birds.

^c LOUBIERE, p. 18, & seq.

^d Ibid. p. 17, & seq.

^e TACHARD VOY. de Siam, tom. ii. p. 266.

(K) From the *Latin* *motiones æris*, according to *Officius* and *Meffi*.

(L) *Van Ait*, Sunday; *Van Chan*, Monday; *Van Angkaen*, the day of Mars, or Tuesday; *Van Pout*, the day of Mercury or Wednesday; *Van Pabaat*, the day of Jupiter, or Thursday; *Van Souk*, the day of Venus, or

Friday; *Van Saow*, the day of Saturn, or Saturday. *Van* signifies day.

(M) The names are those of animals, like the *Oygûr*, or Tartar cycle; as the *little mare*, *great mare*, *ape*, *crow*, &c.

S E C T. II.

Provinces and Cities.

Upper Siam. **T**HE kingdom of *Siam* is divided into the upper and lower. The upper, which lies to the north, contains seven provinces; denominated, from their chief cities, *Porcelouk*, *Sanquelouk*, *Lakontay*, *Kampeng-pet*, *Kokonrepina*, *Peshebon*, and *Pichay*. Each of these provinces is subdivided into several other jurisdictions or districts; *Porcelouk* contains ten; *Sanquelouk*, eight; *Lakontay*, seven; *Kampeng-pet*, ten; *Kokonrepina*, five; *Peshebon*, two; and *Pichay*, seven. Besides these, there are in the upper *Siam* twenty-one other jurisdictions, which are so many lesser provinces or districts.

Lower Siam. IN the lower, or southern *Siam*, they reckon the provinces of *Jor*, *Patana*, *Ligor*, *Tenasserim*, *Chantebon*, *Petelong*, or *Bordelong*, and *Chiay*. *Jor*, is subdivided into seven lesser provinces or districts; *Patana*, into eight; *Ligor* contains twenty; *Tenasserim*, twelve; *Chantebon*, seven; *Petelong*, eight; and *Chiay*, two. The lower *Siam* has, besides the above mentioned, thirteen other small provinces or districts: and the city of *Siam* has a province peculiar to itself, situated in the heart of the realm, between the upper and lower *Siam*^a. *Choisy* reckons in the whole kingdom no more than the following provinces; *Siuteya*, *Bankok*, *Porcelouk*, *Pitpri*, *Pichay*, *Kampeng*, *Rapri*, *Tenasserim*, *Ligor*, *Kamburi*, *Konrasema*, and *Loukonsevan*^b. Conformably to this account *Kampfer* says, *Siam* contains twelve large provinces; and that the late king had added a thirteenth (doubtless *Jangoma*), taken from the *Laos*; but that a few years after it was re-conquered from him^c.

Provinces in each. IF you will believe the *Siameses*, their country is full of splendid cities: but, for all their boasts, *Gervaise* informs us, that there are not more than nine in the whole kingdom which deserve the name of cities; the rest being no better than country towns and hamlets, nothing equal to those in *France*, for either size or handsomeness^d. *Choisy* reckons up eight principal cities besides the capital; namely *Tannasserim*, *Jonselang*, *Ligor*, *Pitpri*, *Bankok*, *Pourselouk*, *Kamburi*, and *Konrasema*^e. *Loubiere* mentions about twenty. But these fall far short of the number reported by *De Faria y Sousa*, who, from *Mendez Pinto*, or some such romancing author, affirms, that *Siam* contains no fewer than 13,000 cities and towns, besides villages, all walled^f.

Me-tak city. THE first city of this kingdom towards the north is *Me-tak*, seated on the great *Menâm*. It is subject to an hereditary lord, called by some *Paya-Tak*, or *prince of Tak*; who they say, is a vassal to the king of *Siam*.

THE next city which occurs in the same river is called *Tian-tong*, which signifies *true gold*: but lay in ruins in 1688; supposed by our author to have been reduced to that condition by the wars of *Pegu*.

Kampeng. KAMPENG, or *Kampeng-pet*, which signifies *walls of diamond*, although they are but of stone (for the *Siameses* affect to give splendid names to their most indifferent towns), is by some pronounced *Kampingue*. It is famous for mines of excellent steel^g. This city, which stands on the *Menâm*, is very ancient; and not inferior, for largeness, to the capital of *Siam*. It is between 50 and 60 leagues distant from *Porcelouk*, and ten days journey from the kingdom of *Laos*. It is fortified in the best manner after the *Siamese* method; and might hold out a long siege against the *Asiatics*, though not able to defend itself half a day against the *French*^h. This is possibly the chief city of the country of *Kapimper*, mentioned by *Pinto*; who speaks of it as having no fewer than seventeen kings belonging to itⁱ.

Lakonsevan. AT *Lakonsevan*, that is, *the mountain of heaven*, the *Menâm* receives another river from the north-east, as hath been said before. This city stands about mid-way between the capital of *Siam* and *Pitsanoulouk*, corruptly called by the *Portugueses* *Porcelouk*: a distance computed to be twenty-five days journey, for those who ascend the river in a boat; but it may be performed in twelve days with a great many rowers. These cities, like all the rest in the kingdom, are only a great number of cabbins, frequently fenced with an inclosure of wood, and sometimes with a brick or stone wall; but very rarely the latter^k.

Pitsanoulouk. PITSANOULOUK (A) is situated on the lesser *Menâm*; this is the second city in the kingdom, and its name signifies *pearl*, or *diamond encased*. It is about 100 leagues more to the

^a LOUBIERE, p. 82.^b CHOISY, p. 523.^c KÆMPFER, p. 26.^d GERVAISE, p. 41.^e CHOISY, p. 5. ubi supr.^f DE FARIA Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 364.^g LOUBIERE, p. 4.^h GERVAISE, p. 48.ⁱ PINTO voy. p. 279.^k LOUBIERE, ubi sup.

(A) *Loubiere* places it in more than 19 degrees of latitude; but, according to our computation, it must be under 17 degrees. *Choisy*, who calls it *Pourselouk*, says it abounds with elephants, rice, sulphur, rhinoceros horns, skins of buffaloes, tigers, stags, &c. also with

red gum, of which *Spanish* wax is made; sugar-canes, onions, tobacco, wax, honey, pitch-torches, and oil; timber for ships, cotton, *Sapan* wood, &c. *Choisy*, p. 525.

a north than *Yutbia*, in a more temperate climate and fruitful soil. It was built by *Chaw Meuang Hing*, who reigned about 250 years before *Chaw Thong*, founder of the capital, and gained many victories over the *Laos*. This city was formerly the usual residence of the kings of *Siam*, and one of their ancient palaces is still remaining. It is about one league in circuit; and the brick wall, which incloseth it, is one of the best in the kingdom. It is divided in two by the river which washes it¹.

SOME days journey to the north of it, on the same river, and frontiers of the kingdom, Meuang stands *Meuang Fang*, which some interpret, *the city of the wood Fang*, called by the *Portuguese* *Sapan*: but because a tooth is kept there, pretended to be a relick of their lawgiver *Sommona Kodom*, some give it the name of *Meuang Fang*, that is, *the city of the tooth*^m.

b BETWEEN *Meuang Fang* and *Pitsanoulouk*, at the distance of about forty-five leagues, but more to the east, on a river which falls into the lesser *Menâm*, is *Lokontay*, or *Lokontaya*. It is the last city of the *Siameses* towards the kingdom of *Laos*, although no less than fifteen days journey distant: for the road lies through inaccessible forests and vast desarts, where scarce a hut is to be met withⁿ.

ON the borders of the same country, but many days journey more to the south, stands *Korazema*. *Korazema*, which some call *Kariffima*, a place of considerable note^o. *Choisy* names it *Konrasema*, and says it abounds with elephants, rhinoceros's, eagle-wood, and other valuable commodities^p.

ON the frontiers of *Pegu*, towards *Martabân*, is situated the city of *Kambori*, or *Kamburi*, *Kambori*. c which has the same produce with *Porjelouk*, excepting sugar-canes and onions. Likewise in the lands which lie between the rivers above the city of *Lakon-sevan*, and on the chanel which pass from one river to the other, there are two considerable cities more; one called *Sokotay*, almost in the same latitude with *Pichit*; the other *Sanquelouk*, lying more to the north. It must be noted that almost all the cities, towns, and other habitations, of the *Siameses*, are built on the banks of rivers, or the canals of communication; the country being so hot, that it is inhabitable no-where else^q.

THE capital of *Siam*, to which the *Portuguese* gave the same name with the country, is, by *Siam*, or the natives, called *Li-yo-tbi-ya* (B), the *o* in *yo*, being closer than the *French* diphthong *ou*. Of *Siyuthia*, this foreigners have made *Judia*, *Jutbia*, and *Odiaa*. It is situated in an island, amidst d several others, made by canals cut by the natives; which island is, at present, all inclosed within its walls. So that, unless some great alteration has been made since the time of *Mendez Pinto*, we must place his account of it to the number of his falsities: for he says, the elephants of the king of *Pegu*, who besieged the city in 1548, approached the walls so nearly, as with their trunks to beat down the palisadoes, raised by the *Siameses* to cover themselves. It has almost the shape of a purse, the mouth of which is to the east, and the bottom to the west. The river meets it at the north by several chanel, which run into that which incircles it; and leaves it on the south; by dividing again into several streams. The king's palace stands to the north, on the canal which incloses the city: and, at the east end, there is a causey, by which alone, as by an isthmus, people may go in and out, without crossing the water.

e SIYUTHIA is spacious, considering the compass of the walls (C), but scarce a sixth part is *large, but not* inhabited, and that to the south-east only: the rest lies desert; where nothing is to be seen *populous*. excepting temples, which are erected in several places. However, some amends is made by the suburbs, which are inhabited by strangers. The streets are large and strait: in some places planted with trees, and paved with bricks, laid edgewise. Most of them are watered with strait canals, which have caused this city to be compared to *Venice*; but they are covered with a great many ugly little bridges, made of hurdles, and some of brick. The houses are low, and built with wood; at least those belonging to the natives; who, for those reasons, are exposed to all the inconveniences of the excessive heats.

f THE city was founded, according to the *Siameses*, in the 1894th year of their æra, which *Its longitude* answers to that of *Christ* 1351 (D). The latitude of it was found, by *Thomas* the Jesuit, to *and latitude* be fourteen degrees eighteen minutes; and the longitude ninety-eight degrees thirty minutes from the meridian of *Paris*, or one hundred and eighteen degrees thirty minutes from that of *Ferro*. This is an observation of great importance, as it serves to fix the situation of the whole farther peninsula of *India*; and is of use in settling that of the adjacent islands^r.

THE king of *Siam*'s palace, called *Prasjat*, as well in this city as those elsewhere, has three *The king's* inclosures, so distant one from the other, that the spaces between look like vast courts. The *palace*.

¹ GERVAISE, p. 47.

^m LOUBIERE, p. 4. & seq.

ⁿ GERVAISE, p. 58.

^o LOUBIERE, p. 6.

^p CHOISY, p. 526.

^q LOUBIERE, p. 6. & CHOISY, ubi supra.

^r LOUBIERE, p. 7. & GERVAISE, p. 41.

(B) *Choisy* writes *Sciayuthaia*; *Gervaise*, *Meuang Siyuthia*; which signifies the city of *Siyuthia*.

(C) *Gervaise* says, p. 41, that the city is not above two leagues in circuit, exclusive of the palace.

(D) According to this computation, it was 338 years standing in 1689, when *Loubiere* wrote; *Gervaise* therefore is mistaken, who says it was built only about 200 years before.

innermost, called *Vang*, contains that monarch's apartments, with some court and some garden. ^a The *Siameses* never enter or go out of the *Vang* without prostrating themselves; neither do they ever pass before the *Prassat*: and if the current happens to carry them athwart it, they are sure to be pelted with pease, which the king's servants shoot at them from trunks. The *French* ambassadors landed at the first entrance of the palace, and left their umbrellas there. The gates are always shut; and, behind each, stands a porter, who, if any body knocks, informs the officer who commands in the first inclosure. For, without his permission, no person either goes in or out; and he examines their breath, to see if they have drank *arak*; as much care being taken to keep out drunken people, as those who bear arms.

Its several courts.

BETWEEN the two first inclosures, and under a pent-house, there is posted a small number of soldiers, but unarmed and stooping. These, named *Kenbay*, or painted arms, are both the ^b prince's executioners and his guards. They also row his balon, when he goes on the water. There may be about 600 in the palace, but many more through the kingdom. In the first inclosure are the stables of the best elephants and horses, to which the king gives names. In the *Vang* are some of those single halls, where the officers meet, either to discharge their functions, or to make their court to his majesty; who shews himself from a window, belonging to a higher chamber than that of audience. At the two corners of the hall, on the same side, and of equal height with the window, which is nine feet above the floor, are two doors, and two pair of narrow stairs to ascend. For the furniture, there are only three umbrellas, one before the window, with nine rounds, and two with seven rounds, on both sides of the window: the umbrella being, in this country, a mark of state, as the canopy is in *Europe*. ^c In this hall the officers receive their orders, by the intervention of forty pages (E), divided into four bands, consisting of eleven each: two bands prostrate themselves in the hall, at the king's right hand; the other two on his left^d.

Hall of audience.

The king's apartments.

THIS palace, which is built of brick, is about a mile and half in circuit. It is divided by several courts: in the two first are lodged the officers of the king's household; and in the others, there are still to be seen some old apartments of the ancient kings, esteemed as sacred places, with rows of trees before them, which render their habitation very delightful. There are likewise some old temples, which make a handsome figure. The king's apartment, which is in the innermost court, was but newly built, when the *French* ambassadors were at *Siam*: the gold, which glitters in a thousand places, distinguishes it from the other buildings. ^d Its figure is that of a cross; in the middle whereof there rises above the roof a pyramid of several stories, which is the mark of royal houses. It is all covered with tin: nor can anything be better done than the carved work, with which it is adorned on every side. The apartment of the princess, his daughter, who, after the death of her mother, was created a queen, was near the king's, and appeared very magnificent. Both looked into great gardens, well planted; whose walks were divided by little canals.

His pleasure barges.

WITHOUT the palace, on the river, to the left hand, are the great magazines, where the king's balons or pleasures-boats are lodged: they are 150 in number, all very magnificent. On the right lies a large park, where formerly the wild elephants were brought to be tamed; a diversion which the royal family took much delight in^e.

Siam often besieged.

THE city of *Siyuthia*, or *Siam*, hath undergone several sieges by foreign forces, since the *Europeans* first went to *India* by sea. In 1548 it was besieged by the first *Barma* king who conquered *Pegu*, with an army of 800,000 men: but, after he had lain before it four months, in which time several furious assaults were given to the place, and 150,000 of his men slain, he hastily raised the siege, and returned to suppress a rebellion, which had broken out in his absence^o. *Odiaa*, or *Siyuthia*, was attacked with better success by the second *Barma* king, who, in 1567, invested it with 1,400,000 men. But for all this power, we are told, he would not have taken it, if it had not been betrayed into his hands^z.

SIAM revolting on the death of that king, his son and successor, in the year 1585, besieged the capital with 300,000 men, 5000 elephants, and 30,000 guards. But the king of *Siam* ^f spinning out the time, under pretence of submitting on conditions, till the season of the inundation, the river overflowed, and destroyed most part of the *Barma* army^y. Notwithstanding this, the king of *Pegu* made several expeditions against *Siyuthia*, both in person and by his generals, but with no better success: and at length having, about the year 1590, sent his eldest son *Maupa Râjab* upon the same errand, with a very great army; that prince was slain in single combat by *Api Râjab*, called by the *Portugueses* the black king of *Siam*.

^o LOUBIERE, p. 96, & seqq.

^z GERVAISE, p. 43, & seqq.

^y PINTO's voy. p. 279.

^x CÆS. FREDER. ap. Purch. pilg. vol. ii. p. 1710.

^y FITCH & PIMENTA ap. Purch. ubi supr. p. 1733.

1746. See also before, p. 267.

(E) The same form is observed in the other countries of this peninsula.

- a FOURTEEN leagues from the capital, if you go by the great river, and only nine or ten by *City of Louvo* the canals, stands *Louvo*, commonly called *Nokshebouri*, which is to *Siyuthia* what *Versailles* is to *Paris*, or *Hampton-Court* to *London*. The ancient kings had here a pleasure-house; but it had been abandoned above 100 years, when the king, who reigned in 1687, ordered it to be rebuilt. This city stands in a plain, of the higher grounds, where the inundation never reaches; and may be about a mile and a half in length. Its figure is almost square, and it is inclosed with a wall of earth, strengthened with brick towers at certain distances. During the overflow it is almost intirely surrounded with water: at other times it is only washed on one side by a small branch of the great river, which is not deep enough for large boats. Its situa- *Charming* tion is so charming, and the air so good, that the king spends the greater part of the year *situation.*
- b there. The gardens and walks are extremely pleasant. It has only two inconveniences; one, that as it is very populous, provisions are dearer there than in any other part of the kingdom; the other is the want of water for four or five months, when the river is low and foul; at which time they use well-water, or that which is saved in cisterns after the inundation. The palace lately built by the king on the bank of the river, is the greatest ornament of *Louvo*; and, if it be not so magnificent as that in the capital, yet it makes a more gay appearance^a. Its latitude, as observed by the Jesuits, is 14° 42' 30".

- FIVE or six leagues east-north-east of *Louvo*, is *Prabat*, remarkable for a piece of supersti- *Prabat.* tion, from whence the place takes its name: for *bat*, in the *Balli* (or *Palli*) language, signifies a foot, and *pra*, any thing worthy of veneration and respect. This relick is the print of a man's
- c foot, ill cut upon a rock, thirteen or fourteen inches deep, and five or six times longer than the natural. The *Siameses* not only adore it themselves, but believe that the elephants, rhinoceros's, and other wild beasts, do likewise repair thither to worship it, when no person is present. The king goes once a year with great pomp, to pay his devoirs to it. The impression is *Place of pil-* covered with a plate of gold, within a chapel for the purpose. The *Talapoy* pretend it was *grimage.* made by *Sommona Kodom*, who, at the same time, had one foot here, while the other rested on a mountain in *Lanka*, or *Seylâm*, although the whole gulf of *Bengâl* lies between. They report also, that, by the pressure of his foot, he made the mountain flat and level, which before rose to a great height. But as the tradition of this miracle was not above ninety years old, when *Loubiere* was at *Siam*, he concludes the whole was an imposture of one of the priests of that age.
- d ABOUT eighteen leagues to the south of *Siyuthia*, and twelve from the sea, stands the city *Fon*, or *Ban-* of *Fon*, commonly called *Bankok*: but whence this last name is derived, our author could not *kok.* discover; although the word *ban*, which signifies *village*, enters into the composition of many local names in the kingdom of *Siam*. From the territory of this city, as far as *Talakoan*, four leagues higher, the capital is supplied with a great quantity of fruits^a. *Bankok* is certainly the most important place in the whole country; for there is no other place on all the coast which is able to make any resistance. It is not above a mile and a half long; but its breadth is far short of that extent. It is inclosed with walls only on the east and south sides, which are *Strength and* washed by the great river. At the point, where that river divides in two branches (which fall *situation.* by different mouths into the gulf), it is only defended by a half-moon battery, mounted with
- e twenty-five great pieces of brass cannon, which are very well made. Opposite to it, on the other side of the *Menâm*, there is another little fort, which seems to be of no great defence, although mounted with more than thirty great guns. These two forts, if such they may be termed, are guarded by 100 *Mestizo Portugueses*, creatures without any courage. The *Chevalier De Chaumont*, the *French* ambassador, left an engineer with the king to fortify *Bankok*^b: but the fort which he raised on the east side of the river was, in the succeeding troubles, demolished^c.

^a GERVAISE, ubi supr. p. 49, & seqq.
& seq.

^z KÆMPFER, p. 14, 42.

^x LOUBIERE, p. 4. & seq.

^y GERVAISE, p. 57,

S E C T. III.

Maritime cities, and tributary countries.

- f B A N K O K properly ought to be considered among the maritime cities or ports of *Siam*, *Maritime* which we come next to treat of. These are situated in the peninsula of *Malakka*. Some *cities.* on the east side, in the gulf of *Siam*. The first considerable port is that of *Ligor*, or *Lugor*. *Ligor:* This city was conquered by *Râjab Api*, called the black king of *Siam*, about the year 1603^a. It is an ancient city, but not very considerable. The *Dutch* have a factory here^b; its commodities being *kalin*, or tin, rice, fruits, and, in some years, much pepper^c. *Ligor* stands

^a FLORIS ap. nov. collect. voy. p. 439.

^b GERVAISE, p. 16, & 61.

^c CHOISY, p. 524.

Singor. in about the eighth degree of latitude ; and, about one degree lower, lies *Sonkourat*, *Sangor*, or *Singor*, which is large and beautiful, but otherwise not very considerable. About the year 1673 this city rebelled against the king of *Siam* ; who having reduced it by his forces, ordered it to be demolished ^d. It was the first town to the south belonging to *Siam*.

Patâna. NOT far off is *Patâna*, or *Patâni*, a considerable city, formerly capital of a kingdom, governed by queens. But it was at length conquered by the black king, about the same time with *Ligor* ^e. However, it still remains in possession of the king of *Jokor*, or *Jear*, who pays homage or tribute to the king of *Siam* ^f.

Mergui. THE principal ports belonging to *Siam*, on the west side of the peninsula of *Malakka*, are *Mergui* and *Jonsalam*. The first has its name from a little island, which the *Siameses* call *Migri*, and *Europeans* *Mergui*. This is one of the best and most secure ports in all the *Indies* ^g. It lies on the north-west point of the island, which is very populous ; and in the mouth of an excellent river, called *Tannasserim* ; from a city of that name, seated on its bank, about seventeen leagues from the sea. The river descends from the north ; and having passed through the kingdoms of *Ava* and *Pegu*, enters *Siam*, and falls by three mouths into the bay of *Bengâl*. The port lies between the isle of *Mergui*, and another which is to the west of it ^h ; and is defended by a fort built by the king of *Siam* ⁱ. Formerly a good number of *English* free merchants were settled at *Merji* or *Mergui*, and drove a considerable trade ; but the old *East-India* company, envying their happiness, ordered them to repair to *Fort St. George* ; and, in 1687, sent captain *Weldon*, in the *Curtany*, to *Merji*, to threaten the king of *Siam* with a war by sea, if he did not either deliver these merchants up, or force them out of his country. *Weldon* behaved very insolently to the governor ; and having, without any just cause, killed some of the natives, they one night designed to be revenged on him : but the aggressor escaping on board, they vented their rage on all the *English* they could find. Thus, through the villainy of one man, seventy-six others were massacred ; so that scarce twenty escaped to the ship. Before this, the *English* were in great esteem at the court of *Siam* : one Mr. *White* was made *Shâb Bânder*, or head of the customs, at *Merji* and *Tannasserim* ; and captain *Williams* admiral of the king's navy. But, after this tragical scene, they all removed to other places, where the company had factories ^k.

Tanasserim. THE city of *Tanasserim*, or *Tenasser*, is a city of note ; but not so considerable as it was formerly : the trade being, for the most part, removed to *Mergui*, about seven leagues distant ; which often goes under its name, as the port of *Siam* for the inhabitants of the gulf of *Bengâl*. This city is famous for *Nipa*, or *Niper* wine ; which is a spirituous liquor distilled from cocoa-nut water, the best in the *Indies* ^l. It was taken from *Siam* in 1568, by the second *Barma* king of *Pegu*, under whom it continued till about 1603, when it was recovered by the black king of *Siam* ^m. In 1614 it was besieged by the king of *Ava* : but he was frustrated in his design by the resistance of the *Portugueses*, who were in the place ⁿ.

Andemân islands. OPPOSITE to the coast of *Tanasserim* are the islands of *Andemân*, about eighty leagues distant, surrounded by dangerous banks and rocks. They are all inhabited by *canibals*, who are so fearless, that they will swim off to a boat, if she approach near the shore : and attack her with their wooden swords, notwithstanding the superiority of numbers, and the advantage of fire-arms, as well as missile weapons. It is customary with them, in their *Praws*, to make a yearly descent on the *Nikubâr* islands, and kill or take prisoners as many as they can overcome : They have no notion of a Deity, according to the report of one of them, who turned *Mobammedan*, and often went from *Achîn* to fetch quicksilver, with which those islands abound ^o.

Jonsalam. THE next place of any commerce on this coast, is the island of *Jonsalam* (A) ; although there are several good harbours between it and *Merji* (or *Mergui*) : but the coast is very thin of inhabitants, on account of freebooters, called *Salleiters*, who possess the neighbouring isles ; from whence they make descents on shore, and carrying off the people, sell them at *Achîn* in *Sumatra*. The north end of *Jonsalam* lies within a mile of the continent ; but the south end is above three leagues distant. Between the island and the main is a good harbour for shipping, in the south-west monsoons ; and on the west side of the isle is *Puton* bay, no less safe in the north-east winds.

^d GERVAISE, p. 16, 61, & seq. new acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 157.

^e FLORIS voy. ap. nov. collect. trav. vol. i. p. 439.

^f HAMILT.

^g GERVAISE, p. 14.

^h LOUBIERE, p. 8.

ⁱ CHOISY,

p. 524.

^k HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 63, & seq.

^l LINSCHOT. p. 30. CÆS. FREDERIC apud

Purch. vol. ii. p. 1712.

^m FLORIS, ubi supra, p. 439.

ⁿ DE FARIA, Portug. Afiz, vol. iii.

p. 197.

^o HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 64, & seq.

(A) Mendez Pinto calls it *Jonsala* ; Fitch, *Junsalaon* ; Linschoten, *Gunsalam* ; Gervaise, *Jonsalam* ; Choisy, *Jonce-lang* ; and Hamilton, *Joukceloan*.

a THE island affords good masts for shipping, and abundance of tin : but few people dig it, ^{Ports and trade.} for fear of the above-mentioned outlaws ; and the governors, who are commonly *Chinese*, so oppress the inhabitants, that riches would be but a plague to them. Yet the villages on the continent drive a small retail trade with vessels which come from the coast of *Choromandel* ^p. The port is very good, and a secure retreat for ships going to the hither peninsula, in the stormy months of *July* and *August*. Its only fault is want of depth for large vessels ; but that defect is supplied by a fair road near it. In short, *Jonsalam* is of great consequence for the trade of *Pegu*, *Bengal*, and other neighbouring parts ^a. *Choisy* says it abounds with *kalin* (or tin) and ambergrise ^f.

THE islands off this part of the coast are the *Nikubârs*, at the distance of about ninety leagues. *Nikubâr*
 b The northernmost cluster is low, and called the *Kar Nikubârs* ; which lying near the *Andemâns*, ^{islands.} are but thinly inhabited. The middle cluster is fine champain ground, and, all but one, well inhabited. They are called the *Somerera* islands by the *Portugueses*, from a hill on the south-end of the largest, which resembles the top of an *umbrella*, as that word signifies. This island seems to be well peopled, from the number of villages which appear at sea ; and the natives bring the product of their soil aboard of ships, to exchange for tobacco, which they are very fond of ; also old hatchets, sword-blades, and pieces of iron hoops, to make defensive arms of, against the *Andemâners*. They speak a little broken *Portuguese* ; and are exceeding courteous. The man's cloathing is about a foot and half of cloth, six inches broad, tucked before and behind within a string, which goes round their middle. Their hair is left on the
 c upper part of the head, and below the crown ; but cut so short, that it hardly touches their ears. The women, on the contrary, have their heads close shaved ; and wear a kind of short petticoat, reaching from the navel to the knee.

ABOUT six leagues to the southward of the said *Somerera* island, lies *Tallang-jang*, an unin-^{Tallang-jang}habited isle, where an *English* ship was lost in 1708 : but the men were saved, and relieved by the inhabitants of *Ning* and *Gouri* ; two fine islands about four leagues to the west of *Tallang-jang*, and eight to the southward of the greatest *Somerera*. They, in a very humane manner, carried them, with the little things they had saved, to their islands, and treated them hospitably : but this compassion was soon turned to hatred, by the ingratitude and insolence of the captain, named *Owen*. This man, having laid a broken knife carelessly by, one of the natives made
 d bold to take it, yet did not offer to hide it. *Owen* seeing it in the poor *Indian's* hand, not ^{ingratitude punished.} content to get it from him, bestowed some kicks and blows by way of punishment. This was taken very ill by the people in general, who discovered their dissatisfaction, and reproved those who brought the *English* to their islands. In effect, next day, as the captain was sitting under a tree at dinner, about a dozen of the natives advancing, discharged a shower of darts, and killed him in an instant. The rest, being sixteen, escaped by the care of their benefactors, who kept guard about their house till next morning : and then providing them with two canoes and victuals, made signs to them to be gone. One of the canoes, with half of the men, were drowned by the way. The other got safe to *Jonsalam*, where our author received them aboard.

e THE southern cluster of the *Nikubârs* is mountainous ; and the inhabitants partake of their ^{South cluster.} unpolished nature ; being more uncivil and surly than those of the northern. As to the rest, their islands produce the same sorts of necessaries as the others do ; that is, hogs, fowls, cocks ; fish, fresh, salted, and dried ; excellent yams, potatoes, parrots, and monkeys ^f.

THE next place of note to *Jonsalam*, southward, is *Quedah*, which is honoured with the ^{Quedah king-}title of a kingdom, although both small and poor. The town, which bears the same name, ^{dum.} stands on the banks of a small navigable river, deep but narrow, about fifty miles from the sea. There the king resides, who shews no marks of grandeur besides arbitrary sway. The people are deceitful, covetous, and cruel : their religion is *Mohammedan*, much mixed with *Paganism*. The produce of the country is tin, pepper, elephants, and their teeth, canes, and *damar*, a
 f gum used in making pitch and tar for shipping. The king, who is proud and beggarly, never fails to visit merchants at their coming to his port ; and then must have a present : the stranger must make him another when he returns the visit, or has any business with him. His majesty, in requital, honours him with a seat near his sacred person ; and having chewed a little *betel*, sends it fresh from his royal mouth, on a small gold saucer, by the hands of a page, to the merchant ; who must receive the morsel with all the signs of satisfaction, as well as humility, and chew it after him. This petty king was, for many years, tributary to *Siam* (B), but is at present independent ^f.

^p HAMILTON, p. 67, & seq. ubi supra, p. 68, & seqq.

^a GERVAISE, p. 15. ^f Ibid. p. 71.

^f CHOISY, p. 524.

^f HAMILT.

(B) It was tributary in 1686, according to *Choisy*, p. 523 ; but possibly, the kings of *Siam* always reckon as their tributaries, those states which have at any time

been so. The city of *Quedah* was destroyed by the *Portugueses* under *James de Mendez Furtado*, in 1614. *De Faria*, Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 197.

Kingdom of
Johor.

THE remaining part of the peninsula of *Malakka* properly belongs to the kingdom of *Johor*,^a or *Joar*, which begins at *Perab*, the next country to *Quedab* southwards. It produces more tin than any other in the *Indies*: but the inhabitants, who are untractable and rebellious, are likewise treacherous and bloody; so that no *European* nation can keep factories there with safety. The *Dutch*, having had theirs cut off the first year they settled in the place, fixed another on *Pulo Ding-ding*, an island at the mouth of the river *Perab*: but, about the year 1690, that factory was also cut off; since when, no attempt has been made to settle there. Several other places along the *Malacca* coast produce tin, of which *Salangor* and *Parfalar* are the most noted; yet but little frequented by *Europeans*, because not much more to be trusted than *Perab*.*

Malakka, its
ancient state,
and situation.

MALAKKA is the next place which occurs on this coast. Before the *Portugueses* arrived in^b the *Indies*, it had been the residence of the kings of *Johor*: but those new-comers, being denied commerce in the country, resolved to obtain it by force. Accordingly, in May 1510, the famous viceroy *Alphonso de Albuquerque* set out from *Kochin* with nineteen sail of ships, and 1,000 fighting men, 800 of them *Portugueses*, and the rest *Malabars*. The city, at that time, stretched along the shore about three miles, in the same manner as *Lisbon*; and was divided by a river in two parts, which were joined by a bridge. The palace and mosque were of stone; the other buildings of wood. It afforded a pleasant prospect to the sea, and was well secured with fortifications. As it was the great mart of all those parts, the viceroy found the port filled with ships*. The city was founded 230 years before the *Portugueses* arrived in the *Indies*, by *Paramisera*, a *Javan* prince: who having murdered his nephews, and usurped the throne, was expelled by the natives, and fled to *Sinkapura*: where, at that time, reigned^c *Sangasinga*, son-in-law and vassal to the king of *Siam*. *Sangasinga* gave a kind reception to the fugitive; who, in return, soon after murdered him; and, by means of his *Javans*, and 2,000 *Sellati*, who live by fishing and robbing, seized the kingdom: but being driven out soon after by the king of *Siam*, he went and settled on a hill called *Butan*, near the river *Muar*, and gave it the name of *Malakka*, which signifies *a banished person*, in the *Malayan* language, and from that time took its rise.

Taken by Al-
buquerque.

THE adjacent country was subject to inundations, and full of thick woods, infested with tigers, and other dangerous animals. The men were courageous, the women wanton: but the trade of the east rendered the city rich and populous. The appearance of the *Portuguese*^d fleet struck the inhabitants with fear; and king *Mahamet* pretended much kindness, the better to surprise *Albuquerque* by treachery: but the viceroy demanded leave to build a fort, and to have the charge of his expedition delayed, as that king's faithless dealings had brought him thither. On *Mahamet*'s refusal, the *Portugueses* attacked *Malakka* by the bridge; and the second day took the city, with vast slaughter of the enemy; though there were employed in the enterprise no more than 800 *Portugueses*, and 200 *Malabars*. All the *Mohammedans* being killed or driven out, it was repopled by strangers, and some *Malays*. The king retired to the island of *Bintan*, leaving behind 3,000 pieces of cannon, out of 8,000, which he had to defend the place; but was soon obliged to quit that post. *Albuquerque* immediately built the fort at *Malakka*, which he called *Famosa*, for its beauty^e. The victors inclosed a little hill with a stone wall, about a mile round; and this they made their new city. The king was glad, however, to make peace with them, allowing them their fort, and as much ground round it as their cannon could sling a shot.

Attacked by
the Dutch.

THUS *Malakka*, by its advantageous situation, as lying in the center of trade, became famous all over the known world. But the insolence of the *Portugueses* increasing with their power and riches, they became odious to their neighbours, whom they insulted and oppressed*. Mean time the *Dutch*, having found their way into the *Indies*, began to disturb them in their possessions. In 1605 *Cornelius Matelief* appeared, with eleven ships and 13,000 soldiers, before that city; where, having first seized four ships in the road, he set fire to the suburbs, and battered the walls for two or three months. At length a considerable fleet arrived from^f *Goa*, consisting of sixteen galliots, fourteen galleasses, and fourteen smaller vessels, with 3,000 men on board them, which *Matelief* ruined, and then departed. Next year the king of *Johor* brought an army against *Malakka*, of 60,000 soldiers, but with no better success than the *Dutch*. However, these latter, in 1640, made themselves masters of it, after a siege of six months; and, besides a vast booty, found a great cannon, which carried a sixty-four pounder.

Fine harbour.

THE harbour of *Malakka* is one of the finest in the *Indies*; and ships may safely ride in it at all seasons; an advantage which scarce any other in those parts enjoys. When the *Portugueses* possessed it, it was the richest city in the east, next to *Goa* and *Ormuz*; being the key of the *China* and *Japan*, the *Molukkas* and *Sunda* trade. What greatly contributes to this is, that all ships, passing from the north to the west, or from the west to the north, are under a^g

* HAMILT. p. 73.
collect. voy. vol. ii. p. 178, & seqq.

* DE FERIA, ubi supra, vol. i. p. 175, 177.
DE FERIA, ubi supra.

† NIKERHOFF, apud Church.

- a necessity of sailing through the straits of *Malakka* and *Sinkapura*. Hence the *Portugueses* exacted ten per cent. of all vessels passing this way, which produced a vast revenue: but the *Dutch* have abolished this custom, as a very unreasonable imposition. The natives of *Malakka*, and the adjacent country, called *Malayans*, are tawny complexioned, with long black hair, flat noses, and great eyes; which are quite different from those of the *Javans*, from whom they derive their origin. They go naked, all but a piece of cloth wrapped about their waist. They wear gold bracelets on their arms, and jewels in their ears. The women wear silks, *The Malay-* embroidered with gold and precious stones, which also adorn their hair, twisted in very long ans. locks. They are extremely proud, and expect more ceremony than any other females of the *Indies*. There is another peculiar species of men in *Malakka*, who can see only in the night, and therefore sleep all day till sun-set, when they get up to work. They, in shape as well as complexion, resemble the *Europeans*, having grey eyes, and yellowish hair, which reaches to the women's hips; only their feet turn inwards. People of the same kind are found in some other places of the *Indies*, and also in *Africa*^a.
- b

THE fort of *Malakka* is both large and strong, the sea washing one third of its walls; and *The fort.* a deep, rapid, but narrow river, the west side. The rest is defended by a broad and deep ditch. The governor's house is both beautiful and convenient. There are several other good buildings, as well in the fort as in the town: but as the shallowness of the sea obliges vessels to lie above a league off, the castle is at too great a distance from the road to protect the shipping. The country produces nothing for a foreign market but a little tin and elephants teeth; yet strangers meet with several refreshments, as swine's flesh, poultry, roots, and excellent fruits; such as limons, oranges, mangos, pine-apples, *mangustians*, *rombustians*, *durians*, cocoa nuts, and the like.

c IN *Malakka* the straits are not above four leagues in breadth, and always smooth as a *Monakabos* mill-pond, except when ruffled with wind. From a very high mountain, north eastwards *people.* of the city, descend several rivers, and, among the rest, that of *Malakka*, which all afford small quantities of gold-dust, found in their channels. The inland people, called *Monakabos*, are of a savage kind; and delight so much in mischief, that if the *Malayan* peasants sow grain in any ground but what is well fenced, they come and burn it. They are whiter than those who dwell in the low-lands; but so untractable, that the king of *Johor*, whose subjects they are, could never civilize them^b.

d THE *Malaya* tongue is formed out of the languages of the different nations which resort *Malay lan-* thither, by selecting the choicest words in each. Hence it is reckoned the most agreeable and *su-ge.* elegant in all the *Indies*; which quality, joined to its use in trade, causes it to be learned by the remotest eastern people.

e IN the straits of *Malakka* stands the city of *Jor*, *Joar*, or *Johor*, giving name to the king- *Jor, or Johor,* dom, which formerly included that of *Malakka*; but at present lies to the south of it, and *kingdom.* of *Paban* or *Pain*. The ancient city was very large, and magnificently built; but having been destroyed by the *Portugueses* in 1603, the king, in 1609, caused another to be built, somewhat higher up the river, which he called *Batusabar*, whither most of the chief inhabitants of *Johor* retired. The country is very fertile, abounding in fruits, pepper, cinnamon, and game. The inhabitants are naturally brave, but very lascivious, liars, great dissemblers, and proud beyond measure. Their complexion is inclinable to a light blue, with broad faces, hooked noses, and very black teeth; an ornament acquired by chewing *betel*. The common people have only a cloth to cover their members, which hangs down to their toes. The better sort wore callico frocks, of any colour, shaped like our shirts, with wide sleeves, and open before, reaching only to their knees. To complete their dress, they have two silken strings, of the same colour with their frock, one for a girdle, the other for a head-band. They paint their nails yellow; and by the length of them, distinguish their quality.

f THE king of *Johor* has many petty kings, his vassals, under his jurisdiction. Formerly they were princes of considerable power; and, even since the *Portugueses* were settled at *Malakka*, extended their authority over that city, as happened in 1609, in the reign of *John de Paratuan*^c.

JOHOR LAMI before-mentioned, which is sometimes the residence of the king, has the *The capital* benefit of a fine deep river, which admits of two entrances into it: the smaller, which is from *city.* the westward, is called by *Europeans* the streights of *Sinkapura*; but, by the natives, *Sallatadebrew*. It runs along the north side of the island of *Sinkapura* (between it and the main), for five or six leagues together; and ends at the great river of *Johor*.

THE territories of *Johor* reach from *Perab* to point *Romar* or *Romano*, which is the most southern promontory of all *Asia*, it lying but one degree to the north of the equator, about three leagues from *Johor* river. This country is in length about one hundred leagues, and in breadth eighty.

^a NIEUHOFF, ubi supra, p. 1-8. & seqq.

^b HAMILT. new acc. of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 79, & seqq.

^c NIEUHOFF, ubi supra, p. 180, & seqq.

The inhabitants.

THE inhabitants are lazy, perfidious, and cruel. The land very woody, being daily refreshed with showers and breezes. It abounds in tin, gold, elephants teeth, pepper, *aga/a* wood, and canes: but very little rice or other grain is sown by the natives. The inland people subsist mostly on *sagow*, the pith of a small twig, split and dried in the sun: they also rear poultry; and feed on roots and fruits, which grow all seasons of the year. On the sea-coast their food is chiefly fish and rice, brought from abroad. The only people of industry are the *Chineses*, of whom about 1000 families are settled amongst them, besides those who drive a foreign trade. Their religion is a corrupt *Mohammedism*; and they have their priests from *Surât*. a

The king tyrannical.

THE king of *Johor*, who reigned in 1695, was about twenty years of age, and very viciously inclined. Our author having presented him with a pair of pistols and a little powder; he tried, on a poor fellow in the street, how far they would carry a ball into his flesh, and shot him through the shoulder. He was a great sodomite, and had taken many sons of his *Orankayas*, or nobles, into his palace, for that execrable purpose. One day a *Moorish* merchant fled on board captain *Hamilton's* ship, to secure his son from that disgrace. Presently a guard came in a boat to demand him: but using threatening language, our author obliged him to leap into the river; and bad the interpreter tell the king, that if he offered the least violence to any who belonged to him, he would fire his palace about his ears. His *Johor* majesty, unused to meet with contradiction, much more with threats, sent for his *Orankayas*, to know if the captain was a king or not; and, by their persuasion, removed to a village twenty miles distant, till the ship's departure. A year or two after, his mother, to break him of that unnatural vice, sent a beautiful young woman to visit him, when a bed; but he was so far from being pleased with her conversation, that he ordered his black guard to break both her arms, for offering to embrace his royal person: and next morning sent for her father's head. Not finding so much submission as he expected, he went himself in a great rage to fetch it: but, as he was entering the door, the *Orankaya* passed a lance through his heart, and so made an end of the beast. b

He is slain.

His successor's indolence.

THE kingdom remained in confusion without a king for three years: after which, in 1700, they chose another, named *Soltân Abd'ollah Jalib*, who was cousin-german of the former, a prince of great moderation and justice: so that he was beloved by his people, and trade flourished for nine years; till, leaving the government to *Rajah Moudab*, a younger brother, of a covetous tyrannical disposition, all things fell into disorder. In 1703 captain *Hamilton* calling at *Johor*, the king made him an offer of the island of *Sinkapura*, which he refused, as of no use to a private person; though every way fit for a company to settle on, as lying in the center of trade. In 1708 *Rajah Moudab* persuaded him to leave *Johor*, and reside at *Rio*, in the island of *Bintang*, about three leagues off *Johor* river, where he engrossed the trade with more security into his own hands, buying and selling at his own prices, and punishing those who opposed his measures. c

The people rebel.

AT length, in 1712, the people, no longer able to endure his oppression, broke into rebellion; on which the prince, without taking leave of the king his brother, fled in a galley, with his wives and children, to *Johor Lami*. But finding a small army of *Monakabos*, called-in by the people, were encamped there, he fled with his family to the woods; leaving his galley, and in it a tun-weight of gold, a prey to them. As he knew there could be no long safety in the forests, and despairing of mercy from the injured people, he resolved to put an end to all their miseries at once; but when he had killed his wives and children, he began to hesitate about killing himself. A page, who was but twelve years old, surprised at his cowardice, asked him, "If he chose rather to be butchered by a slave, than die like a prince; adding, that he who was innocent, and might expect mercy, would yet shew him the way to die." At the same time laying hold of a *Kris*, or poniard, he ran himself through the body. The tyrant, shamed into courage, by the bravery of a boy, followed his example, and immediately expired. But the *Monakabos*, who came up soon after, found the boy alive, and carried him to *Johor*, where he recovered of his wound. e

He is expelled.

THE king, on the news of what had happened, came out of his palace, and offered to restore the state to its former tranquility: but the people told him he was too religious to make a good king; adding, "that he might retire either to *Pabâng* or *Trangano*; but that as for *Johor*, and the islands between it and *Sumâtra*, they would consider what to do with them." The discarded king departed with his family; and such as chose to follow his fortune in vessels, which his former subjects furnished him with: but, in his way to *Trangano*, where he proposed to fix his seat, was received by the inhabitants of the islands *Pulo Aura*, *Tinji*, *Pissâng*, and *Timûn*, as their lawful sovereign. He put his eldest son, a youth about twelve years old, ashore at *Pabâng*, to keep that country from revolting, and went to the f

* HAMILT. ubi. supra, p. 92, & seqq.

a place designed for his new residence, where afterwards our author had the honour to see him^c.

THE city of *Pabán*, *Pabáng*, or *Pán*, by the *Portugueses* called *Paon*, and by others, after *Kingdom of Pabán*, the *Arabs*, *Fán*, is situated about a league from the sea, and inhabited only by the nobility, the people dwelling in the suburbs. This place, which is not very large, is inclosed with a wall made of the trunks of trees, joined close together, and about twenty-four feet in height, strengthened at each angle with a bastion, but not filled with earth. The streets are fenced on both sides with hedges of reeds, and planted with cocoa and other trees: so that *Pabán* looks more like an assemblage of gardens, belonging to a suburbs, than a regular city. The houses likewise are generally built with reeds and straw, only the king's palace is of wood: for *Pabán* b was formerly the capital of a kingdom, which lay between *Johor* and *Patáney*; but, at present it makes a part of *Johor*. The river is very broad; but not navigable for galleys, except at high water. The adjacent country is very low, but fruitful enough; producing pepper, eagle and *kalambak* woods, coarse gold, nutmegs, mace, *Japan* wood, diamonds, and hog stones, reckoned more efficacious than the bezoar stones. Deeper in the country elephants are very numerous^f.

THUS we have given our readers an account, not only of the dominions actually subject and tributary to the king of *Siam*, but also of those which were formerly subject or tributary to him, in the peninsula of *Malakka*. We shall only add farther, with regard to the numerous islands which lie upon the coasts, and have excellent ports, fresh water, and woods, fit for colonies to settle on them, that the king affects to be styled lord of them; although never inhabited by his subjects on the continent, who are but thin; and he has not strength enough at sea, to hinder strangers from entering them^g.

^c HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 96, & seqq. relat. of Siam, p. 7.

^f NIEUHOFF, ubi supra, vol. ii. p. 181, & seqq.

^g LOUIERE,

S E C T. IV.

Inhabitants of Siâm, their manners and customs.

d S I A M, considering its extent, is but indifferently peopled; nor are the cities, even the capital, very populous: for it is at present inhabited chiefly along the rivers; the country being, as yet, almost intirely overgrown with woods^a; which, in all likelihood, would not be the case, were the inhabitants as numerous as they are in some of the neighbouring countries. Notwithstanding this scarcity of people, the *Siamites* hardly make one third part of the whole: for of the three sorts of people by whom the country is occupied, *Siameses*, *Labos*, and *Peguers*, the latter are almost equal to the other two. These *Peguers* are the descendants of such as, in the distractions which for a long time formerly afflicted their country, fled hither for refuge; or who had been taken prisoners in the frequent wars which subsisted between the two nations. Besides, the king gives great encouragement to the *Peguers* to settle in *Siam*, because they are more active, and better soldiers, than his natural subjects^b.

As to the origin of the *Siameses*, they say their laws and kings at least came from the *Labos*; who, on the other hand, will have it that their laws are derived from *Siam*^c. *Choisy* observes, that the *Labos* are half *Chineses*; and *Methold* declares, that all the inhabitants of *Pegu* and *Arrakan*, as well as *Siam*, seem to be descended from the same fountain, their features and customs being so nearly alike^d.

AT *Siam* all persons are freemen, or slaves; and may either be born or become such. One may become a slave either for debt, by being taken in war, or by way of punishment. They sometimes sell themselves and children for victuals, and even for sake of eating a delicious fruit called *durion*. Their slavery is very gentle, as in cultivating of lands, tending gardens, or some other domestic services; or rather they permit them to work for themselves, paying a tribute to their masters, from about three shillings and six-pence, to seven shillings a year. A slave for debt has his liberty again, on making satisfaction; but the children born during this slavery continue slaves. A person is born a slave, when the mother is a slave. If she converses with the father, without her master's consent, all the children are his; if with his consent, they are divided, as in case of divorce. The first, and every odd number, belong to the mother's master; the rest, or even numbers, to the father, if he be free, or to his master, if he is a slave. The difference between the king of *Siam*'s slaves and his subjects, is, that he maintains his slaves, who are continually employed: whereas his free subjects owe him only six months service in the year, but at their own expence; nor is there any service due to him from the slaves of these latter.

^a LOUIERE, relat. of Siam, p. 11. KÆMPEER, p. 25.

^b CHOISY Journ. p. 536.

^c LOUBIERE,

^d METHOLD apud Purch. pilgr. vol. v. p. 1005.

Freemen their
privileges.

AMONG the freemen there are not properly two ranks or conditions of people; since nobility^a is nothing but the actual possession of places: and although families, who enjoy them for a considerable time, become more illustrious and powerful than others, yet this is rare, and lasts no longer than they are in office; which being deprived of, they have nothing to distinguish them from the common people. So that often the grandson of a great lord, and sometimes his son, is seen rowing a boat. As the freemen are all soldiers, they are carefully registered, that none may avoid doing his duty. This militia is divided into men on the right hand, and men on the left; each of which great divisions is subdivided into bands, with every one its *Nay*, or *chief*; who does not always lead his band to the war, no more than to the six months service: he is obliged only to furnish out of his band so many men as may be required for those particular occasions. There are seven degrees of these *Nay*, one^b superior to the other, according to the number of people contained in the respective bands: as *Pa-ya*, *Ok-pa*, *Ok-pra*, *Oklouang*, *Ok-kown*, *Okmeuing*, and *Ok-pan*. These are so many dignities or titles by which all officers or placemen are distinguished. But how many men belong to these bands our author could not discover; only as *Ok-pan*, which is now disused, signifies *the head of a thousand men*, and *Ok-meuing*, *the head of ten thousand men*, he judges that every other title denotes the number of men contained in the band subordinate to its chief. There is another title without function, viz. *Ok-meuang*, which signifies *chief of a city*; and with which a person must be qualified before he can be made a governor, whom they call *Ghaw-meuang*, that is, *lord of a city*. On this occasion it must be noted, with reference to the six dignities aforesaid, now in use, that there are in *Siam* six orders of cities, which^c anciently were determined according to the rolls of the inhabitants. Thus the most populous had *Pa-yas* for governors; the next sort *Ok-yas*; and so the rest, in proportion to the inhabitants which they contained.

THESE titles are given to all officers in the kingdom, as well as governors, because they are all *Nay*; but as the same person may have two titles, in consequence of being possessed of two different offices, and the offices themselves may change their titles, which are not inseparably annexed to any of them; this distinction, for want of being observed by travellers, has sometimes bred confusion in their relations^e.

Siameses
their character.

THE *Siameses* may be pronounced good men: vices are detestable with them. They are^d so far from getting drunk, that every man, who is above the dregs of the people, accounts it a shame to drink *arak*. They pay great respect to age; the younger, though higher in office, yielding precedency to his elder. Children are exceeding dutiful to their parents. Begging is reckoned very shameful, and therefore the poor are maintained by their relations: but robbing is held much more ignominious than begging; and therefore they take little care to secure their doors, either in the day or night. However, it must not be supposed that the *Siameses* never steal; and the outlaws, who withdraw into the woods for shelter, frequently rob passengers: but then they never murder them, as they often do in *Europe*. On the other hand, their fidelity is inviolable in all sorts of traffick: but usury, not being restrained by laws, is practised without bounds; for avarice is their essential vice. Yet, what is strange, they gather riches not to use, but bury them. They have very few civil suits; but many^e criminal causes, which arise from hatred or revenge. The *Siamites* have naturally an aversion to blood; so very rarely commit murder: but generally their quarrels end in abusive language, or a few blows at most. They are courteous, polite, timorous, and careless. They have no curiosity, and never admire any thing. Insolent to the humble, and humble to the insolent. They have more moderation than *Europeans*; being born philosophers: but are withal given to dissimulation^f.

The women
virtuous.

ADULTERY is very rare in *Siam*: which is owing, not to the husband's power over his wife, whom he may sell or kill for such an offence; but because the women are not corrupted, either by idleness (for they maintain the men by their labour) or luxury. They neither game, nor receive visits from men. Plays also are very rare at *Siam*; nor is there any public theatre^f for the purpose. Custom has made restraint very easy to them. They look upon a greater liberty as scandalous; and would think themselves despised by the husbands who should allow it them. The women of *Asia* have generally a high sense of modesty; and, in time of war, would rather their husbands should kill them, than let them fall into the hands of the enemy. Not but there are women here who give a loose to their passions, as well as in other places; though not so many. The *Siamese* lords are no less watchful over their daughters than their wives; and if any of them commits a fault, they sell her to a certain man, who has a privilege to prostitute them for money, in consideration of a duty which he pays the king. It was said, when our author was in *Siam*, that he had in his custody 600 young creatures, all daughters of considerable officers. He likewise purchases wives, when convicted of being^g unfaithful to their husbands^h.

^a LOUBIERE, p. 77. & seqq.

^f Ibid. p. 73—76.

^e Ibid. p. 73. & seqq.

^a THE *Siameses* are rather small than large, but strait, and well proportioned; owing, *Their persons.* doubtless, to their not swaddling their infants, or forcing nature as we do. Their faces are rather of a lozenge shape than oval. The cheek-bones are broad; from whence the forehead suddenly contracts, and terminates in a point, as much as their chin. Their eyes are slit a little upwards, and small; not very brisk, and the white inclining to yellow. Their jaws are hollow, as their cheek-bones are too high. Their mouths large; lips thick and pale; their teeth black, and complexion brown, mixed with red, to which the sun contributes not a little. The great men are said to affect making their legs blue, perhaps with gunpowder (A): but the women neither paint nor patch. The noses of the *Siameses* are short, and round at the end: their ears naturally larger than ours; and the larger the more handsome. Their ^b hair is black, thick, and lank. Both sexes wear it cut short, even with the top of their ears; under this they are close shaven. The women generally raise it on their forehead; and some let it grow behind, in order to braid it. The young unmarried clip their hair very close to the crown of the head, where plucking it up in a small circle, about a quarter of an inch broad, they let the rest grow down almost to their shoulders. There is only one defect in the women, that they have hanging breasts, which often reach to their navel ^h.

THE *Siameses* go all naked, from head to foot, only girding their reins and thighs, down *Dress of the* to their knees, with a piece of callico or silk, about two ells and a half long, which the *Portugueses* call *pagne*, from *pannus*, *cloth*. The officers or placemen wear, besides, a muslin shirt, as a kind of vest: it has no neck-band, and is open before: the sleeves are two feet ^c wide, without plaits, and reach almost to their wrists: but the body thereof is so tight, that, not being wide enough to slip down over the *pagne*, it sits in wrinkles. In winter some put over their shoulders a breadth of stuff, or painted linen, like a mantle or scarf, the ends of which are neatly wound about the arms. The king, in this season, under his shirt wears a brocaded satin waistcoat, adorned with lace, whose sleeves are very tight. None must wear such a vest, excepting such considerable officers as he gives it to. He sometimes also bestows on them a scarlet vest, to be worn only in war or hunting, which reaches to the knees, and buttons before, with wide sleeves, but so short, that they do not touch the elbows. On those two occasions, the king and his retinue appear in red; the soldiers having muslin shirts given ^d to them, dyed of that colour. They likewise wear a cap of ceremony, which is white, and high, pointed like a sugar-loaf. The king's is adorned with a circle, or crown, of precious stones; and those of his officers have several circles of gold or silver, to distinguish their dignities. They wear them only before the king, in their tribunals, or on some solemn occasion. They fasten them with a stay under the chin; and never pull them off to salute any person.

THE *Mohammedans* have introduced the use of *papushes*, or slippers, a kind of pointed shoes, without either quarter or heel; which they leave at the doors of the houses they enter, to avoid dirtying the rooms. They approve of hats for travelling; but very few of the people cover their heads from the sun, excepting on the river, where the reflexion most incommodates; and then they do it only with a piece of linen.

THE men, after wrapping the *pagne* about their waist, put one end back between their ^e thighs, and tuck it in behind; so that it resembles breeches. The other end hangs before; and, as they have no pockets, serves to tie up their purse for *betel*. The women wrap their *pagne* about their middle, and let it fall down broad-ways half-way the leg, like a kind of close coat. All the rest of their body is naked; only the rich wear a scarf, putting the middle part single over the bosom, and letting the two ends hang down behind, over the shoulders; though sometimes they wrap them about their arms.

FOR all the *Siameses* go so naked, yet no people in the world are so scrupulous of shewing *Their modesty.* the parts of the body which are covered. They have affixed infamy to nakedness; and hence modesty renders the custom of bathing in rivers almost insupportable among the women; and but few among them can resolve to practise it. They never pull off the *pagne* to lie ^f down; and children go without it till they are four or five years of age. Their ears are no less secured against immodesty than their eyes: for, by the laws of *Siam*, obscene *Chinese* figures and paintings are equally prohibited with lewd songs. For ornaments, the people of *Siam* croud the three last fingers of each hand with rings; and wear pendants of gold, silver, or vermilion gilt. The boys and girls of condition wear bracelets on their arms and legs; till six or seven years of age; but no longer ⁱ.

THE *Siameses* are very clean and neat. They bathe three or four times a day, or oftener, *Cleanly and* if visits require it. This they do, either by going into the water, or having it poured over *neat.* their bodies with ladles, which they sometimes continue for an hour together. They, after this, perfume themselves, and put pomatum on their lips. They wash their hair with water

^h LOUBIERE, p. 27, & seqq.ⁱ Ibid. p. 25, & seqq.(A) Loubiere saw one of them marked in this manner: or that lord might have been a *Lalos*, or a *Barma*, who both use that custom.

and sweet oils; comb themselves; and keep their black teeth clean. They pluck their beards, of which they have but little: but they let their nails grow without cutting; and the dancers sometimes put on very long copper nails; for what makes them look like harpies, the esteem a beauty^k.

^k LOUEIERE, p. 26.

S E C T. V.

Their houses, diet, diseases, diversions, carriages.

Their houses

THESE people are no less plain in their houses, their furniture, and diet, than in their dress. Their houses are raised on four or six *bambú* posts, thirteen feet high, and as thick as a man's leg, to avoid the inundation: across these they lay other *bambú* posts for a foundation: hurdles of split *bambú*, often not closely compacted, make the floors, walls, and roofs: the stairs are likewise a *bambú* ladder, which hangs without, like that of a wind-mill. And as their stables are built in the air, as well as their houses, they have climbers made of hurdles for the cattle to ascend. The houses, which are small, and only of one story, for more privacy, stand single, surrounded with pretty large grounds, which serve for courts and gardens, inclosed with a *bambú* wall. The great officers have timber houses, in which each lives, with his principal wife, and their children: every one of the other wives, with her children, and slave with his family, has a separate apartment, yet within the same inclosure. The palaces of *Siyuthia* and *Louvo*, as well as several temples, are also of brick; which way of building seems to have been taken from the *Europeans*, *Chineses*, or *Moors*, who build here with the same kind of materials.

and furniture.

As their houses are built of such slight materials, they are soon finished. Three hundred, which were burnt in our author's time in the capital, were rebuilt in three days: and three others were removed, with all their furniture, in less than an hour. The furniture of the *Siamese* houses is very plain, and consists in but a few moveables^a. Their bedstead is a wooden frame, matted, but without either head or posts: it has sometimes six feet, sometimes none at all: but the generality have no other bed but a mat of bulrushes, laid on the floor. The bedstead is very narrow; because the man and wife have separate beds, except among the vulgar. The better sort use a mattress, but no upper sheet; the coverlid, which is a single cotton cloth, serving for it. A long pillow serves for the bolster; and a curtain before the bed completes the sleeping-place. Those who can afford it have cabinets, with drawers, both for use and ornament. Their table is like a drum-head, with the edges raised, like tea-boards, but no feet. They have no chairs or seats, but bulrush mats: no carpets, but what the king bestows on them. The rich, indeed, have cushions; but they are used only to lean on, never to sit on.

Their utensils.

THEIR vessels are either of china or earthen ware; with some few of copper: wood, plain or varnished, *cocoa*, and *bambú*, afford them all the rest. Scarce any have gold or silver plate, excepting some officers of the court, from whence it comes, and that very little. The king's furniture is almost the same with that of particular persons, only more rich and sumptuous. In all the entertainments at the place, the ambassadors saw great store of silver plate, especially huge basons, round and deep, in which were large round boxes, about eighteen inches diameter: these, containing the rice which was served at table, were covered, and had each a foot to stand on. The fruit was served in gold plates: but china is more common at his table than either metal; which is a general custom in all the courts of *Asia*^b.

Halls and chambers.

IN some houses, built on purpose for the ambassadors (wherein hurdles laid on piles, and covered with bulrush mats, made not only the floors, but the area of the courts), the halls and chambers were hung with painted cloths, and the cieling with white muslin, the extremities of which hung sloping. In the chambers where the ambassadors lay, tapestry carpets were laid over the mats. Neatness appeared every-where, but no magnificence. Their hearth or chimney is nothing but a basket full of earth, supported with three sticks for feet; and they make their fires not in the houses, but the courts.

King's palace.

THEIR palaces are too low to make a figure, being but one story; and the temples not high enough in proportion to their bigness: nor has either any exterior ornament, excepting the roofs, which they cover with tin or tiles, varnished with yellow. It is not in the ornaments of architecture, which the *Siameses* know nothing of, that the real dignity of their buildings consists, but in some being higher than others. Thus in the palace, the king's apartment is more elevated than the rest, which are gradually lower, in proportion as they are farther from it; so that there are always a few steps to ascend from one to another, for they

^a LOUEIERE, p. 29.

^b Ibid. p. 34. & 115.

a all join, and stand in a row. It is this which causes the inequality in the roofs, which are all high ridged, and seem to bear one on another. But the principal ornament of the temples consists in several pyramids of brick; the tallest are as high as our steeples, and the lowest not exceeding two fathom: they are all round, and gradually diminish as they rise; so that each terminates like a dome. When the pyramids happen to be very low, there proceeds from the top a tin spire, very small, and sharp pointed, but proportioned to the rest^c.

THE usual diet of the *Siameses* is rice and fish, in which they are more abstemious than *Euro-Their diet.*
peans. The sea affords admirable fish, of sorts unknown to us; lobsters of all sizes, excellent little turtles, and delicate small oysters. Their rivers also yield plenty of good fish, especially eels: but they are not fond of fresh fish; rather choosing that which is ill-seasoned and dry:
 b nor are they displeased with stinking fish, any more than rotten eggs. They eat even lizards, locusts, rats, and most insects, which nature doubtless inclines them to, as being of easy digestion; and which, perhaps, are not so disgusting as we imagine. A pound of rice, which costs but one farthing, and a little salt-fish, of no greater value, serves a *Siamese* for one day's food. Their sauce is only a little water, relished with some spices, garlick, or other herb: but that which they esteem most, is called *kapi*: it is liquid, like mustard, and made of cray-fish corrupted (A, because ill salted; for meats hardly take salt in very hot countries: yet the pots of it which they gave to a *French* officer had no bad smell. Instead of saffron they use *Crocus Indicus*: but as they have neither nuts nor olives, they have no oil but what comes from the cocoa; which, though a little bitter, is very good when fresh; but it presently
 c becomes very strong. They use buffalo's milk, which yields more cream than that of our cows: but make no cheese, nor scarce any butter, which hardly takes any consistence for the heat.

THEY disguise dried fish many ways, without varying the preparation: but of more than *Provisions*
 thirty dishes, wherewith the ambassadors were served, our author, though far from being *plenty*.
 squeamish, could not eat of one. The *Siameses* rarely eat flesh; and, when they do, they choose the guts and intestines, which, to *Europeans*, are most loathsome. Indeed all animal food there is tough, and juiceless. Nor do they take care of their poultry. As for wild-fowl, they never eat or kill them: and are so far from destroying crows and vultures, that they feed them, even with the flesh of children, who die before they are three or four years old.
 d Pigs flesh is the best of all in *Siam*: but so fat, that it is distasteful. A sheep is worth four crowns in the metropolis, a goat two or three, and a cow not above one; but in the country it will sell for ten-pence. A pig, in the capital, may be had for seven-pence, because the *Mohammedans* do not eat any. Hens sell for twenty pence a dozen: and so many ducks for a crown^d.

FOR all this temperance in the *Siameses*, yet, to the discredit of sobriety, saith our author, *Their diseases.*
 they do not live longer than *Europeans*, nor are freer from diseases. Those which are most dangerous and common among them are fluxes and dysenteries; which yet *Europeans* are more subject to on their arrival, because they cannot live sober enough. They are sometimes attacked with calentures; but other fevers and inflammations are rare, and kill nobody.
 e Coughs, squinancies, defluxions, and rheumatisms, are as frequent at *Siam*, where it rains so much, as elsewhere. But the gout, falling-sickness, apoplexy, phthysic, and all sorts of cholic, especially the stone, are there very rare. On the other hand, cancers, abscesses, and fistulas, are very common. So are the *fresipeli*, to such a degree, that nineteen in twenty are infected with it. There is no scurvy or dropsy to be met with; but one hears of many of those extraordinary distempers, which people are apt to impute to witchcraft. In a word, there are some contagious diseases; and, among the rest, the venereal. But the real plague of this country is the small-pox, which often makes dreadful ravages: and then they bury the bodies, for three years at least, before they burn them: for, they say, if they are taken up sooner, the contagion breaks out afresh^e.

f WHILE the men are employed for six months by the king in all kinds of work, the wives *Lazy life.*
 maintain the family at home. They plough the land; they sell and buy in the city: so that when the husband returns he has nothing to do. He neither works, walks abroad, nor hunts. He does scarce any thing, but continue sitting, or lolling, eating, playing, smoking, and sleeping. His wife wakes him at seven, and serves him with rice and fish: after this he falls to sleep again: at noon he eats another meal, and sups towards night. What business he has to do, he does between the two last meals; and spends the remainder in conversation or play^f.

As the *Siameses* have but little to do, they spend much of their time in diversions, of *Diversions.*
 which they have many, which are common in *Europe*; as puppet-shews, tumbling, rope
 g and ladder dancing, in which they far excel our artists. They have wrestling and boxing;

^c LECUBIERE, p. 30, & seqq.^d Ibid. p. 35, & seqq.^e Ibid. p. 38, & seqq.^f Ibid. p. 50.(A) The same kind of sauce is used in *Arrakan* and *Pegu*.

aces of oxen instead of horses; and rowing of boats; at which wagers are laid. Cock-fighting and kite-flying are in great esteem, and deemed amusements for the monarchs of *Asia*. They are very fond of plays and fire-works, which are well performed by them; and which, with their annual feast of lanthorns, as well as other customs, seem to have come to them from the *Chineses*. Like these also they are excessively given to gaming, so as often to make themselves and children slaves. Their usual games are chess and *tick-tack*; which last they call *saka*. Smoking tobacco is one of their greatest pleasures; to which the women are chiefly addicted.

*Elephant
hunting*

and fighting.

THE king frequently recreates himself with most of the above-mentioned diversions: but the pastime in which he takes greatest delight, is the catching and fighting of elephants. The taking of these animals is much after the same manner as in other countries. They decoy them, by means of the tame females, into a narrow passage, between two high banks of earth, lined on each side with trunks of trees, so large, and close set, that the elephant can neither pull them up, or get between them: so that men, placed between the banks and the trees, may with safety lay ropes to catch their hind legs in running knots; and then, entering into the narrow passage, provoke them forwards to a little inclosure, also of trees, to which they tie them. When they set elephants to fight, they do not give them liberty to close, as in the great mogul's court, but keep them at a distance, with ropes tied to their hinder feet, and fastened to great posts: so that they can hardly cross each other's trunk in the combat, much less reach the men who are mounted on their backs to animate them. Neither do they let them fight long; for, after five or six attacks, the females are brought in to part them. At *Siam* they neither expose the life of men nor beasts by way of sport.

*Their car-
riages.*

BESIDES the ox and buffalo, on which the *Siameses* commonly ride, the elephant is their sole domestic animal; and their hunting to catch them is free for every body. For ordinary services they use only the females, reserving the males for war. The elephant is the carriage for every person who can take in hunting, or purchase, one. The king has a white elephant, but never mounts him; because they say the white elephant is as great a lord as himself, as having a king's soul. Horses are scarce, and good for little here, the country not being proper for breeding them. The king keeps about 2000, which he has mostly from abroad, but seldom rides them; as the elephant looks more grand, and is better for defence. They have neither asses nor mules in *Siam*, but there are some camels brought by the *Mohammedans*.

Chairs.

THEIR chairs or sedans are square, flat seats, more or less high, which are placed on biers, carried on the shoulders of four or eight men, according to the quality of the person. Sometimes these seats have a back and arms; sometimes only encompassed on three sides with a small ballister about six inches high. Some are open at the top, others covered with an imperial or canopy: but, at present, only two or three lords have permission to use those chairs; and the palankin is allowed to sick persons, or diseased old men. Neither are any suffered to use umbrellas (B), but whom the king pleases; and yet all these prohibited things are allowed to *Europeans*. The umbrella granted to officers is single, or has but one round, upon a staff or handle: the king's only has more rounds, one above another. The *Sarkrats*, or superiors of the *Talapoy*s, are indulged with an umbrella of one round, with two or three painted cloths hanging down from it; and the *Talapoy*s themselves have umbrellas, in form of skreens, which they carry in their hands, made of palmito leaves, cut round and folded. These they call *talapat*, from whence, it is likely, comes the name *Talapoy*.

*Balons, or
boats.*

BUT to return to the conveniencies for carriage: the annual inundation of the river renders the boat and balon the most universal voiture. It is made out of a single tree, and very narrow, though from sixteen to twenty feet in length; some of the king's balons, and those of considerable officers, have a hundred or a hundred-and-twenty rowers each, who sit cross-legg'd, ranged two and two on benches: those of the inferior officers have only sixteen or twenty *pagayes*, or oars, according to their different sizes. This *pagaye* is a short oar, which the *pagayer*, or rower, holds with both hands; one in the middle, the other at the upper end. This he plunges directly downwards, with a motion of the arms and shoulders, which is vigorous, but easy and graceful; and although the oars can only sweep the water, yet as it is done with force, and by so many hands, the balon flies with exceeding swiftness. They strike all at once, drawing the oar towards them, so that they look towards the place they are going to. A very long *pagaye* serves for a rudder; which is not fixed to the balon, but held perpendicularly by the steersman: who only moves it sometimes to one side of the vessel, sometimes to the other, according as he would direct its course. The balons of the ladies are rowed by women slaves. The ordinary balons have a cabin in the middle, made of *bambú*; but in the balons of ceremony or state, there is only a single seat, which is higher or lower, and covered with an umbrella or canopy, according

² LEOBIERE, p. 44

(B) This is the case through all the farther peninsula, particularly in *Java*, whose king styles himself lord of the twenty-four umbrellas. See before p. 230

a to the degree of the officer to whom it belongs. These canopies are all over gilded, as well as the *pagayas* : they are supported by pillars, and adorned with carved works in pyramids. It cannot be imagined how delightful it is to see a great number of such balons rowing together in good order ; and our author confesses that he was surprised with the beauty of the shew, on his entering the river of *Siam* ^b.

^b LOUBIERE, p. 39. & seqq.

S E C T. VI.

Their marriages, education, learning, arts, trade.

b **T**HE *Siamese* women have children at twelve, and sometimes sooner, but seldom after *Their mar-*
 forty ; they therefore marry young. If the parents of the maid like the match, which *riages.*
 is commonly proposed by women in years, they consult the fortune-teller, to know if the party be rich, and the marriage will prove happy. If the answer turns out to their liking, the young man makes three visits ; and at the third the relations on both sides meet, when the portion of each party is delivered to the bridegroom ; who, without any more ceremony, goes to bed to his wife. The *Talapoy* have no hand in the matter ; only, a few days after, they go to the house of the new-married couple to sprinkle holy water, and repeat some prayers. The wedding, as in all other countries of the east, is accompanied with feasting and shews, where hired dancers divert the guests. The greatest portion at *Siam* is a hundred *kati*,
 c which make 15,000 livres. A man may have several wives ; but the rich only have more than one, and that more out of grandeur than debauchery. There is always one of them who is the chief, and called the great wife, the rest are termed the lesser wives ; and, though legitimate, are yet slaves, as being purchased. Marriage is forbidden in the first degree of *Degrees for-*
 kindred ; yet a man may marry two sisters, one after the death of the other. The king of *bidden.*
Siam, who reigned in 1687, married his own sister. The succession in private families is in the children of the great wife ; and the heir can sell the little wives and their children, who have only what he pleases to give them, or the father, before his death, thought fit to bestow on them. As to the daughters of the little wives, they are sold to the best bidder, to be little wives themselves ; they may also be sold by the husband in his life-time : but he can only
 d divorce his principal wife. After this divorce, each party may sell the children who fall to his or her share, according to the division of the odd and even number before-mentioned. Widows inherit the power of their husbands, so far as relates to the children of the odd number, who belong to them ; but they cannot sell those of the even number, if the father's relations oppose it, for the children themselves dare not. Neither does the power of parents extend so far as to kill their children ; nor of husbands to kill their wives.

ALTHOUGH intimacies between freemen and women are not deemed scandalous at *Siam*, yet parents carefully watch their daughters ; nor are children allowed to dispose of themselves in marriage without their consent. The *Siameses* are too proud easily to give themselves to foreigners ; at least to invite them, as do the *Pegu* women ^a living in the country, who have more
 e spirit and vivacity than the *Siameses*. It is an established opinion in the *Indies*, that the people have more or less vigour and spirit, according as they are nearer to, or farther from, *Pegu* ^b.

THE *Siamese* children have much docility and sweetness in their disposition. They are *Education of*
 educated in extreme modesty of behaviour ; which is ingrafted by the respect due to parents, *children.*
 and the six months service owing to the prince. Civility is so great throughout the East, that an *European*, who has lived there long, finds much difficulty to re-acustom himself to the familiarities common in the West. The *Siameses* never say any thing to displease, nor affect to appear more knowing than you, though a stranger, even in matters which relate to themselves. Parents are the more careful in the education of their children, as they are accountable for their offences ; and the son, though fled, never fails to surrender himself,
 f when the prince has seized his father, mother, or eldest relations.

SLAVES and servants before their masters, and the common people before the lords, keep *Postures of*
 on their knees, sitting on their heels ; their head a little inclined, and hands joined above their *respect.*
 forehead. In passing by one another in the street they go upright, or stooping, with their hands raised more or less, according to the quality of the persons they salute. In visits, the inferior prostrates himself, and sits in the same manner, silent, till he is first spoken to. The person visited always offers his place to the visitant, and treats him with fruit, preserves, arak, betel, and tea. The breach of these ceremonious duties being punishable by the person offended, preserves respect, and prevents indecent behaviour, which in *Europe* produces

^a See before, p. 224.

^b LOUBIERE, p. 51. & seqq.

quarrels. In short, ceremonies are as essential, and almost as numerous, in *Siam*, as in a *China*.

Marks of
honour.

AT *Siam* the right hand is more honourable than the left. In some things they seem to break the rules of decency with us; for they make no scruple to belch without restraint; and wipe the sweat off their faces with their fingers: for they use no handkerchiefs. Yet they must not spit on the mats or carpets, but carry with them a spitting-box for the purpose. In the king's palace they neither spit, cough, nor wipe their nose. The highest place is with them the most honourable; and they avoid going under the houses, which are built on piles, that none may tread over their heads. It is also the highest affront to touch any body's head, or his hair: even to handle his bonnet, if laid down any-where, is a great piece of incivility: yet, to lay any-thing on one's head which is given or received, is, in *Siam*, as well as other countries of *Asia*, a very singular mark of respect. In a word, standing is a much more honourable posture than sitting¹.

Learning.

THE *Siameses* put their children, when seven or eight years old, into a convent, and make them assume the habit, which yet they can quit at pleasure. Here they learn to write, and read, and cast accounts; after which they are taught the principles of their morality, and the fables of *Sommona Kodom*: but neither history, law, nor any science.

Languages.

THEIR languages are two; the *Siamese*, or common, and the *Bállì*, which is their learned or sacred language. The first has thirty-seven, the latter thirty-three letters, all consonants, and both are written from the left to the right. The *Siamese* resembles the *Chinese* in several respects: it consists mostly in monosyllables, and has neither declensions nor conjugations, which are supplied by four or five particles, placed either before or after the verb. They have likewise a great deal of accent, like the *Chinese*, and almost sing in speaking. In other respects, however, the two languages differ considerably: among the rest the *Siameses* have the letter *r*, which the *Chinese* want.

Arithmetic.

ARITHMETIC, after reading and writing, is their principal study, in which they use ten characters, as we do. They are very quick of apprehension, and dextrous in casting accounts; presently resolving very difficult questions, through the clearness of their imagination. They imitate any-thing immediately; and, from the first day, are tolerably good workmen: but their indolence, owing to the heat of the climate, hinders all progress. They are naturally poets, but no orators; and yet our author praises the speech of the *Siamese* ambassador to *Lewis* the Fourteenth, at his audience of leave, as an excellent composition.

THEY are strangers to all parts of philosophy, except some principles of morality: and have no sort of theology. They study no laws, but those of their country, and such only as relate to the employment they are advanced to: at which time a copy is delivered to them of the laws which concern it; as is practised in *Spain*, though their laws are public.

Medicine.

THE *Siameses* are quite ignorant of anatomy, and every kind of chirurgery, excepting blood-letting. Their whole practice of physic consists in using certain receipts, handed down from their ancestors. Their first prescription is to have the sick man trampled on by one skilled in the business: and big-bellied women get children to trample on them, to procure an easy delivery. They make use of purgatives, and highly applaud sudorifics. Their remedies are generally hot; as they find, to augment the natural heat, is beneficial to them. The sick are nourished with boiled rice, extremely liquid: but meat broths are mortal at *Siam*, because they too much relax the stomach. Pigs flesh is what is given them when they can eat any-thing solid.

Chemistry.

THE *Siameses* understand nothing of chemistry, although they passionately affect it; and some boast of profound secrets, because there are credulous persons in *Siam*, as well as other countries. The father of the king (who reigned in 1687) spent two millions in search of the philosophers stone. They are likewise no less addicted than the *Chinese* to the folly of seeking out an universal remedy (C), which may render them immortal; at least proof against any kind of death but a violent one. Upon this principle, impostors have forged stories of many pretended immortals, who have withdrawn from the sight of men, to secure themselves from danger; and there are fools enough in *Siam* to believe them^m.

Astronomy.

THESE people know nothing of geometry and mechanics, because they can do without them; and astronomy concerns them no more than as they conceive it may be assistant to divination. They know only some practical part thereof, which they use in the horoscopes of the people, and in the composition of their almanack, which is a kind of general horoscope. It appears that they have twice caused their kalendar to be reformed by able astronomers; who, to supply the astronomical tables, have taken two arbitrary epochas, remarkable for some rare conjunction of the planets: the first refers to the year 545 before *Christ*; the second

¹ LOUBIERE, p. 54, & seqq.

^m Ibid. p. 59, & seqq.

(C) The sect of *Tau*, among the *Chinese*, pretend to be masters of this secret, called the liquor of immortality; which some of the emperors have been so silly as to confide in

a to the 638th after *Christ*. Both these served as grounds for calculating the account of the places of the planets; and the latter being found most commodious, they have left off the former, which they pretend marks the death of *Sommona Kodom*, in astronomical calculations, although they still make use of it in their dates.

THEY know nothing of the system of the world, and believe, like all the East, that eclipses are caused by some dragon, who devours the sun and moon. They hold the earth to be square, on whose extremities the arch of the firmament rests, like a glass bell for covering plants. They say the earth is divided into four habitable parts, separated by seas, like so many different worlds. 84,000 *yods*, of 8000 fathom each, asunder. In the middle of the four worlds they suppose a square pyramidal mountain, from whose top, which touches the stars, to the surface of the earth, they reckon the same number of *yods*; the like number from the mountain to each of the worlds; and from the surface of the sea down to the foot of it. Now the world we inhabit, which they call *chiampon*, lies to the south of this mountain: and the sun, moon, and stars, incessantly turning round it, make day and night. At the top of the mountain is a heaven called *intratirásba*; over which is the heaven of angels. Notion of the world.

MUSIC is no better understood at *Siam* than astronomy: they use no notes; and compose, as well as sing, by ear. They use violins with three strings, and very shrill hautboys; on which they play tolerably well; accompanied with copper basons, struck with a stick. They have, besides our drums, two sorts of their own; one beaten with the fist, the other sounded in a very odd manner by turning a stick run through the sides of it. They are fond of our trumpets; theirs being small and harsh". Music.

THEY have no companies of trades in *Siam*, nor do arts flourish there. No person desires to excel in any business, because there is no price for ingenuity, and every one is afraid to appear rich. Besides, should any one distinguish himself as an artist, he would the risk of being obliged to work *gratis* for life for his prince, who has already six months of his labour: they therefore content themselves with knowing a little of every kind of work, which the king employs them in. Thus they are pretty good joiners, but bad carvers and statuaries. They make excellent mortar, and understand masonry; yet their brick buildings do not last, because they never lay any foundations. They are excellent gilders, and gold-beaters; making leaves of it as thin as fine paper, on which the king's letters to other princes are written, with a bodkin. With such thin plates of gold or silver they sometimes cover their images, often of a monstrous size; also sword-hilts; but cannot polish. They know how to smelt metals, and cast some works in molds; but are bad forgers: hence their horses are not shod. Their stirrups are of rope; but the saddles deserve no better. Arts.

THEIR manufactures are very few and mean. The art of tanning and dressing leather is unknown to them. They make neither silks, woollen stuffs, nor tapestry; and but very little cotton cloth, of a very coarse kind, and ill painted: but they embroider to please the fancy. They paint only in water colours, and that badly, after the *Chinese* manner, varying from nature; to follow which they deem too mechanical. The most general professions in *Siam* are fishing, for the common people; and merchandize, for those who are able to engage in it: but as the king engrosses to himself the foreign commerce, the home trade is so inconsiderable, that it is impossible to grow rich by it. In loans they give promissory notes of repayment; but neither seal nor sign, excepting with a sort of cross for a mark. The integrity of the people is so great, that, in the markets, neither the seller counts the money, nor the buyer the goods, he receives: and they were much scandalized to see the *French* buy the least things with more caution. The market hours are from five in the evening to eight or nine. Manufactures and commerce.

THEY use no measures in trade; because muslins and other linens are sold by the piece: but in serving the poorer sort, who want smaller quantities, they measure with their arm. In buildings, and surveying land, they use the fathom. For grain and liquors they use cocoa-shells; also a kind of bushel to measure corn, and a pitcher for liquor. They are not more exact with regard to their weights: but the pieces of their money are better regulated, though frequently counterfeit and light. Their silver coins are all of the same figure and impression, but of different sizes. Their *tikal*, which weighs no more than half a crown, goes for three shillings and sixpence. Gold is a commodity, and twelve times the value of silver. They use for small money the *kori* shells, which they call *lia*, 7 or 800 of which are scarce the value of a penny". Measures and weights.

THE *Siameses* bury their dead bodies in wooden coffins, varnished and gilded on the outside. Sometimes they make use of leaden coffins: these they set on a high place, or bedstead, with feet, and burn perfumes and tapers. Every night the *Talapoy*s come to sing hymns on the occasion, in the *Balli* language, for which they are entertained, and receive some money. The place for burning the corpse is in the fields, near some temple, where a square spot is Their funerals.

^a LOUBIERE, p. 64, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 69, & seq.

surrounded with a *bambu* inclosure, like that of an arbor. It is adorned with painted or gilded papers, representing houses, moveables, and animals, which are for the use of the deceased in the next world; where they are supposed to become the things they represent. In the midst of this inclosure, the funeral pile is made, of odoriferous wood; and, if the persons are rich, a scaffolding is erected of a considerable height, on which earth is laid, and on that the wood. On the day appointed, in the morning, the body sets out, under the sound of instruments, attended by the family and friends, all in white.

and interr-
ments.

WHEN they arrive at the place, the body is taken out of the coffin, and laid on the pile: then the *Talapoy*s sing for a quarter of an hour, and so retire: after which the shews begin, set-off with fireworks. About noon a servant of the *Talapoy*s sets fire to the pile, which burns for two hours, yet only roasts the body, without consuming it. If a prince of the blood, or a favourite lord, dies, the king himself sets the pile on fire, by a rocket sent along a rope, from the palace to the pile. The family entertain the company attending the burial, and, for three days, bestow alms on the *Talapoy*s. The remains of the body are again put into the coffin, and deposited under one of the pyramids which encompass some temple. The poor inter their dead bodies without burning them; or expose them in the fields on a scaffold, where the vultures and crows devour them. The *Siameses* never burn the corpses of persons executed, infants still-born, women who die in child-bed, those who destroy themselves, or perish by thunder, or such extraordinary accidents; believing that such misfortunes never happen to the innocent ^p.

^p LOUBIERE hist. Siam, p. 122.

S E C T. VII.

Religion of the Siameses.

AS the religion of the *Siameses* is the same, or nearly the same, with that of the *Labos*, which we have already circumstantially described; we shall here only touch upon a few particulars, relating to the *Indian* doctrine of the soul, and other matters, which have not yet been brought in view.

All souls alike.

ALL souls appear, to the eastern Pagans, to be of the same nature; nor do they believe, like *Christians*, that they are physically united to the body, so as to make one with it. They are so far from thinking that the souls have a natural inclination to be in bodies, that they hold the transmigration to be a penance, as hath been often mentioned already. On the other hand, it is very difficult to convey to a *Siamite* the idea of a spirit, or an immaterial substance. All believe, indeed, that there remains something of man, after his death, which subsists separately from his body; but they give form and extension to the remains: in short, ascribe to it all the same members, with the same solid and fluid substances, whereof human bodies are composed. They suppose only that the souls are of a matter subtile enough to be free from touch and sight; yet at the same time hold, that if any of them be wounded, the blood which flows from the wound may appear. Such were the *manes* and shades of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Chineses* chose to suffer death rather than shave their hair after the manner of the *Tartars*, who conquered them, that they might not appear before their ancestors in the other world without hair; imagining, that they shaved the head of the soul, in shaving that of the body. After all, they cannot tell why they attribute the human figure, rather than any other, to the soul; which they suppose able to animate all sorts of bodies, besides that of man ^a.

Of human
form.

Notion of
spirits.

As the oriental people believe that they may be helpful to the dead, by providing for their necessities in the next life, in the way before-mentioned, of burning the paper-figures of several things; so they imagine that the dead have the power of tormenting and succouring the living. Hence comes their care about the funerals of the deceased: for it is only in this that they are munificent. Hence also it is that they pray to the dead, so high as their great great grandfather; supposing their ancestor, in the degrees beyond, to be so dispersed by divers transmigrations, that they can hear them no more. The orientals are afraid of spirits, as well as the *Christians*, but in a more limited manner; for they neither hope nor fear any-thing from the dead out of the precincts of their family, profession, ward, or city, at farthest ^b.

Paradises and
hells.

THE most common opinion is, that there are nine places of happiness, and nine unhappy places: the nine first over our heads, or above this world; the nine unhappy places under our feet. The highest of the first nine is the place of most bliss; and the lowest of the second nine the place of most misery. But however great may be the felicity of the ninth paradise, yet that felicity is not eternal, nor exempt from inquietudes; since it is a state in which one

^a LOUBIERE, p. 120, 129.

^b Ibid. p. 120. 122.

a is not only born, but also dies. The true paradise of the *Indians* is of another kind. If, after several transmigrations, a soul, by the good works done in each new life, arrives at so much merit, that there is not, in any of the worlds, any mortal condition which is worthy of it, they say it then enjoys the *Nireupan*; that is, it has *disappeared*, and will ^{State of Nir-}return no more to any world, but remains in a state of eternal inactivity, and real impassibility^{reupan}. This word *Nircupan* the *Portugueses* have translated *it is annihilated*, and *it is become a god*; although, in the opinion of the *Siameses*, this is neither a real annihilation, nor an acquisition of any divine nature. In like manner, their true hell is not in any of the nine unhappy abodes, in some of which they suppose eternal flames and torments; but consists in the soul's never arriving at the *Nireupan*, and being doomed to eternal transmigrations.

b BEFORE the soul disappears, or enters into the supreme felicity, they believe that, as soon as he hath merited the *Nircupan*, he enjoys great privileges in this life: as, that he acquires a prodigious knowledge, particularly of what happened to him in his several transmigrations, and what shall happen till the time of his death; that he shall be endued with invincible strength, and the power of doing miracles. His death too must be of a more noble kind than the common sort: he *disappears*, say they, *like a spark, which is lost in the air*. And it is to the memory of these perfectly beatified men that the *Siameses* consecrate their temples. ^{Its privileges}

Now although the *Talapoy*s pretend that several have arrived to this supreme felicity (to ^{Enjoyed by} the end, in our author's opinion, that several others may hope to arrive thereat), yet they ^{several} honour only one, whom they deem to have surpassed all the rest in virtue. This is him whom c they call *Sommona Kodom*. *Kodom*, they say, was his proper name; and that *Sommona* signifies, in the *Bali* (or *Palii*) language, *a Talapoy of the woods*.

According to them, there is no true virtue out of the *Talapoy* profession: and they believe the *Talapoy* of the woods to be much more virtuous than those of the cities.

AND this, our author says, is the whole doctrine of the *Siameses*, in which he finds no traces of a divinity. They have no idea of a being who created all things; nor consequently of any deity: so that their whole religion may be reduced intirely to the worship of the dead^d.

THE sacred books of the *Talapoy*s, written in the *Balli* language, on longish leaves of a ^{Balli book} tree, fastened together at one end, are filled with extravagant stories, grafted on the metempsychosis, and other doctrines of their religion. For instance, their principal book, believed to be written by *Sommona Kodom* (A), relates, that a certain elephant had thirty-three heads, each head seven teeth, each tooth seven pools, each pool seven flowers, every flower seven leaves, every leaf seven towers, every tower seven other things, and so on, still proceeding by the number seven^e. But let us leave these foolish conceits, to consider the morality of the *Siameses*.

IT has been already observed, in our account of the religion of the *Labos*, or *Lanjans*, that ^{Moral pre-}the principles of the *Indian* morals are reduced to five negative precepts. We shall here con- ^{cepts}sider in what latitude each of them is understood by the *Talapoy*s, particularly those of *Siam*.

e THE first precept, *Kill nothing*, is extended to vegetables and seeds, as well as animals: 1. ^{Not to kill,} because they believe the seed contains the plant; or is only the plant itself under a cover. He therefore who keeps the precept can live solely on fruit; which they consider only as part of a thing which has life, and which suffers not by having its fruit plucked. But, in eating the fruit, he must avoid eating either the kernel or stone, because they are seeds: nor must unripe fruit be eaten, because that is to render the seed which the fruit contains abortive, by hindering it from coming to maturity. The precept goes still farther, even to forbid destroying any thing in nature: because they think every thing is animated, or rather has a soul; so that to destroy any thing is to dispossess a soul. Thus they believe that to break a branch of a tree, is like breaking the arm of an innocent person, and offends the soul of f the tree; but when once the soul has been dislodged from any body, they think no harm can be done in feeding on the latter. The *Talapoy*s do not scruple to eat of what is dead, but only of killing what they believe to be alive.

In several instances they testify a greater abhorrence of blood than of murder. They are ^{nor dispossess,} forbidden to make any incision from whence blood may flow; as if the soul was the blood, or ^{souls} principally lodged in it. The *Siameses* scruple to go a fishing, except on the days when the *Talapoy*s shave their heads. At those times they fancy that they commit no crime; saying, that they only pull them out of the water, and shed not their blood; but the smallest evasion serves to elude the precepts. Thus they imagine killing in war to be no sin, because they shoot not directly at the enemy; although, in reality, they endeavour to kill. For all this,

^c LOUBIERE, p. 120.^d Ibid. p. 130.^e Ibid. p. 135.A) This probably is the *Vineh*: a fragment of which text, called *Patimouk*, is given by *Loubiere*, p. 157.

*Self-murder
lawful.*

if they are told, that murder in some cases appears laudable, since it may deliver a soul a from a miserable life, they answer; first, that forcibly to dispossess souls is always to injure them: secondly, that by being dispossessed they are relieved; because they re-enter the like bodies, in order to live-out the time appointed them in that state. As to self-murder, the *Siameses* think it not only lawful, because masters of themselves, but also meritorious; judging it a sacrifice which acquires the soul a great degree of virtue and perfection. In this persuasion they sometimes hang themselves out of devotion: but some great discontent is generally the true motive; as was the case of a *Peguer*, who burnt himself publicly in a temple at *Siam*, about the year 1680.

Second.

Third.

WITH regard to the second precept, *Steal nothing*, our author has nothing particular to observe: but the third, *Commit not any impurity*, extends, he says, not only to adultery and b fornication, but also to marriage; which (with the *Talapoys*) is a state of sin, as celibacy is a state of perfection.

Fourth.

THE fourth precept, *Lye not*, in *Loubiere's* opinion, merited an explanation; but he was not furnished with materials for the purpose.

Fifth.

THE fifth and last, *Drink no intoxicating liquor*, prohibits not only drinking strong liquors till one is overcome with them, but the drinking at all of any inebriating liquor, though ever so moderately ^f.

If idolaters,

As the *Siameses* acknowledge no author of the universe, so they acknowledge no first legislator. They erect temples to the memory of certain men, concerning whom they believe a thousand fables, which the superstition of their ancestors has invented. And these are they whom c the *Portugueses* have called the gods of the *Indies*; imagining that whatever was honoured with public worship could be no less than a god (A). The *Indians* indeed have allowed these men to be called gods; but the reason is, that they do understand the true meaning of the word god. The erecting statues to men, and giving them exterior worship, is not always a mark of divine honour, since the like hath been, and still are, often given to magistrates; as statues have even been set up in churches, and honoured with incense, as well as other exterior forms of worship. Therefore the *Indians* are not to be accused with idolatry for the like practice; much less, as it does not appear that they acknowledge any deity: for, this reason they ought rather to be termed atheists than idolaters. On the other hand, when it is d considered that they offer vows and sacrifices to those who are not gods, they cannot well be excused from idolatry.

*hold all reli-
gions good.*

THE *Indians* are persuaded, that different people must have different religions; and therefore have no notion that one ought to extirpate another. They do not hold, like *Europeans*, that faith is a virtue. They believe, because they know not how to doubt: much less are they persuaded, that there is a faith and worship, which ought to be the faith and worship of all nations. The priests do not preach that a soul shall be punished for denying their traditions, because they do not find that any do deny them. They are willing to believe all foreign religions, how incomprehensible soever, to be true: but cannot be persuaded that their own is false; or to reject their sacred books, although they sometimes acknowledge that there are inconsistencies in them. In this they act but like *Europeans*, who do not, on account of e some falsity, reject every historian, or book of physick. They do not believe their doctrine to have descended from heaven, or to have come from the infallible mouth of truth. They hold it to have been born with the man, and written by some endowed with extraordinary knowledge; but who never sinned, or were capable of being deceived, although they were not inspired ^g.

^f LOUBIERE, p. 126.

^g Ibid. p. 139, & seq.

(A) Then they must believe their own images to be gods: but it is the iniquitous art of *Romish* priests of all nations, to accuse others with idolatry, though free from the charge, in order to cloak their own.

S E C T. VIII.

Of the Talapoys, or priests.

*Talapoys,
kinds of.*

THERE are two sorts of *Talapoys* in *Siam*, as every-where else; some dwell in woods, f and others in cities. *Gervaise* distinguishes the *Talapoys* into three orders or degrees: *Balwang* (or *Pat-lowang*), *Chaw-kow*, and *Pe-kow*; which may arise from some difference between the *Sankrats* and *Talapoys*. However, *Loubiere* always understood *Balwang*, written *Pat-louang*, to be only a title of respect; and *Chaw-kow*, which signifies *lord*, or *my lord*, to be the name of the *Talapoys* in *Siam*; for they have no other there^a. However that may

^a LOUBIERE, p. 114. 118. 134.

a be, the *Talapoy*s, considered as religious, will admit of another division, like the regulars of the *Romish* church, namely, into that of monks and nuns; for there are *Talapoyneſſes*, or the *Talapoy*s, who have their particular rules, or way of living.

WITH regard to the *Talapoy*s of the male ſex, thoſe of the woods are reckoned more holy than thoſe of the cities. They have neither convents nor temples; ſo that, having no places of ſecurity to retire to, the people admire the ſecurity in which they live from wild beaſts: but poſſibly they may, in the night, make fires, and chooſe the cloſeſt thickets to live in. Doubtleſs alſo the woods are not ſo dangerous as they report; ſeeing ſo many families ſeek ſanctuary there againſt the government. Theſe are our ways of accounting for the matter: but the *Siameſes* have quite other notions of things. They believe that theſe *Talapoy* are expoſed continually to the moſt imminent dangers; and that nothing but their extreme ſanctity could protect them. They imagine, that the tigers, elephants, and rhinoceros's, reverence them, and lick their hands and feet, when they find any of them aſleep. Should they find the remains of ſome man, who had been devoured by thoſe animals, they would never believe that he was a *Talapoy*, unleſs there appeared ſome evident proof: on which occaſion they would preſume (as, in the like caſe, many as bigotted *Chriſtians* do), that this *Talapoy* had been wicked, without ceaſing to believe that the wild beaſts have a profound reſpect for the good and virtuous ^b.

As any perſon may be a *Talapoy*, he, who has a mind to enter into the profeſſion, firſt *Talapoy* how agrees with ſome ſuperior to receive him, and then goes to demand the habit of ſome *Sankrat*; ^{made}.
c in caſe the ſuperior he is to remain with is not one himſelf. The *Sankrat* appoints ſome afternoon for his admiſſion, when the party, his relations and friends, come accompanied with muſic and dancers; neither theſe latter, nor the women, enter the temple; where the *Sankrat* waits to receive the new member: for whoever ſhould oppoſe his admiſſion would commit a ſin. When he has been ſhaven, he puts on the habit given him by the *Sankrat*, who, in the mean time, repeats ſeveral words in the *Balli* language. The ceremony being ended, the new *Talapoy* repairs to the convent where he is to reſide, accompanied by his kinsfolks: but from this time he muſt take his leave of muſic and dancing. Some days after, the relations give an entertainment to the convent; and exhibit ſhews before the temple, which the *Talapoy*s are prohibited to ſee ^c.

d THE *Talapoy*s go with bare heads and feet like the people. Round their loins and thighs ^{Their habit.} they wear the *pagne* alſo, but of yellow linen, which is the royal colour (A). They have no muſlin ſhirt or veſt. Their habit conſiſts of four pieces: the firſt is the *angſa*, a kind of ſhoulder-belt, of the ſame ſort of linen, five or ſix inches broad: they wear it on their left ſhoulder, and button it with a ſingle button on the right hip, than which it goes no lower. Over this belt they put another great yellow cloth, which they call *pa ſhivon*, or the cloth of ſeveral pieces, becauſe it ought to be patched in ſeveral places. The *Portugueſes* call it the *pagne* of the *Talapoy*s. It is a kind of ſcapulary, which reaches to the ground both behind and before, and which, covering only the left ſhoulder, returns to the right hip, leaving the two arms, with all the right ſhoulder, free. Over this is the *pa pat*, another cloth four or five inches broad, which
e they likewiſe put over the left ſhoulder, but like a hood, deſcending to the navel before, and equally low behind. The *Sankrats*, and moſt ancient *Talapoy*s, wear it red. To keep the *angſa* and *pa ſhivon*, which muſt always be yellow, in a poſture, they gird their middle with a yellow cloth called *rappakod*: and this completes the four pieces whereof their habit conſiſts.

THEY ſhave all their beard, head, and eyebrows. The *Siam* razors are of copper. The ^{The tonſure.} ſuperior is forced to ſhave himſelf, becauſe no perſon can touch his head without ſhewing him diſreſpect: but when he is very old, another is permitted to do that office. By the ſame rule, a young *Talapoy* dares not ſhave an old one: but the old may ſhave the young; that is, the *Nens* or children committed to their education, who know not how to ſhave themſelves. The ſhaving days are thoſe of the new and full moon, on which they faſt, that is,
f eat nothing from noon. They uſe a chaplet, or beads, of 108 grains, on which they recite ^{Beads and ſan.} certain *Balli* words ^d.

THE *Talapoyneſſes*, who are called *Nang-chi*, are clad in white, like the *Tapakaw*, or ſer-*Talapoy*-vants; nor are they, in a ſtrict ſenſe, eſteemed religious. A ſimple ſuperior ſuffices to give them the name, as well as the habit. They are obliged to continence; yet are not burnt, like the *Talapoy*s, in caſe they break the rule. On being convicted of the fact, they are delivered up to their parents, to be baſtonado'd; becauſe neither the *Talapoy*s, nor *Talapoyneſſes*, are permitted to ſtrike any perſon ^e.

THE *Siameſes* do not believe that real virtue is deſigned for any but the *Talapoy*s. How-^{Talapoy} ever, they hold, that what is ſin in itſelf, is ſin in every perſon who commits it; and the ^{without ſin.}

^b LOUBIERE, p. 115, & ſeq.^c Ibid. p. 118.^d Ibid. p. 116.^e Ibid. p. 119.(A) It is the ſame in *China*.

*Talapoy*s esteem nothing a sin in their order, which is not a sin to all the world: but then they say it is the business of the laity to sin, and of themselves not to sin. They say also, that it is their office to repent for those who sin. They likewise think that they who are destined to expiate the sins of others by penance, ought to be more pure than others; and that the punishment due to sin may pass from the guilty to the innocent, in case the innocent will voluntarily submit himself to deliver the guilty.

Make the laity sin.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, the *Talapoy*s have very gross conceptions concerning the nature of sin: for although they abstain themselves from actions which they deem wicked, yet they scruple not, for lucre sake, to make the laity commit them. Thus, because rice being a seed, they cannot boil it, without sin, as that would be to kill it: yet they order their servants, who are laymen, or else the *Talapoy* children whom they educate, to commit this pretended sin; and then eat the rice which they have cooked. They are likewise forbidden to piss either on the fire, water, or earth; because that would be to extinguish the fire, or corrupt the other two elements: but after they have made water in a basin, they give it to their servant, to throw where-ever he pleases. Whatever sins the laity commit, they expiate them by their good works; which principally consist in bestowing alms on the temples and the *Talapoy*s, according to the ancient custom, prevailing almost every-where, and so frequently repeated in scripture, that *alms-deeds ransom sin*.

Their moral maxims;

impossible to be kept.

OUR author has published the moral maxims of the *Siamese Talapoy*s, in which one sees the great respect which they have for the elements, and for all the parts of nature. They are forbidden to speak injuriously of any natural production; to dig a hole in the earth, and not to fill it up afterwards; to boil the earth, as to boil rice; to kindle a fire, because it is to destroy that with which it is kindled; or to extinguish it, when it is once kindled. By those maxims it appears that the *Talapoy*s pay as much regard to purity and decency, as to real virtue: and that they have some ideas of all the virtues, but no just notions of any of them; because they strain some too far with their superstitious scruples, and do not live up strictly to others. They see it is impossible for all persons to keep these maxims; since it is necessary for somebody to make a fire: yet think they keep them, by shifting the sin off themselves upon the laity, and, on that account, pretend to be pure: as if there was no harm in obliging others to do a sinful action, provided they keep from doing it themselves. On this false purity, purchased at the expence of the laity, is grounded all that pride which the *Talapoy*s shew towards them: for they seated themselves higher than secular people; never salute them; and affect never to bewail the death of any person, even of their parents. They have a kind of confession; for, from time to time, they seem in private to render an account of their actions to their superior. But instead of confessing themselves sinners, they declare themselves free from sin: *I have not stolen*, say they; *I have not lied*; and so of the rest.

Confession of no sins.

A *TALAPOY* sins, if, in the street, he has not his senses composed; or if he meddles with state-affairs; if he coughs, to attract the eyes of a woman; if he beholds a woman with complacency, or desires one; if he uses perfumes, puts flowers in his ears, or adorns himself with too much care. He is to have but one garment, and that not shewy; is to keep no victuals from the evening till next day; nor to touch, or even desire, gold or silver. But as they may abandon their profession when they please, so they take care to gather wherewith to live at their ease, when they leave the convent^a.

Rules of the order.

THE spirit of the institution of the *Talapoy*s is to keep themselves from the sins of the people, to lead a penitent life for the sins of those who bestow alms upon them, and to live on alms. They eat not in common, and are very hospitable to the seculars of all religions: yet they are forbidden to share among their companions the alms which they receive, at least to do it immediately; every one being supposed to repent sufficiently, and not to have occasion to expiate his sins, by bestowing alms. However they are allowed to give things sometimes to their brethren, and assist them in real necessity. They have two lodgings, one on each side of the door, to receive passengers who desire a bed^b. Their way of begging is like that used in *Pegu* and *Labos*.

Talapoy's their origin.

THE *Talapoy*s are obliged strictly to keep celibacy, so long as they continue in their profession, on pain of being burnt; and the king never pardons them in this case, when convicted^c.

Talapoy privileges.

As to the origin of the *Talapoy*s, it is like that of the *Brámmans* and *Bonzas*, so obscure, that it will be difficult ever to discover it. They are ignorant of the founder of their order; but say, that all those whose statutes are honoured in their temples, were of it: and the people believe, that both they and their doctrine are as ancient as the world itself^d.

THE *Talapoy*s have great privileges; among the rest, that of being exempted from the six months service. The king, therefore, to diminish the number of these privileged persons, whose power he has reason to fear, causes them, from time to time, to be examined as to their

^a LOUBIERE, p. 123, & seq. p. 134.

^b Ibid. p. 114.

^c LA CROZE Chret. des Indes, p. 115.

^d Ibid.

a knowledge of the *Balli* language, and its books: if they are not learned enough, he reduces them to a secular state; as he did several thousands, about the year 1687. They were examined by a lay-officer; but those of the woods refused to be examined by any but one of their own superiors^c.

It is one of the privileges of the *Talapoy*s that they cannot be put to death. When the present king's father seized the crown, he thought it impossible securely to make an attempt on one of the princes of the blood, till he had first artfully prevailed on him to quit the *Talapoy* habit which he wore. In like manner, when that usurper died, his son turned *Talapoy*, to secure himself against his uncle, who had taken possession of the throne^f.

THE functions proper to the *Talapoy*s are to educate youth, as hath been related; and to *Functions* explain their doctrines to the people, out of their *Balli* books. They preach the day after every new and full moon, and the people constantly frequent the temples. When the river is swelled, till the inundation begins to sink, they preach every day, from six in the morning till dinner-time, and from one in the afternoon till five. The *Talapoy*s relieve one another in *Preaching* this office, the preacher sitting cross-legged, in a high chair of state; and when he has finished his sermon, the people give him alms: so that they who preach frequently throughout the year, soon become rich.

THIS time may be called the *Lent* of the *Talapoy*s. Their fasting is to eat nothing from *Lent fasting* noon, unless they may chew *betel*: but when they do not fast, they only eat fruit in the afternoon. The *Indians* are so sober, that a fast of forty, nay of an hundred days, does not appear *c* incredible to them. *Van Twijt*, a *Dutch* author, affirms, that some have fasted the first number of days, without taking any thing but a little liquor mixed with a little bitter wood reduced to powder: and the *Siameses* speak of a *Talapoy* who fasted 107 days, but then ascribed it to magic; saying it was easy to live on grass, provided certain words were uttered over it.

AFTER the rice-harvest, the *Talapoy*s go for three weeks to watch in the fields by night, *Watch in the* under small huts, set round their superiors, made of branches of trees; and in the day return *fields* to visit the temple and sleep in their cells. They make no fires on this occasion, to scare away the wild beasts; so that the people look on it as a miracle that they are not devoured. But it must be considered, that this is a time when the wild beasts meet with much forage; and the *Talapoy*s know how to choose the safest ground, as well as secure themselves by inclosures.

d However, our author knew not the reason either of this watch, or their *Lent*^g.

ON the full moon of the fifth month the *Talapoy*s wash the statues with perfumed waters, *Washings*. all but the head, which must not be touched, out of respect: they afterwards wash the *Sankrat*. The people likewise wash him, and the other *Talapoy*s. In particular families the children wash their parents, without regard to their sex; for the son and daughter wash the father and grandfather, as well as the mother and grandmother.

THE *Talapoy*s being raised in the morning by the sound of their bells (for they have no *How they* clock), the first thing they do is to wash themselves, as soon as it is light enough to see their *spend* way, lest in walking they should kill any insect without perceiving it. After this they go with their superior to the temple for two hours; there they sing, or repeat a passage out of their *e Balli* books: but the people have no prayer-book. Their posture, while they sing, is to sit cross-legged, and continually to toss their *talipat*, or fan, as if fanning themselves, in measure with their words; which they pronounce in equal time, and in the same tone. At their entering in, and going out of the temple, they prostrate themselves three times before the statue; and the laity do the same.

AFTER prayers, they go into the city for an hour to beg alms. Their method is to stand *the day* at the gates, without saying any thing; and, in a little time, if nothing is given them, pass on: but it is rare that the people refuse them a benevolence; and their relations never fail them. At their return to the convent they breakfast; sometimes presenting to the statue what they eat. Till noon they study, or divert themselves, and then dine. After dinner they read *f* a lecture to the little *Talapoy*s; and then go to sleep, or take a walk in the city. In the evening they sweep the temple, and sing there, as in the morning, for two hours; after which they lie down. If they eat a supper, it is only of fruit.

BESIDES the slaves which the convents may have, each has one or two servants, called *Servants*. *Tapakaw*, who are laymen, tho' dressed like *Talapoy*s, excepting that their habit is white, and not yellow. They receive all the money which is given to their masters, because these latter cannot touch it without sinning. They have the care of the gardens and lands belonging to the convent; in short, these *Tapakaw* do for the *Talapoy*s whatever they conceive ought not to be done by themselves^h.

EVERY convent is under the direction of a superior, called *Chaw Vat*, that is, *lord of the Superior*. *g convent*: but all the superiors are not of equal dignity. The most honourable are those whom they call *Sankrat*; and he of the palace convent is the most reverend of all: yet no superior

^c LA CROZE Chret. des Indes, p. 115.
p. 117, & seq.

^f Ibid. p. 135.

^g Ibid. p. 115, & seq.

^h Ibid.

nor *Sankrat* has authority or jurisdiction over another. This body would be too formidable a if it had but one head, and acted always unanimously, or according to the same maxims.

Sankrats.

THE missionaries have compared the *Sankrats* to bishops, and the simple superiors to parish priests: they fancy also that *Siam* formerly had some Christian bishops, to whom the *Sankrats* have succeeded. But although the *Sankrats* only can make *Talapoys*, as none but bishops can make priests; yet they have not any jurisdiction or authority, either over the people or the *Talapoys*, which are not of their respective convents. Every convent, designed for a *Sankrat*, is distinguished from others by stones, bearing some distant resemblance to a mitre set on a pedestal, which are planted round the temple near its walls. The dignity of the *Sankrat* is denoted by the number of these stones, which are never fewer than two, nor more than eight: it was the figure of these stones which gave rise to the notion of the missionaries. The king b gives to the principal *Sankrat* a name and an umbrella, with a sedan, and men to carry it¹.

Respect paid them.

THE *Talapoys* never walk out of their convent, or return, without going to salute their superior, by touching the ground with their forehead; and because he generally sits cross-legged, they take one of his feet with both hands, and put it on their head.

Their election.

WHEN the superior, whether he be a *Sankrat* or not, is dead, the religious elect another; and commonly they chuse the oldest *Talapoy* in the convent, or at least the most learned. Persons who build temples chuse a superior for the convent, but build no houses for the *Talapoys*, only as they come and settle there².

Talapoy convents.

THE *Talapoys* live in convents, called *Vat*, which are always erected near some temple (B), named *Pihan* by the *Siameses*: both together take up a very great square piece of ground, encompassed with an inclosure of *bambú*. The temple stands in the middle; and the cells are c ranged at the corners, and along the inclosure, like the tents of an army, the rows being sometimes double or triple. These are little huts or single houses erected on piles; and that of the superior a little larger and higher than the rest. Each convent has some gardens and arable lands, with slaves to plough them. All their lands are free from taxes; and the king never touches them, although the real property of them lies in him; unless he gives them away by an instrument in writing, which he scarce ever does³.

Lands free.

Talapoyneffes.

THE *Talapoyneffes* have no convents of their own, but live in those of the *Talapoys*; for being all advanced in years, the *Siameses* think they may be trusted with the men. In those convents, where any are (for they are not in all), one of the sides of the outward inclosure is d allotted for their cells, without any other separation from the rest.

Talapoy children.

THE *Nens*, or *Talapoy* children, are dispersed in the cells of the *Talapoys*, and serve those under whom they are placed by their parents. No *Talapoy* ever takes more than two or three: these are not all young, for some grow old in this condition, which is not entirely religious. The oldest of the *Nens* is called *Taten*, whose business it is to pluck up the weeds which grow in the ground of the convent, and which the *Talapoys* think they cannot do themselves without committing sin.

THE school of the *Nens* is a hall of *bambú*, standing alone; besides which there is another, where the people carry their alms, on the days when the temple is shut, and where the *Talapoys* assemble for their ordinary conferences. e

Temples and steeples.

THE temple is surrounded with pyramids standing near it; and the ground on which they are situated is higher than the rest. It is likewise square, and inclosed with a wall; between which and the cells is an empty space, which serves for a court to the convent. Sometimes along the inner inclosure there are covered galleries, like the cloisters in *Romish* monasteries; and on a counter wall breast-high, which runs along these galleries, they range images, sometimes gilded. The steeple of the temple is a wooden tower, standing alone, which they call *horakang*, or the belfry. The bell, which has no clapper, is sounded with a wooden mallet^m.

Festival days.

THOSE days on which the *Talapoys* shave, the people abstain from fishing; seemingly, as an employment not wholly innocent: for they do not abstain from any other sort of work. They likewise carry alms to the convents, which consist of money, fruits, *pagnes*, or cattle. f If the cattle be dead, the *Talapoys* eat the flesh. If not, they let them live and die about the temples, eating them only when they die of themselves. Near certain temples there is a pond for the living fish, which are offered to such temples. Besides these festival days, common to all the temples, every temple has a particular day appointed to receive the alms, as if it was the feast of its dedication.

THE people voluntarily assist at these festivals, and make a shew with their new cloaths. One of their principal charities is to give liberty to some animals, which they buy of those who take them in the fields.

¹ LOUBIERE hist. Siam, p. 114. p. 113, & seq.

² Ibid. p. 117, & seq.

³ Ibid. p. 113, & 117.

^m Ibid.

(B) A late author says, there are 50,000 belonging to the temples in and about *Siam*. *Hamilton's new acc. of E. Ind.* vol. ii. p. 163.

- a WHAT the people offer to the statue is not done by themselves, but it is delivered to the *Talapoy*s; who present it either by holding it in their hand before the image, or laying it upon the altar: and a while after, they take it away, and convert it to their own use. Sometimes the people offer up lighted tapers, which the *Talapoy*s fasten to the knees of the statue; and this is the reason why one of the knees of a great many images are ungilt^a.

^a LOUBIERE, p. 116, & seq.

S E C T. IX.

Of Sommona Kodom, the founder or restorer of the Siamese religion.

- b THE *Chineses* say that a *Siamese*, named *Sbe-kya*, was the author of this religion and the *Religion*, metempsychosis; but the *Siameses* themselves pretend no such thing (A); imagining *origin* that this doctrine is as ancient as the souls themselves. The *Japaners* call the *Sbe-kya* of the *Chineses* *Sba-ka*; which words nearly agreeing in sound, seem to be derived from *Chawka* and *Chawkow*, which signify *lord*, or *my lord*; the name, as hath been already observed, given to the *Talapoy*s in *Siam*: so that, says our author, the *Chineses* seem to have taken the general name of the profession for the proper name of the founder.
- c THIS conjecture would be very probable, provided we were sure that the *Chineses* received the religion of *Sbe-kya*, or *Sba-ka*, from the *Siameses*: but, according to them, they had it from a country to the west of their empire, which seems to be *Tibet*; and though it was not known in *China* till sixty-five years after *Christ*, yet they make its founder *Sbe-kya*, or *Fo*, to have lived above 1000 years before the *Christian* æra: whereas the *Siameses* place the death of their lawgiver almost 500 years later.
- d THE *Chineses* therefore, in making *Sbe-kya* the founder of the *Siamese* religion, honour it *from* *Shékya*, with greater antiquity, and, in effect, are right, since it is the same with that broached by *Sbe-kya*, several ages before *Sommona Kodom*, the lawgiver of the *Siameses*; who, to avoid confessing that he was beholden for it to another, pretend that their religion is as old as the world. But we know, from authentic history, that it was professed by the *Sammans*, or *Shammans*, in the hither *India*, and had for its author *Budda*^a, who was either the same with *Shékya*, or another propagator of the same religion, long before *Sommona Kodom* appeared in *Siam*^b.
- e SOME *Balli* books do relate, that *Sommona Kodom* was born of a flower, issuing from the *Sommona* navel of an infant; who, they say, was the leaf of a tree, in form of an infant biting its toe, *Kodom*, and swimming on the water, which alone subsisted with the deity. This is the very same original which is ascribed to their god *Brámma*, by the *Indians* of *Palikatta*, on the coast of *Choromandel*^c: and as the *Balli* or *Palli* language seems to be the same with that spoken in the last-mentioned country, and particularly at *Palikatta*, as may be presumed from the word *Pali*, which is found in the name; it is probable that the first *Sammans*, with *Sommona Kodom*, whose name seems to denote his being one, as hath been already remarked^d, passed from *Palikatta* into *Siam*. We are informed by Mr. *Loubiere*, that the *Siameses* say *Kodom* *His name*, was the proper name of that lawgiver of theirs; and that *Sommona* is an appellation which signifies, in the *Balli*, or *Palli*, language, a *Talapoy of the woods*^e. Now *Sammán*, or *Sammána*, signifies the same thing in the *Malabár* language; a farther proof that *Kodom* came from the hither *India*. The *Siameses* give him also the name of *Pouti Sat*, that is *lord Pouti*^f, or *Budda*, who was the founder of the *Sammán* sect: but as the founder of a religion must be more ancient than his successors, who propagate it, and it is probable *Kodom* left the hither *India* with the *Sammans*^g, who were expelled by the *Brámmans*; this last is a name bestowed on him in commemoration of *Pouti*, or *Budda*, the original author of this religion; or because it may have been imagined, that the soul of *Budda* was revived in him. However that be, the same author tells us, that the *Siameses* call him also *Pra Poute Chaw*, which he says literally signifies, *the great and excellent lord*^h.
- f How wonderful soever the *Siameses* pretend the birth of *Sommona Kodom* was, yet they fail *His parents*, not to give to him both a father and mother. According to some of their *Balli* books, his father (B) was king of *Teve* (C) *Lanka*, that is, of the famous *Seylan*, or *Ceylon*. His mother's name was *Maba* (D) *Maria*, or the *great Mary*. But it is found written *Mania*, as

^a See before, book xiv. ch. 8. p. 335.
^e LOUBIERE, p. 130.
p. 134, & 138.

^b LOUBIERE relat. Siam, p. 134.
^f Ibid. p. 155.

^c Ibid. p. 136.
^g See before, book xiv. ch. 8.

^d See before,
^h LOUBIERE,

(A) Nor indeed do the *Chineses*, according to the later missionaries; though some of the early ones, thro' mistake perhaps, relate that they do.

(B) He is named *Tawfautat* in the life of *Thevetat*, given by *Loubiere*, p. 145.

(C) *Teve* seems to be a corruption of *Dive*, or *Div*;

by the *Portugueses* written *Diu*, which signifies an island: but *Lanka* is by many of the *Indians* reckoned only a part of *Seylan*. Mr. *Gervaise* makes *Sommona Kodom* a native of *China*.

(D) *Maba* is *great* in the *Malabár* language; as *Maha Dew*, the *great god*; *Maha Rájah*, the *great Rájah*.

often as *Maria*; which almost proves that *Mania* should be two distinct words, as *Man ya*; a because the *Siameses* confound the *n* with the *r*, only at the end of words, or else of syllables followed by a consonant. However, this circumstance has engaged the attention of the missionaries; and perhaps given occasion to the *Siameses* to believe, that *Jesus*, the son of *Mary*, was brother to *Sommona Kodom*; namely, the wicked *Thevetat* (E), whom they report to be tormented in hell, with a punishment which participates somewhat of the cross.

His death.

As the *Balli* books are without either dates or the author's name, they can be of no more authority than any tradition, whose origin is unknownⁱ. Neither does it appear from Mr. *Loubiere*, that they mention the time when *Sommona Kodom* lived. All we gather touching this matter, is from one of the *Siamese* epochas, which commences from the death of that saint^k (as they say) in the year 544 before the *Christian* æra. But this puts the migration of *Kodom* into *Siam* many centuries earlier than the expulsion of the *Shammâns*, or *Sammâns*, out of the hither peninsula of the *Indies*.

His history.

BUT let us quit these uncertainties, to see what the *Siameses* reported concerning *Sommona Kodom*, out of their *Balli* books, to our author; for he could not procure a translation of one. It is said that his charity, not being satisfied with bestowing all his estate in alms, he not only plucked out his eyes, but slew his wife and children, to give the *Talapoy*s to eat^l. To induce the people more strongly to bestow alms on the priests, the contrivers of this story make the founder of their law act against one of the chief precepts of it, as well as all the ties of nature. However that be, *Sommona Kodom* being freed by those alms-deeds from all the bands of life, devoted himself to fasting, prayer, and the other exercises belonging to the perfect state. But as the performance of such duties are possible only to the *Talapoy*s, he therefore embraced the profession: and having filled up the measure of his good works, immediately acquired all the privileges consequent thereto.

Miraculous power.

FOR instance, he found himself endowed with so great strength, that, in a duel, he vanquished *Pra Swane*, another man of consummate virtue; who doubting the perfection to which *Sommona Kodom* was arrived, challenged him to fight. He had likewise the power of doing all sorts of miracles; could make himself as big as he pleased, or so little, as neither to be seen nor felt by any person, though standing on his head: could enjoy the *Nireupan*, or *disappear*, by placing another man in his stead: he, of a sudden, and perfectly, understood all things in the world; had a knowledge equally of things past and to come; with a surprising agility of transporting himself from one place to another, in order to preach virtue to all nations.

His disciples.

SOMMONA KODOM had two principal disciples, who on altars are both placed behind him, close together; *Pra Mogla* on his right hand, and *Pra Skaribout* on his left. Behind them are placed the officers within *Kodom's* palace; those without his palace are ranged along the galleries or cloisters of temples. They say *Pra Mogla*, at the request of the damned, overturned the earth, and took hell-fire in his hand, in order to quench it: but as he could not effect his design, because the fire dried up the rivers, and consumed every-thing it came near, he beseeched *Pra Pouti Chaw*, or *Sommona Kodom*, to extinguish it. This *Pra Pouti* could easily have done, yet would not; saying, *men would grow too wicked should he destroy the fear of this punishment*^m.

Kills a Man,

FOR all this great perfection to which *Sommona Kodom* was arrived, yet he happened to kill one of the *Man* (F), his enemies; as a punishment for which fault, he life exceeded not eight years, at which time he died, by disappearing on a sudden, like a spark which is lost in the air: for one day, as he ate pig's flesh, he was seized with a cholic-fit, which killed him: and it was necessary that he should die by a pig, because the soul of the person whom he had slain was then in the body of a pig.

and disappears.

SOMMONA KODOM having ordered some temples and statues to be consecrated to him, at his death entered into that state of repose which the *Siameses* express by the word *Nireupan*, as hath been already mentioned. This is not a place, but a state, of being (G): for, to speak truly, they say that he is no-where, and enjoys not any felicity: that he is without power, and in no condition to do either good or evil to mankind. At the same time they reckon him happy; offer prayers to, and demand of, him whatever they want. Whether their doctrine in this point be inconsistent with itself, or that the *Siameses* extend their worship beyond their doctrine, it is certain, that, in whatever sense they ascribe power to *Sommona Kodom*, they

ⁱ LOUBIERE, p. 136.

^k Ibid. p. 8, & 64.

^l Ibid. p. 136.

^m Ibid. p. 137, & seq.

(F) *Loubiere*, in his relation of *Siam*, p. 145, has inserted the life of *Thevetat*; which is full of fictions, no less idle than incredible.

(F) The *Siamesis* write *Mar* and *Man*, but always pronounce *Man*; they call these people *Paya Man*: and because they suppose this people were enemies to so

holy a person, they represent them as a kind of monsters with very large faces, teeth horrible for their size, and serpents on their heads instead of hair. Perhaps these *Man* may be the *Mons* of *Mendez Pinto*.

(G) Elsewhere, the *Nireupan* seems to be explained the possession of the universe.

- a believe that he has it only over themselves, and that he concerns himself not with other nations, who adore men besides him^a.

As the *Siameses* report nothing but fables of their *Sommona Kodom*, and respect him not as *Sommona* the author of their laws, but as the person who re-established them among mankind; in short, *Kodom fictitious*, as they have no authentic memoirs concerning him, *Loubiere* is of opinion, that there never was such a man; but that he is a fictitious person, set up by the *Talapoy*s as a pattern of virtue; and that, in the same manner, they have in *Thevetat* (whom they make to be his enemy as well as brother), feigned a wicked character, to deter men from vice. They represent both as *Talapoy*s; and suppose that *Kodom*, in the several transmigrations of his soul, has passed through all things, and been always excellent, whether a pig, an ape, or a king^b.

- b THE *Siameses* speak of several other perfect men, who were contemporary with *Sommona Kodom*, *Other perfect men* as *Pra Swane* before-mentioned, and *Pra Ariasera*, of whom they report, that he was forty fathoms high; that his eyes were three and a half broad, and two and a half round; that is, less in circumference than diameter, if, says our author, there was not some mistake in the original^c. The *Siameses* likewise expect another *Sommona Kodom*, that is, another miraculous man *Another Kodom expected* like him, whom they have already named *Pra Narotte*. They say that this person was foretold by *Kodom*; that he shall kill his two children for the *Talapoy*s to eat; and that, by this pious charity, he will consummate his virtue. This expectation of a new perfect man, makes them watchful and credulous (as the *Jews* are with relation to the *Messiah*): so that they are apt to believe *Pra Narotte* is come, whenever they hear of any extraordinary person, especially if he happens to be intirely stupid; because that sort of condition nearly resembles the inactivity of the *Nireupan*. An instance of this kind happened but a few years ago, on occasion of a boy who was born dumb. This child, having been found so stupid that he seemed to have nothing human about him but the shape, a report presently spread throughout *Siam*, that he was one of the first men who inhabited the country, and would one day become a perfect man. The people, prepossessed with the superstitious expectation of *Pra Narotte*, immediately flocked from all parts of the kingdom, to adore and make him presents; till the king, fearing the consequences of this folly, put a timely stop to it, by punishing some of the infatuated multitude^d.

- d TACHARD hath related many other matters relative both to the religion of the *Siameses*, and their god *Sommona Kodom*; but as his account is full of extravagances, of which enough have been related from *Loubiere* to give our readers a sample, not to say a surfeit, we shall content ourselves to refer them to that author^e, without expatiating further on these subjects.

^a LOUBIERE, p. 137.

^b Ibid. p. 138.

^c Ibid. p. 137.

^d Ibid. p. 136, & seq.

^e See

TACHARD's first voy. book 4. p. 275, & seqq. Engl. edit.

CHAP. IX.

The government of Siam.

SECTION I.

Degrees of honours, laws, punishments.

- a THERE are several degrees of honour and dignity in *Siam*, all subordinate to that of *Nay*, which signifies *chief*. For as the people, being a militia, are consequently all *Titles of honour*. *Taban*, or *soldiers*, they are divided into bands, each of which has its *Nay*; whence the *Portugueses* render the word *captain*: although the *Nay* does not lead his men either to war, or six months service; it being enough that he furnish out of his band the number required. The *Nays* are of different power, according to the number of soldiers in their respective bands: and as the number of soldiers in a band is not fixed, neither are all those of the same band of the same company in the army. The people are not slaves to their *Nay*: but may become so, by borrowing money of him, and becoming insolvent.

- b THERE are seven degrees of these *Nay*, distinguished by the number of their bands, which *Degrees of* alone makes offices and employments important in *Siam*. These dignities are *Pa-ya*, *Ok-ya*, *Ok-pa*, *Ok-louang*, *Ok-kounne*, *Ok-meuing*, and *Ok-pan*: but our author could not learn either the signification of the words, which are *Balli* terms, or number of men assigned to any of these dignities, except in the two last: for *Ok-pan* (now out of use) signifies *chief of a thousand*; *Ok-meuing* *chief of ten thousand*. Yet *Ok* is not *Siamese*; the indigenous term for chief being

being *Howá*, which properly signifies the *head*; so the king's standard bearer is called *Howa-pan*, *chief of a thousand*. *Pa-ya* is a title often given to princes; whence the *Portugueses* render it *prince*; but the king confers it also on the officers of his court; nor bestows it always on the princes of the blood. These degrees of the *Nay* in *Siam* are like those in the *Great Mogol's* court, where the lords are denominated one thousand, two thousand, and so on to ten thousand, as who should say, lords of so many thousand horses^a.

among the
officers.

THERE are in *Siam* six orders of cities, which formerly had a governor according to its rank: thus a very populous place had a *Pa-ya* for governor; and such as were less populous an *Okya*. The *Portugueses* have translated those titles, *king*, *viceroy*, *duke*, *marquis*, *earl*, and the like, according to their fancy; and given the title of kingdom to *Metak*, *Tenassarim*, *Pong-louk*, *Ligor*, and *Pipeli*; either on account of their having hereditary governors, or because they have been, like *Pipeli*, the residence of the kings of *Siam*. The above-mentioned titles are given not only to the governors, but to all the officers of the kingdom, because they are all *Nays*: but the same title is not always joined to the same office. If a person has two offices, he may have two titles.

No salaries.

WHENEVER the king makes any considerable officer, he gives him a new name; a thing common in other countries of the east. The law of the state is, that all offices should be hereditary, as in *Laos*; but few families enjoy that privilege long. The least flaw in the patent, fault of the possessor, or caprice of the prince, being grounds to deprive them of it. The selling of offices is not permitted in *Siam*; nor is there the same temptation to buy as in other kingdoms; since no officer has any salary. The prince, indeed, gives them houses, with arms, a balon, some beasts, slaves, and arable lands: but all return to him, with the office, at the possessor's death. The principal gain of the offices consists in extortions, because there is no justice for the weak: all the officers correspond in plundering the people: and the corruption is greatest in those who should remedy the evil. The trade of presents is public: the lesser officers give to the greater under the name of respect; and a judge is not punished for receiving presents, provided he be not convicted of doing injustice, which is not easy to effect.

Oath of fidelity.

THE form of the oath of fidelity consists in swallowing the water, over which the *Talapoy* pronounce some imprecations against him who drinks it, in case he fails in the fidelity which he owes to his king: and all persons, of what nation or religion soever, who enter into his majesty's service, are obliged to take it.

Laws.

THE public laws of *Siam* are written in three volumes. The first, called *Pra tam Ra*, contains the names, functions, and privileges of all the offices: the second *Pra tam Non*, is a collection of the constitutions of the ancient kings: the third, *Pra Royja Kammanet*, contains the constitutions made by the father of him who reigned in our author's time. As an extract of these volumes would have given a thorough knowledge of the constitution of *Siam*, *Loubiere* endeavoured to procure a translation, but could not so much as get a copy of them^b.

Judges.

THE whole tribunal of judicature, in the several jurisdictions contained in the provinces, consists properly in a single officer, the chief or president, who is the governor of that department, and even commands the garrisons: so that the most powerful and remote from court may, without difficulty, throw off their obedience; as he of *Jor*, or *Johor*, has done.

Governors.

THERE are two sorts of governors, one hereditary, the other by commission. The first, are styled *Chaw-meuang*, that is, *lord of the city*, or *province*. These the kings of *Siam* have ruined and destroyed, as much as in their power, and substituted the second sort in their stead. To the *Chaw-meuang* belong several legal rights; as equally to share with the king the rents of arable lands; the profits of all confiscations, and ten *per cent.* on fines; customs on merchant ships in maritime towns; levy taxes on the frontiers; exercise commerce by their deputies; and appropriate the best fish, when ponds are emptied.

Kind of.

THE commission governors, called *Pouran*, who are appointed for three years, have the same honours and authority as the hereditary ones, but not the same profit. The *Chaw-meuang*, or *Pouran*, is president of a tribunal of judicature, and has under him several officers, according to the different matters which lie before them^c.

IN the metropolis there is no other *Chaw-meuang* than the king. The functions of governor and judge are divided into two offices: and the subordinate offices, which compose a tribunal, are distributed among the principal officers of state. This tribunal, to which all appeals in the kingdom are made, is held in the king's palace, except when his majesty removes from thence, at which time the president renders justice in a tower, without the royal inclosure. To him alone belongs the determinate voice; yet still there lies an appeal from him to the king. In this case the indictment is examined by the council of the king, who is present only

^a LOUBIERE relat. Siam, p. 78, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 80, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 82, & seqq.

a when the necessity of passing sentence requires it: but, before he pronounces judgment, he enquires into the whole proceedings, and debates the matter well with his council^d.

ALL matters in suit may be said to be criminal; as some punishment is inflicted on the party *Siamese* who is cast, in order to prevent litigation. The prosecution is in writing, by way of the petition, which is delivered by the plaintiff to his *Nay*, who is one of the officers of the tribunal, and he presents it to the governor, who admits or rejects it, as he sees reason, after hearing the matter debated by the *Nay*, who act as council for the parties. Every suit ought to end in three days; but some last so many years. They have no attorneys; but the parties either speak themselves, or by some relation, not more distant than a cousin-german. What each says is taken down in writing, by the governor's clerk, who also receives the deeds and titles in pre-

b sence of the court, who count the lines, to prevent frauds.

IN accusations, when the evidence is not sufficient, they have recourse to several sorts of *Proof by fire*, torture; but chiefly to proofs by water and fire. The way by fire is to fill a ditch with faggots, five fathoms in length, and one in breadth. Over the length of this heap (when burnt to coals), both parties are to walk with naked feet; generally each is attended by two men, who press hard, one on each shoulder, to hinder him from passing over too quickly: but this weight they lay, instead of helping to burn him, stifles the action of the fire; so that often they who do not endeavour to go over lightly, and in haste, escape being hurt, which is the sign of innocence. If this ever happens, it may likewise be owing to the hardness of the soles of the feet, which become callous, like horn, by going continually barefoot^e.

c SOMETIMES the proof by fire is performed with oil, or other boiling matter, into which the parties thrust their hands. On this occasion *Loubiere* relates an odd story. A *Frenchman*, from whom a *Siamese* had stolen some tin, was persuaded, for want of proof, to put his hand into the boiling metal, and drew it out almost quite consumed: whilst the *Siamese* came off without being hurt, and so was acquitted. Yet six months after was, in another suit, convicted of the robbery, wherewith the *Frenchman* had accused him. A thousand instances of this kind happen; yet the *Siameses* will not abolish their custom (A). *Another method.*

THE proof by water is to see who, of the parties, can stay longest under it. Sometimes emetic pills are given them by the *Talapoy*, accompanied with imprecations; and he who does not cast them up is concluded to be innocent. If both parties escape in trying one kind of proof, they have recourse to another. The king sometimes has them exposed to tigers. If the beast spare one, he is held to be innocent: if neither, both are accounted guilty: but if both are spared, some other proof is tried; or rather they wait till the tigers resolve to devour one or both of them. The resolution with which the *Siameses* are reported to undergo this kind of death is incredible, in persons who express so little courage in war.

THE provinces often appeal from one to the other, and an inferior to a superior tribunal, where all matters are determined; only in capital cases the power of pronouncing sentence, and ordering the punishment, is reserved solely to the king; who sometimes delegates it to judges extraordinary, sent into the provinces for that purpose. The usual punishment for robbery is to pay double, and sometimes treble, the value of the goods stolen, by equal portions to the judge and the party (B). What is more singular than unjust, every person who wrongfully keeps possession of another's estate, is considered as a robber; so that, when ejected by law, he not only restores the inheritance to its right owner, but pays the full value thereof besides, half to the injured party, and half to the judge. In case the judge hath leave granted him to put the robber to death, he can yet, if he pleases, commute the punishment into a pecuniary mulct^f. *Robbery how punished.*

FOR rebellion or mutiny, they are ripped up alive; then their entrails being taken out, their carcases are woven up in a twig case, and tied to a stake, for ravenous fowl or dogs to feed on. Our author saw eighteen one morning going to be executed in this manner for mutiny: each was put on a triangular seat, with their necks and hands in wooden fetters, and carried by three slaves, in chains, through the streets to the place of execution. Some were weeping, others joyful, that they were near the end of a miserable life. But they were all very meagre, as if they had been almost starved in prison. *Rebellion and mutiny.*

FOR treason and murder, elephants are the executioners. The condemned person being made fast to a stake driven into the ground, the elephant is brought, who views him, and goes twice or thrice round him: then, at the command of his keeper, he twines his trunk round the criminal, and pulling up the stake with great violence, tosses both into the air. In their fall down he receives the man upon his teeth; then shaking him off again, claps one of his feet on the carcase, and crushes it flat. However, there may be a mitigation of punish- *Treason, murder.*

^d LOUBIERE, p. 88. & CHOISY, p. 531.

^e Ibid. p. 85, & seq.

^f Ibid. p. 87.

(A) Why, for the same cause, is not the proof by torture abolished in *Flanders*, and other countries of *Europe*?

(B) According to Captain *Hamilton*, beheading is the common punishment for robbery.

ment, according to the degree of the offence, as appears from the case of our author, who had
Capt. Hamilton tried. like to have experienced it through the villainy of his own countryman. In 1719, Captain Hamilton being at *Siam*, and talking to *Oya Sennerat*, a man in power, about some alteration made in the *English* treaty of commerce, happened to say the king was *imposed on* by those who advised him to it. Now, it seems, that to say the king is capable of being deceived or imposed on is treason there. For those words, therefore, the captain was a few days after summoned to the court of justice by that officer: and as *Sennerat's* servants were not admitted to be witnesses, the only evidence against him was one *Collison*, resident for *Collet*, governor of *Fort St. George*, who had procured the said alteration. *Collison* affirmed he heard the captain speak the words in the *Hindistán* language: but on being asked by the judge, at the instance of *Hamilton*, if he understood that language? declared he did not: and by that means the accused was cleared, otherwise he must have been cast: the consequence of which would have been, not only the loss of his life on the spot, the executioners being ready, but his ship and cargo would have been confiscated, and the crew become the king's slaves. A shocking story!

From this trial of captain *Hamilton* we learn two or three circumstances relating to the laws of *Siam*, which we do not meet with elsewhere; 1. that a stranger is not exempt from the penalty annexed to the transgression of the laws, on account of his being ignorant of them: 2. that the law admits not of a servant's testimony, either for or against his master: 3. that advocates or counsel are allowed the accused.

Capital punishments. SOMETIMES the king exposes, to an enraged bull, the criminal, who is armed with a hollow stick; which, if it does not frighten the beast, cannot hurt him. Sometimes he gives offenders only to be tossed by his elephants, which they do so dextrously, as to throw them from one to the other, receiving them on their trunks or teeth, without hurting them. But the ordinary chastisements are such as have some relation to the crimes. For instance, extortion, or embezzlement of the royal treasure, will be punished by swallowing gold or silver melted: lying, or revealing a secret, by sowing up the mouth, which they will slit to punish silence, where it is not to be kept. Faults in the execution of orders, are corrected by cutting the head with a sword, called there pricking the head, as it were to punish the memory. The sword is used, not only to cut off the head, but to cut the body in two through the middle. The bastonado is sometimes also employed as a punishment of death, and, at best, is often very rigorous.

Princes, how executed. IN putting princes to death, whether a king would rid himself of some relations, or an usurper extinguish the royal race, they take care not to shed the royal blood: but, in such case, they either starve the party, sometimes by diminishing his food a little every day, which gives a lingering death, else by stifling him with rich silks; or rather, by laying him at length on a scarlet cloth, and thrusting a stake of sanders-wood into his stomach.

Lesser punishments. BESIDES the above-mentioned punishments, there are some others less dolorous, but more infamous: as that of exposing a man in some public place, loaded with irons; or else with his neck put in a kind of pillory, called *La* in *Siam*, and *Kangbe* in *China*. This machine is like a ladder, whose two sides are six feet long: but it has only two steps or rounds, which are placed in the middle; and between these the prisoner's neck is locked. The ends of the sides are fastened to a wall, or posts, by means of cords, so as to slip up and down at pleasure: and the party may either sit down or stand, if the ladder be not too weighty for his shoulders. But sometimes the four ends are fixed upon four posts: in which case he is, as it were, hung by the neck, for he scarce touches the ground with the tips of his toes. Besides this engine, they make use of stocks and manacles. What is most singular, the most infamous punishment is reproachful no longer than it lasts: he who suffers it one day, is as much respected as ever the next, and qualified for the highest employs. Nay, the *Siameses* boast of the punishments which they receive by the king's order, to whom they pay compliments, and make presents, after the bastonado is over. To be degraded from a higher place to a lower is reckoned no disgrace; although some hang themselves in despair, when reduced, by such a fall, to extreme poverty. As a father answers for the offences committed by his son, so an officer is punished for the faults of another officer, who is subject to his orders. Thus *Loubiere* saw a *Brámyman*, who was three years after of the king's council of state, exposed in the pillory before-mentioned, with the head of a malefactor hung about his neck; because the man's crime was imputed to his negligence in not watching over the conduct of a person who was subject to him.

THE worst is, that the least appearance of guilt renders an action criminal; and that to be accused is almost enough to make a man culpable. Hence the disgraces of the principal officers are so frequent, that they could not reckon up all the *Barkalons* which the king had in thirty-two years of his reign.

^a HAMILTON, E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 80, & seqq.

^b LOUBIERE, p. 104, & seqq.

S E C T. II.

The nobility, and officers of state.

a **N**OBILITY at *Siam* goes not by birth, but by riches, and the favour of the prince, *Theron* who makes them; giving them, as a badge of their honour, an employment and a new name, with the *Bouffette*, which is a kind of a little gold or silver box to hold their *betel*. They are generally the sons of the officers of his household whom he thus honours: though sometimes he confers nobility on the meanest of the people; and even strangers who have served him well in any capacity.

Each of the five degrees (A) of nobility among the *Siameses* has its proper mark of distinction. The *Oyas* (B), who are the first, possess the highest places of trust, and the principal governments in the kingdom. Their *Bouffette* is much better wrought than those of other noblemen: and, when they go in the king's train, the gold circle which surrounds their pointed
b bonnet, in form of a crown, is decorated with flower-work and roses.

THE second order, or that of the *Ok-pras*, at present more numerous than the *Oyas*, because *Badges and* these latter having much more power, have given umbrage to the king on certain occasions. *employments.* From the *Ok-pras* his ambassadors extraordinary are chosen. Their *Bouffette*, though of gold, is not so beautiful as that of the *Oyas*; and the gold circle on their cap is adorned only with leaves.

OUT of the *Ok-loüans*, who make the third rank of nobles, his majesty appoints his ambassadors in ordinary, and lesser governors. Their *Bouffette*, or *Betel* box, is only of silver; but it is enchaîné with festons and branches. The circle round their cap is no more than two inches broad, and much less wrought than that of the *Ok-pras*.

OUT of the *Ok-kowns* and *Ok-munes*, who compose the fourth and fifth orders, the king
c appoints intendants of his shipping, keepers of his palaces, lieutenants of his prime officers, judges of country towns; in short, the less considerable places at court are filled with them. Their *Bouffette* and circle are of gold or silver, quite plain, without any ornament.

THERE are many of these lords, who are peculiarly attached to the service of the king's *Other distinctions.* person. These are called *Kang Nay*, that is, *within the palace*. Others who are employed without, to govern affairs, and preserve good order among the people, are named *Kang Nok*, implying, *without the palace*. The rank of each nobleman, when he appears in public, is distinguished not only by the badges before-mentioned, but also by the richness of his sword, by his *balon*, or pleasure-boat, and number of his slaves. The ladies are distinguished by the same kind of tokens; and are allowed by their husbands, who seldom accompany them in their
d diversions, a freedom, which they rarely abuse, especially as their lords have power to put them to death, when caught in the fact^a.

ACCORDING to the Abbé *De Choisy*, there are seven great officers of state in *Siam*: 1. The *Officers of* *Maha Ommarat*, who is next to the king in authority, and sits in his presence. 2. The *Chakri*, *State.* who regulates the affairs of war and justice. 3. The *Aabowm*, who is general by land and sea. 4. The *Ok-ya Vang*, who superintends the affairs of the palace. 5. The *Ok-ya Praklang*, called by *Europeans Barkalon*: this officer has the care of foreign affairs, and the king's magazines. 6. The *Ok-ya Pollatop*, who has charge of the revenues. 7. *Ok-ya Jombarat*, who judges all criminal matters. Besides these, is the *Ok-ya Pakdi*, who is great treasurer. These prime officers, with the king's approbation, dispose of all other posts in the realm, and are responsible for the faults committed in them^b. Let us see what *Loubiere* says of some of the great
e officers.

THE *Maha Ommarat* (C), otherwise called *Maha Obarat*, is the chief of the nobility, and *Maha Om-* first officer of the kingdom. He is, as it were, a viceroy, who represents the king, and per-*marat.* forms the regal functions in his majesty's absence, as at war. He is at present styled *Chaw Pa ya Maha Ommarat*^c.

THE *Chakri* orders all the interior policy of the kingdom. The affairs of all the provinces *The Chakri.* come before him, as the person to whom the several governors are obliged to render an account, and from whom they receive orders. He is likewise president of the council of state.

THE *Kallabom* (named, by *Choisy*, *Aabowm*), has, by office, the sole management and *The Kalla-* command of the war and armies: yet the king may name whom else he pleases for general. *hom.* He has the care of the fortifications, arms, and ammunitions. He likewise issues out all orders

^a GERVASE relat Siam. p. 121, & seqq.^b CHOISY, p. 535.^c LOUBIERE, p. 95.(A) *Loubiere*, as before observed, makes seven degrees.(B) Called *O' yas*, by *Loubiere*.(C) This seems to be a compound of the Indian word *Maha*, great, and *Ommarat*, or *Ommat*, the plural ofthe *Arabic Amir*, commander, which is used in the court of the *Great Mogol*; and from hence the *Portugueses* probably have deduced their term *Mandarin*, which they confer on all the officers of princes to the east of *Hindustan*.

which concern military affairs. But, in our author's time, the command of the elephants and horses, which formerly belonged to the *Kallabom*, and in which the chief forces of the king consists, was in the hands of a different officer. Some report the number of his elephants to be 10,000; but there is no believing people who are apt to tell falsehoods for the honour of their country ^d.

Praklang, or Barkalong. PRAKLANG, or *Barkalong* (D), is compounded of *Pra*, which signifies whatever is worthy of respectable, and *Klang*, a magazine. This officer superintends commerce, both foreign and domestic, and is the minister for foreign affairs; because they almost all relate to trade. He likewise receives the revenues of the cities ^e.

Their attendance. ALL the officers belonging to the government residing in the city, whose number generally amounts to 3000, must daily attend in the palace, except they have leave to be absent, under pain of being severely whipped with split rattans, which cut pretty deep in the flesh. The larger the marks are, the greater is reckoned the honour. Nay, the pretty ladies themselves are not exempt from this kind of flagellation, for very small faults; and are so far from concealing them, that some, whom our author saw, exposed their backs to let the welks be seen, seeming to glory in being so much taken notice of by the greatest king on earth ^f.

and examinations. THE king of *Siam* examines his officers about the *Pra tam Ra*, which is the book containing their duties; and causes those to be bastinado'd who do not answer exactly: like a school-master, who chastises his boys when they cannot say their lesson.

Ambassadors how received, AN ambassador, throughout the East, is looked on no otherwise than as a king's messenger; not as representing his person: the chief honour is paid to the letters of credence, of which he is the bearer. Thus while the king of *France's* letter was carried in a *balon*, or boat of the body, his ambassador extraordinary made his entrance in one of an inferior rank. The Orientals make no account of ambassadors, envoys, or residents, all whom they consider in the same light as messengers; and every one who carries a letter from his sovereign is reputed an ambassador. An evidence that an ambassador is treated like a mere messenger, the king of *Siam*, in the audience of leave, gives him a *recepisse* of the letter he has received; and if he returns an answer, he sends it by his own ambassadors, who are never more nor fewer than three ^g.

and treated. EVERY foreign ambassador is lodged and maintained by the king during his stay, and may exercise merchandize: but cannot treat of any affair till he has delivered his credentials, and communicated his original instructions; although this last article was dispensed with in the *French*. He cannot enter the metropolis, till he goes to audience; nor abide in it, till after the audience of leave; in going from which he departs out of the city, and negotiates nothing more. Therefore, the evening before this last audience, the king demands, *whether he hath any thing farther to propose*: and, in the audience, asks him, *if he is contented*. ^d

Their audiences. SOLEMN audiences are always given in the capital, and with great magnificence, especially that of reception: out of the city every audience is accounted private, and performed without ceremony. In all audiences, the custom is for the king to speak first: in those of ceremony he confines himself to a set number of questions; after which the ambassador is ordered to address himself to the *Barkalon*, upon all the propositions which he has to make. This monarch loves not long speeches: he thinks the longer an ambassador speaks the first time, the less he is honoured. When the king has spoken to the ambassador, he gives him *arek* and *betel*; also a vest, which he puts on immediately; and sometimes a sabre, and chain of gold. ^e

Embassies coveted. BUT how lightly soever they set by ambassadors, all the eastern princes reckon it a great honour to receive embassies, and to send the fewest they can themselves: because they look on them as a kind of homage; and for this reason they detain ambassadors at their courts as long as they can ^h.

^d LOUBIERE, p. 89.

^e Ibid. p. 93.

^f HAMILT. vol. ii. p. 178. CHOISY, p. 530.

^g LOUBIERE, p. 103.

^h Ibid. p. 102, & seq.

(D) Hamilton, and some others, write *Parkalong*, as if the same with *Parka longa*; in imitation of which the Portuguese seem to have corrupted *Praklang*.

S E C T. III.

Of the king, his authority, forces, revenues, and commerce.

King's name concealed. THE kings of *Siam* are, by their authority, perfectly despotic. It is not easy to know their name, which is superstitiously concealed, lest any enchantment should be made on it. Others report, that their kings have no name till after their death; and that it is given by their successors ^a. *Choisy* says none dare pronounce the name of the king ^b.

^a LOUBIERE, p. 101.

^b CHOISY, voy Siam, p. 532.

a THE king of *Siam*, besides his kindred to the heavenly luminaries, is a god on earth (A), *His title.* in whose court are to be found justice, mercy, and benevolence to mankind; with a train of such-like extravagancies, which conclude in declaring him king of the white elephant: a title, however, which the king of *Pegu*, who is equally fond of such lofty flourishes, disputes with him^c.

SPEAKING of the king, the *Siameses* style him *Pra Maba Krassat*: *Pra* signifies *respectable*, or *reverend*; *Maba* great; and *Krassat* living: the *Portugueses*, mistaking the word *Pra* for *God*, say they call him *the great living God*: the words are of the *Balli*, which is the learned language, not always well understood by themselves^d. As the same *Europeans* have given the title of king to the governors of certain places, who held them by hereditary right, as b *Tenasserim*, *Porcelouk*, *Pipeli*, and the like; so they have conferred on the king the title of emperor, according to the notion of the *Spaniards*, who think that style due to kings who have other kings for their vassals: and hence some kings of *Castile* have been termed emperors^e.

THE kings are fond to be thought men of parts and address. When his wives and concubines would flatter him most agreeably, they tell him, not that he is an hero, or the greatest general in the world; but that he is more politic and witty than all the princes he has had to do with^f.

THE kings of *Siam* marry, at least often, their own sisters; such was the wife of the king *His women.* who reigned in *Loubiere's* time. His other wives, who are in general called *Chaw Vang*, or *ladies of the palace*, pay obedience to her as their sovereign; who judges and chastises them c when they do amiss, for there is none else to do it. They are continually taking up ladies for the service of the *Vang*, or to be the king's concubines. But as the *Siameses* are unwilling to part with their daughters, they redeem them with money as long as they can. The officers employed in this business frequently carry away virgins, with a view only that they may be ransomed by their parents. If they have many wives in *Siam*, it is more for conveniency than debauchery: and the king who reigned in the time of the *French* embassies, thro' parsimony, had not more than eight or ten.

THE queen has her elephants and *balons*, with some officers to take care of, and attend, her, *The queen.* when she goes abroad: but is seen of none, excepting her women and eunuchs: for, on that occasion, she goes out in a chair made up with curtains, so as to see and not be seen. The d people get out the way as she passes, or turn their back, by prostrating themselves. The queen has likewise her magazine, her ships, and her treasures. She likewise trades as well as the king; and has her share both of the domestic and foreign commerce.

THE eldest son of the queen ought always to succeed by the law: but as the older cannot *The succession.* brook to prostrate themselves to the younger, the law is often set aside by force, and sometimes the king leaves the crown to the son of a favourite concubine. As for daughters, they succeed not to the throne, being scarcely looked upon as free^g.

THE king's guards are of several sorts. The first are called *painted arms*, of whom there *King's guards.* may be about 600 in the palace. These watch the king's person; are his executioners; and indeed are all the foot-guard which he hath: but, on days of ceremony, he causes his slaves c to be armed for shew. Anciently the king had a *Japanese* guard, consisting of 600 men: but as these few foreigners were able to make the kingdom tremble when they pleased, the father of him who reigned when *Loubiere* was in *Siam*, after he had made use of them to invade the throne, found a way to get rid of them, more by policy than force.

THE king's horse-guard is composed of men from *Laos*, and another neighbouring country, whose chief city is called *Meen*, who serve him by six months. Besides this, he has another foreign horse-guard, of 130 gentlemen: namely, two companies, each consisting of thirty *Moors* of *Hindústán*: these are of an excellent countenance, but reckoned cowards. One company of twenty *Chinese Tartars*, and two of *Râjapouts*, or *Pagan Indians*, each containing twenty-five men. These two nations are famous for their courage. The king, besides fur- f nishing these with horses and arms, pays each *Moor* about 540 livres a year, and gives him a red stuff vest. The captain of each company has 840 livres, with a scarlet vest. The *Râjapouts* are maintained at the same rate: but each *Tartar* costs him no more than 45 livres a year, and their captain 112^h.

THE true officers of the king's chamber are women; for none else have admittance there. *Attended by* They make his bed, and dress him; prepare his victuals, and attend him at table: nor ever *women.* stir out, but with his majesty, who is said to have only eight or ten eunuchs in his service, both white and blackⁱ.

^c HAMILT. new account of E. Indies, vol. ii. p. 176.

^d LOUBIERE, p. 7.

^e Ibid. p. 80.

^f Ibid. p. 109.

^g Ibid. p. 101.

^h Ibid. p. 96, & seq. CHOISY, p. 527.

ⁱ LOUBIERE,

p. 100.

(A) Pinto says, p. 285 of his voyages, that this king's sovereign title is *Pra Chaw Salew*, that is, *a holy member of God*.

Procession by
land.

HIS majesty bestows his annual blessing on his people in *September*, when he passes through a the city, with a numerous train of elephants, dressed in their finest trappings, and accompanied with musical instruments. Among them is the white elephant (B), which yet is only of a cream colour; and our author had seen several at *Bangaria*, a village near *Jonkseylin*, as white as he. All the while this procession lasts, the people lie prostrate, till the king is passed by; after which they may look upon his back-parts or sides.

Another by
water.

IN the month of *November* he also shews himself on the river, in a *balon* or barge, thirty or forty yards long, about two broad, and two feet deep: with a throne placed in the middle, seven feet high, covered with a rich canopy, where he sits; his greatest lords resting underneath. He is rowed or paddled forward by fifty or sixty men, in carnation-coloured vests, with fine caps or turbans on their heads. There are above 1000 other barges to wait on his majesty, besides several thousand common *balons*; so that, for five or six miles, the river is covered with boats, except near the king's barge, which has half a mile of the river left clear for it to move in. About four or five in the evening, he goes in his barge to a temple, about three miles above the city, on the opposite side of the water, where the priests pray for him, and present him with two yards and a half of cotton cloth; which must be both spun and woven the same day that his majesty comes to receive it. After sun-set he embarks again (leaving some royal bounty behind), and returns in state to his palace. His reason for honouring the river and his people at this time of the year, is to forbid the water to rise above such a number of inches in height, or to continue increasing above such a number of days as he appoints: yet sometimes it disobeys his royal commands ^k.

Lives in di-
strust.

THE distrust in which the king of *Siam* lives appears from the precautions which he takes to prevent secret caballing among the great men; to keep the gates of their palace shut; to permit no armed person to enter; and to disarm their own guards. A gun, fired by accident, or otherwise, near enough to the palace for the king to hear it, is a capital crime ^l.

No courtier dare appear before the king, without being sent for: this is a law made for the prince's security. When they meet, they must speak loud to be heard, and in presence of a third person; so jealous are those monarchs. In short, every man in *Siam* is an informer, and obliged to discover whatever he hears said in the least regarding the king, under pain of death. However, the king is not over hasty in giving credit: he commonly requires two witnesses; and, for better discovering the truth, has his secret spies every-where. These precautions are a great check to caballing; but if the kings be unactive or negligent, no law secures them ^m. By these means also the king seems to be in little danger of being deceived; and indeed to say the king may be deceived or imposed on, is rank treason, as hath been before observed.

Yet easily de-
ceived.

FOR all this, it is easy to deceive him; for all informers are dishonest, and the *Indian* princes love to be flattered, nor care to hear what may displease them. Thus the courtiers study to conceal their true sentiments from the king, and he endeavours to conceal his opinion from them. They will not tell him ill news, or that he wants any-thing, but let them come to his knowledge by degrees; they will not tell him that he must alter what he has done amiss, but will persuade him to do it better some other way. By this equivocal way of proposing things to him, they avoid the danger of giving bad counsel, or, which is considered in much the same light, advice which is not attended with good success ⁿ.

Rigour to his
brothers.

THE jealousy of these kings makes them cruel to their own brethren, as in other countries of *Asia*: they maim them several ways, deprive them of sight, or weaken it by fire; lame them by dislocation of their joints, render them stupid by liquors given them to drink, and the like.

The people easy.

AFTER all, the evils of this kind of government extend properly no farther than the nobility, or officers of the crown, and do not reach the people, who enjoy liberty, and other pleasures of life, which their superiors are strangers to; nor are they so liable to be oppressed by the great men as in many other countries, since the ways of carrying complaints to the throne are all open; so that they can seldom fail of coming to the king's knowledge, notwithstanding the combined artifices of the ministers to prevent them.

^k HAMILTON, ubi supra, p. 176, & seq.

^l LOUBIERE, p. 105.

^m Ibid. p. 103.

ⁿ Ibid.

(B) The *Siameses* have a great veneration for elephants, especially white elephants. The king always keeps one in his palace. That which Mr. *De Chaumont* saw being dead, it was reported that another was born the 9th of *December* 1697, in the woods, a little before *Loubiere's* departure; so that he saw none. They are not white, but of a flesh-colour: whence *Van Uliet* calls it the white and red elephant. The *Siameses* say, that these rare animals are found only in the woods of

their country; and believe the soul of some prince is lodged in them. *Loubiere*, p. 58. *Tachard* saw, a league from *Siam*, a little white elephant, designed for the successor of him who is in the palace, near 300 years old, as they report. This little white elephant is not much bigger than an ox. *First voyage*, p. 197. *Chaumont*, who saw the first, says nothing of its age. It died, before *Loubiere's* arrival, two years after.

HOWEVER, as these absolute monarchs oppress the subjects with taxes, as well as tyrannize *their reigns* over the nobles, who indeed are all their creatutes, they seldom have the love of either; so *treacherous* that, if attacked by an invader or a rebel, none are zealous in their defence, as they consider their condition would be no worse under one than the other. As the whole power is united in the prince, instead of being distributed among the great officers and magistrates, he has none, in case of need, who are able to support him. His chief dependence for his authority seems to lie in his seal and great treasure; the first he intrusts to none: but as both are liable to be seized, whoever gets either in his possession may easily dethrone the reigning princeⁿ.

THE king of *Siam* has no other troops in pay than his foreign guard. His armies are composed out of the militia, who are obliged to six months service; and thus his garrisons are *The king's* supplied by people, who serve or relieve one another in turn. As they have no horses, the king not being possessed of above 2000 at most, their armies consist only in elephants and infantry, naked and ill-armed. Their order of battle and encampment is thus. They range themselves in three lines, each composed of three great square battalions: the king, or general, has his post in the middle battalion; and every chieftain of a battalion keeps in the middle of that which he commands. If the nine battalions are too big, each of them is divided into nine less^o.

THE army being thus ranged, every one of the nine battalions has sixteen male elephants in the rear: these are called elephants of war, and each carries his particular standard, and is accompanied with two female elephants; both kinds are mounted, each with three armed men. *His elephants.* There are some elephants also for carrying baggage. They rely much on elephants in battle, altho' this animal, for want of bit or bridle, cannot be securely governed; and he frequently turns on his own master when wounded. He likewise dreads fire to such a degree, that, although trained to stand it, he is scarcely ever brought to perform that service. The battle begins with *Siamese way* discharging the artillery, of which they have but little; and in case those instruments of death *of fighting.* do not put an end to it, they then advance within reach of their small shot and arrows, but never come to a close engagement. Besides, as their religion inspires them with horror of blood, they, to avoid killing, do not shoot directly at one another, but higher; yet so as that the shot may fall among the enemy, and oblige them to retreat; which one party fails not long to do, when they perceive it to rain darts or bullets. Indeed, when they find themselves pursued, *d* they shoot lower, in order to stop their adversaries; who, if slain, are then thought to be guilty of their own death, by approaching too near: for the order which the king gives his troops is, *Kill not*, that is, unless their own safety makes it absolutely necessary. As for sieges, they are wholly incapable of carrying them on, excepting by corruption, or famine; being afraid to attack a place ever so little fortified.

IN short, the armies of *Siam*, and indeed all the neighbouring countries who hold the *Avoid shed-* metempsychosis, busy themselves only in making slaves: and the usual way among them of *ding of blood.* making war, is to invade each other's dominions in different parts at the same time, and carry off whole villages into captivity. One *Cyprian*, a *Frenchman* of *Provence*, who served as gunner in an expedition against the *Chaw Meuang*, or, if you will, king of *Singor*, on the *e* western coast of the gulf of *Siam* (C); having received orders not to shoot directly upon the enemy, imagined that the general intended to betray his master; and, wearied with seeing the *Bravery of a* two armies so long in fight without coming to blows, resolved to seize the *Frenchman.* *Chaw Meuang* in his tent. This he effected, by venturing alone one night into the enemy's camp, and so put an end to a war, which had subsisted in that manner for twenty years. The king intended to have rewarded this piece of service with a quantity of sapan-wood: but, by some intrigue of the court, the brave *Frenchman* got nothing, and retired to *Surât*; where he put himself in the company's service^p.

AFTER all, this way of making war is well suited to the timorous disposition of the *Siameses*: *Siameses not* for the sight of a naked sword is sufficient to put a hundred of them to flight; and there needs *fit for war.* only the resolute tone of an *European*, who wears a sword by his side, or a cane in his hand, to make them forget the most express orders of their superiors (D). In short, these people are destitute of courage; and indeed the same may be said not only of all the *Indians* in general, but of all those born in the *Indies*, though of *European* parents, of which the *Portugueses* are an instance. Hence *Loubiere* supposes, that as they were subdued by a society of *Dutch* merchants from *Europe*, so if other *Europeans* went to seek out the *Dutch*, born in their *Indian*

ⁿ LOUBIERE, p. 106, & seqq.^o Ibid. p. 91, & seq.^p Ibid. p. 90.(C) Towards *Patana*, some leagues to the north of it.(D) The *Dutch* have, from experience of the *Indians*, thought fit to imitate the *Portugueses*, in treating them with much haughtiness and little confidence; because, being bred up in a spirit of servility, they are humbleto those who behave loftily, and insolent to such as use them gently. The king of *Siam* says, his subjects are of the temper of apes, who tremble so long as one holds the end of their chain, but disown their master when the chain is loosed. *Loubiere*, p. 110.

settlements, they would not be found more valorous. According to that author, excessive a hot countries are not fit to nourish courage, which is the produce of temperate and hardy climates. But besides the torrid zone, and phlegmatic aliments, the *Siamefe* have a despot government to cow their spirits and effeminate them.

No fortified places.

THERE are no places in *Siam* which may properly be said to be fortified; for the castles they have, which are small and ugly, would scarce sustain the first shock of *European* soldiers. The reason they gave our author for not having places well-fortified was, that, in case they should lose them, they should not be able to retake them; nor, if they had a mind to make fortifications, could they tell how to go about them. The king, some few years before *Louliere's* embassy, wanting to have a wooden fort built on the frontiers of *Pegu*, could pitch on no better an architect than brother *Rene Charbonneau*, in the service of foreign missions, b who knew little or nothing of the matter: but his *Siamefe* majesty would be obeyed; and and rewarded his work, such as it was, with the government of *Jonsalam*, which he discharged for three or four years with great approbation. The *French* afterwards built forts at *Bankok*.

King's naval power.

As to the king's naval power, he is yet more feeble by sea than land. He, with much ado, has become master of five or six very small ships, which he employs both in merchandize and at war, as privateers, when occasion requires: but the officers and seamen, in whom he confides, are foreigners. These were *English* and *Portugueses*, till of late that he had made use of some *French*. In his naval expeditions he proposes only to make reprisals on such of his neighbours who injure him in trade; and his corsairs have the same orders, not to kill, as his land forces: c they are however to do their best to take prizes, in which they go to work by artifice and surprise. Besides these ships of double character, his majesty has fifty or sixty gallies, which are no better than boats for making bridges of. They have wooden anchors, and carry fifty or sixty men to row and fight, which they do by turns. There is only one to an oar, who is obliged to row standing; the oar being so short, for lightness sake, that if not held perpendicularly, it would not touch the water. These gallies only coast it along the gulf of *Siam* ¹.

Ships of war and gallies.

His revenues.

THE king of *Siam's* revenues are of two sorts; those of the cities, and those of the country: which are all reduced to the following heads, or duties. 1. On cultivated lands. By the law, whoever ploughed not, paid nothing; but, to promote agriculture, the king who reigned in our author's time, exacted the duty from those who neglected cultivation. From the same principle he gave lands and cattle to strangers, who were inclined to settle in his dominions. 2. d On *balons*, or boats. 3. On all commodities imported or exported; and on ships, according to their capacity. 4. On *arak*, or rice brandy, or rather on the still-head; the sellers likewise, both by wholesale and retale, pay a duty for licence. 5. On fruit-trees, *viz.* the *durion*, *betel*, *arekier*, the *coco*, *orange*, *mango*, *mangoustanier*, and *pimentier*; but there is no duty laid on pepper, in order to encourage planting it. 6. Confiscations and fines. 7. The six months service, which is often bought off with money or goods.

His demesnes.

BESIDES the above-mentioned duties, the king has, in several parts of his dominions, gardens and lands, which may be considered as his demesne. The produce goes to maintain his slaves and cattle which are upon those places, and the surplus he sells. The presents which this prince receives may be considered as a casual revenue; as well as the legacies which his e officers bequeath him at their death, or which he takes from their successors. In a word, the extraordinary duties which he exacts from his subjects on several occasions, as for the maintenance of ambassadors, and building of public works, forts, and the like.

Trade of Siam, engrossed by him.

THE king of *Siam* has undertaken to enlarge his revenue by commerce, which he carries on both with his subjects and strangers. He has, in effect, engrossed trade wholly to himself; so that he may be called the only merchant in his dominions: nor is he content with selling by wholesale, but has shops in the markets for retailing his goods. The chief of these is cotton cloth, which he sends into his provincial magazines. His predecessors used to send them thither only once in ten years; so that when they were sold off, his subjects had liberty to trade for the rest of the term: but now he continually furnishes them himself; and when f his magazines are overstocked, obliges the people to cloath their children before the accustomed age. Before the *Dutch* found the way into *Laos* and the adjacent countries, the king of *Siam* had the linen trade with them in his own hands. The other commodities which he vends are *kalin*, or tin, ivory, saltpetre, lead, sapan-wood, *arek*, and skins, which last he sells, by treaty, to the *Dutch* only. Powder, sulphur, and arms, which are prohibited goods, may yet be purchased at his magazines. However, many of these things are clandestinely sold by the people to the *Hollanders*.

THE commodities in which his subjects are permitted to trade are rice, fish, salt, brown sugar, sugar-candy, ambergrise, wax, the gum with which varnish is made, mother-of-pearl, edible birds nests, gum-gutte, incense, oil, coco, cotton, cinnamon, nenuphar, some- g what different from the *French*, cassia, dates, and several other kinds of produce.

¹ LOUBIERE, p. 90, & seq.

- a To conclude, it is said that the king's revenue at present amounts to 600,000 crowns; whereas formerly it did not exceed (E) 317,000^r.

^r LOUBIERE, p. 93, & seqq. CHOISY, p. 527.

(E) *Pinto* says, that in his time, about 1546, the settled revenue was twelve millions of gold, besides other accessories, which amounted to as much more. *Pinto's* voyage, p. 278.

CHAP. X.

The history of Siam.

SECT. I.

Its ancient kings, and modern state; wars with Chiamay and Pegu; the king poisoned by his queen in 1545.

- b **T**HE *Siamese* history is full of fables, and the books thereof very scarce: some report this to be owing to their affecting to conceal their affairs: but our author *Loubiere* doubts the truth of this; since they have no more reason to be cautious of publishing their history than the *Chineses*, who do not scruple it. However that be, they who have been able to read their book affirm, that it ascends not very high, with any character of truth. The *Siameses* give a very dry and insipid account of their kings, and the original of their monarchy, as follows.

- c THEIR first king, they say, was named *Pra Poat-bonne Sourittep-pennaratui sonanne* and very *im-*
bopitra. The chief place where he kept his court was called *Chay Pappé Mahanakon* (A),
and he began his reign in the year 1300, according to their epocha, which begins from the
death of *Sommona Kodom* (B), as they pretend; although *Loubiere* thinks it has quite another
foundation. Ten other kings succeeded; the last of whom, named *Ipoja Sanne Thora Thesma*
Teperat, removed his royal seat to *Tasoo Nakora Louang*, a city built by himself. The
twelfth king after *Ipoja Sanne*, whose name was *Pra Poa Noome Tbele Seri*, obliged all his
people, in the year 1731, to follow him to *Lokontay* (C), from whence this prince removed
his seat to the city of *Pipeli*; which he built towards the western mouth of the *Menâm*. Four
kings more succeeded him; the last of whom, *Rhamatilondi*, began to build the city of
Siyutbia, or *Siam*, in 1894, and there fixed his court. The king, who was on the throne
in 1619, was the twenty-fifth from *Rhamatilondi*; so that they then reckoned fifty-two kings
in the space of 934 yeas, but not all of the same blood^a.

- d THIS is all we can yet learn of the *Siamese* history, from those who have visited the country,
till about the middle of the sixteenth century, when *Siam* began to be known on account of
its wars with *Pegu*, and other neighbouring countries. The first author who speaks of these
affairs is *Mendez Pinto*, who, in many things, may be suspected; but, for want of a better,
we must follow him. According to this traveller, about the year 1546, the king of *Siam*
(whose name is not mentioned) kept his court in the city of *Odiaa*, or *Siyutbia*, that is, *Siam*.
There he received intelligence, that the king of *Chiammay*, allied with the *Timokoubos*, *Labos*,
and *Gueos*, all independent and wealthy people, who possessed the parts north-eastward above
Kapimper and *Passiloko* (D), had besieged the town of *Quiterwam*; where he had slain 30,000
men, and, among the rest, *Oya Kapimper*, governor and lieutenant-general of all that pro-
vince.

e THE king of *Siam*, alarmed at this news, immediately crossed the river, and encamping
in tents, by proclamation ordered all in the city, who were able to bear arms, to attend him
within twelve days, under pain of being buried alive, and other punishments, equally grievous.
This order included not only the natives, but foreigners, who were obliged to comply with
it, or quit the kingdom in three days. To the *Portugueses* his majesty sent a formal message,
desiring them to accompany him, as the only people he could trust to guard his person, with
great promises of rewards, and liberty to build churches in his kingdom. This encourage-

^a LOUBIERE relat. Siam, p. 8.

(A) The situation of this place, and the following, was unknown to our author.

(B) In the year 544 before *Christ*.

(C) A city seated on a river, which descends from the mountains of *Laos*, and falls into the *Menâm*; a little

above *Pitsanculuk*, or *Porfelouk*; from which *Lokontay* is forty or fifty leagues distant.

(D) Possibly *Kampirpet* and *Porfelouk*, two cities of *Siam*. See the description of *Siam*.

ment so prevailed on them, that, out of 130, which was their number, 120 agreed to go to the war, among whom was our author. At the end of twelve days the long set forward, with an army of 400,000 men, whereof 70,000 were strangers. They embarked all in 300 *servos*, *lauleas*, and *jangas*; so that, in nine days, they arrived at *Suropifem*; a frontier town, twelve or thirteen leagues from *Quitervan*; which the enemy had besieged. There he stayed seven days, waiting for 4000 elephants, which marched by land. Mean time he was informed that the place was greatly pressed by the enemy, who had on the river 2000 vessels, with an army of 300,000 men by land, whereof 40,000 were horse; but no elephants.

The enemy defeated.

THE king, on this advice, began his march from *Suropifem*, his army being increased to 500,000 soldiers. At the end of three days, proceeding not above four or five leagues each, they arrived at the valley of *Siputay*, one league and an half from the place where the enemy lay encamped. There the forces, with the elephants, being ranged in line of battle, by the three quarter-masters, two of whom were *Turks*, and the third a *Portuguese*, named *Dominigos de Seixas*, they advanced towards *Quitervan*, where they arrived before sun-rise. The enemy, on their approach, came forward to meet them, and, with their horse, which was the vanguard, fell furiously on the king of *Siam*'s rear, composed of 60,000 foot, with so much fury, that they defeated them in less than fifteen minutes, with the loss of three princes slain on the spot. The king perceiving his men routed, changed the order of the fight, which he had before resolved on, and fell on the enemy with his whole army at once. This was done with such impetuosity, that they were defeated in less than half an hour, by means of the elephants sustained by the *harquebusiers*, and the field-pieces: the horse, in which their principal strength consisted, being thus routed, the rest of their forces began instantly to retreat. The *Siamejes* pursued them to the river-side; but there the enemy forming a new body of 100,000 men, supported by their ships, the king of *Siam* durst not attack them; and was well pleased to find that they took advantage of night to retire along the river side^b.

Quibem kingdom made tributary.

THE king of *Siam* lost in this battle 50,000 men, but of no great account; and the enemy, 130,000. After he had fortified the city, and put it in a good posture of defence, he was persuaded by his lords to make war on the kingdom of *Quibem*, fifteen leagues to the north, whose queen had given passage through her country to the forces of *Chiammay*. Pursuant to this advice, he, with an army of 400,000 men, besieged *Fumbakor*, a town of *Quibem*; and having quickly taken it, put all the inhabitants to the sword. From thence he continued his voyage to *Guitor*, the capital of the kingdom, where the queen governed as regent, during the minority of her son, a youth of but nine years of age. The queen finding herself too feeble to hold out long against so great a power, after a short siege sued for peace, and agreed to pay him annually 5000 *turmes* of silver, equal to 60,000 *Portuguese* ducats, advancing five years tribute in hand. Besides this, the young prince did him homage as his vassal, and was carried by the king to his capital *Siam*.

The king invades Chiammay.

THE siege being hereupon raised, the army marched north-eastward, to the town of *Tayfiran*; where news was brought, that the king of *Chiammay* was fallen off from the confederates. Mean time the *Siamese* monarch, who had advanced six days march into the enemy's territories, sacked all the places which came in his way, without sparing the life of any male inhabitant. At length he arrived at the lake of *Sinjipamor*, commonly called *Chiammay* (E), where he stayed twenty-six days. During that time he took twelve places of consequence, surrounded with ditches and bulwarks, after the *Portuguese* fashion, all of brick and mortar: for, in that country, they do not build with lime and stone; neither had they any artillery, excepting some falconets, and brass muskets. But as winter began to approach, and it was very rainy weather, the king, who likewise found himself much indisposed, returned to *Quitirvan*, where he rested three-and-twenty days; in which time he made an end of fortifying that city with strong walls, and wide ditches. After this, he embarked his army in the vessels which brought him thither, and so returned to his capital, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy by the people^c.

Poisoned by his queen.

BUT this joy was soon changed into sorrow: for, during the six months in which the king of *Siam* had been absent, the queen had been intimate with an inferior officer of the household; and finding herself four months gone with child by him, to prevent a discovery, poisoned her husband with a mess of milk, which carried him off in five days. During this short space of time the king made his will, in which he settled the most important affairs of the state. Among the rest he acquitted himself of the obligation he lay under to the foreigners, who had served him in the war of *Chiammay*; in particular, he ordered that the *Portuguese*, who had been his guard during that expedition, should receive half a year's tribute of *Guibem*; that

^b PINTO voy. p. 270, & seqq.

^c Ibid. p. 271, & seq.

(E) Of this lake, *Loubiere*, after much enquiry, could find no tidings. And indeed all which is said relating to this expedition to *Chiammay* (the same proba-

bly with *Takamay*, the capital of *Takomey*), is very likely a fiction.

a their merchandizes should be custom-free for three years: and that their priests should be allowed to preach their law through his dominions: besides other privileges of an inferior nature. His majesty likewise directed, that his eldest son should be proclaimed king before his death; which was immediately put in execution. After the *Oyas*, *Konbulis*, and *Monteos* (F), the three prime dignities in the kingdom, had taken the oath of allegiance to the young prince, they shewed him from a window to all the people; and setting a rich crown of gold, in form of a mitre, upon his head, put a sword in his right hand, and a pair of scales in his left; a custom which, says our author, they always observe on such an occasion.

b THEN *Oya Passiloko*, who was the greatest lord in the kingdom, falling on his knees before the new king, made a speech, in which he exhorted him to govern his people justly, under pain of being punished by God, in the infernal regions. To which the young monarch weeping answered, *Sham Shaimpom*, or *Amen*; and *Mastinau*, *I promise*; which is a kind of coronation oath. This set all the people a weeping. After which came a *Talagrepo*, or priest of the first dignity, above 100 years old, and, prostrating himself at the prince's feet, tendered him an oath, upon a golden bason full of rice. This done, they put him into the bason, after they had created him thus a-new: for time would not allow them to hold him there any longer, in regard his father was at the point of death; and, in effect, he died the next morning, in presence of the greater part of the *grandees*^d.

c THE death of this prince caused an universal mourning, for he was said to be endowed with many virtues: he was charitable to the poor and distressed; liberal to those who served him well, or had merit; compassionate, and merciful: but, at the same time, as he was a great lover of justice, he punished wicked men according to their deserts. In short, if what the people said of him in their lamentations was true, there never was a better king on earth. *Pinto* relates two or three instances of his goodness, which fell within his own knowledge. The first is, that *Pedro de Faria*, governor of *Malakka*, having, by order of *John III.* king of *Portugal*, sent an ambassador to *Siam*, in the year 1540, to redeem *Dominigos de Seixas* before-mentioned, and sixteen *Portugueses* more, the king not only granted his request, but bestowed on them a thousand *turmes* of silver, amounting to 12,000 ducats; apologizing, at the same time, for the smallness of the present. *Seixas* was, at that time, general of the frontier, and resided at the town of *Goutaleu*, where he had 30,000 foot and 5000 horse under his command; with a pension of 18,000 ducats *per annum*. But the king of *Portugal* having occasion for his service in *Europe*, the king of *Siam* generously parted with him: for which favour the ambassador, *Don Francisco de Coasto*, made three prostrations before his *Siamite* majesty, with his head bowed to the ground. A custom observed towards this king, who was more absolute than others.

d IN 1545 he ordered a *Portuguese* ship, which had been wrecked in the port of *Charis*, five leagues from *Lugor*, to be restored, with seventy-four men and boys: and the same year did another piece of public justice: for *Siam* having been invaded on the *Passilikon*'s side, by the king of *Tuparahos*, who, having sacked several lesser places, resolved to attack *Shivau* and *Lautor*. Hereupon he sent some of his colonels all over the kingdom, to levy men, with strict orders not to excuse any under threescore years of age, excepting such as were maimed, or otherwise unable to bear arms. One of these officers, named *Quiay Raudiva*, who was appointed to raise recruits at *Blancha* (or, as it is afterwards written, *Bancha*), disregarding his prince's order, took bribes of the rich inhabitants, amounting to 5000 *turmes*, and press'd 3000 of the poorer sort to go to the war. The king, on their arrival, being surpris'd at the wretched figure they made, enquired into the cause; and the whole affair having been discovered to him by the people themselves, he ordered five *turmes* of melted silver to be poured down the colonel's throat, uttering, at the same time, some reproachful expressions, suitable to the occasion; then sending to his house for the *turmes* which he had received at *Bancha*, he distributed them among the old and impotent recruits, whom he sent home again. As for those who had paid that sum, to be excused from going to the war, he ordered them to be attired like women, and banished to the island of *Pulbo* (or *Pulo*) *Katon*: not content with this, he confiscated their estates, and divided them among those who had served well in that expedition. When at *Lautor*, perceiving one of the *Portugueses* to behave ill, in recovering the principal fort belonging to that place, he sent him to *Odia* (or *Siam*), and forbade him to assume the name of a *Portuguese*, on pain of being banished in the same disgraceful dress. To the rest of his countrymen he gave treble pay, with other bounties^e.

f SOME time after the king's death, all the priests of the capital city, to the number of 20,000, in concert with the principal men of the kingdom, having settled the ceremonies relating to the funeral, a mighty pile was erected, composed of *sandal*, *kalamba*, *aloes*, and

^d PINTO, p. 272, & seq.

^e Ibid. p. 273, & seq.

(F) These two last titles look suspicious, as we find them not in other authors; and so indeed does the whole ceremony.

benjamin, on which the body of the king was laid, and consumed by fire. The royal ashes, a inclosed in a silver shrine, were put on board a *laulea*, richly equipped, which was accompanied by forty *seroos* full of *Talagrepos*, besides a great number of smaller vessels filled with people. These were followed by a hundred small barks, laden with divers images, in the form of adders, toads, lions, elephants, bucks, vulturs, geese, and other animals, all carved to the life. In another great ship was the king of thole idols, called *the gluttonous serpent of the profound pit of the house of smoke*. This monster, in shape of an adder, was as thick in circumference as a hoghead, and twisted in nine circles; so that, extended, it measured an hundred spans in length. Its neck stood erect; and out of its eyes, throat, and breast, issued flames of artificial fire, dreadful to behold. On a stage, three fathoms high, and richly gilt, stood a beautiful boy, four or five years old; covered over with pearls, and b bracelets of precious stones. He had wings, with hair of fine gold; and held in his hand a cutlace, representing an angel sent from God, to imprison thole demons, that they should not steal away the king's soul, before it arrived at the mansion of glory, prepared for it above, to reward his good works done in this life.

with great
pomp.

ALL the above-mentioned vessels stopt at a temple called *Quiay Poutor*, where the silver shrine being placed, fire was put to the barks, which, being filled with pitch, and other combustible matter, in an hour's time were all consumed, with the images in them: during which time there was a horrible din, made by the shouts of the people, mixt with the firing of cannon and small arms, beating of drums, ringing of bells, blowing of horns, and the like noises. Several other expensive ceremonies were performed; after which the people returned c to their houses, where they remained, with their doors and windows shut, for ten days: so that none were seen in the streets, excepting some poor, who begged alms in the night, with great lamentation. When the ten days were expired, the temples were adorned with standards, banners, and rich hangings; while horsemen, clad in white damask, rode thro' the city, and, at the sound of music, invited the people to come forth, and rejoice in the new king, whom God had sent them. At this invitation the inhabitants came forth, and went to the temple of *Quiay Tanarel*, that is, *the God of the joyful*; where the better sort offered perfumes, and the poorer fruits, hens, and rice, for the support of the priests. The same day the new king shewed himself, in a progress through the city; and as he was but nine years old, the queen mother was constituted regent, during his minority, by the twenty- d four *Brakalons* (G) of the government.

Young king
seized.

THINGS went on peaceably for four months and a half; when the queen, being delivered of a son whom she had by the purveyor, gave great scandal to the whole kingdom. For all this, she resolved to marry the father of him, with whom she was much enamoured; and even to destroy the king, to make way for the bastard to inherit the throne. To effect her wicked purpose, she desired of the privy-council a guard for the person of the king, under pretence of his greater security; which having obtained, she, to the 600 *kauchins* (H) and *Liqueos*, which was the ordinary guard of her house, added 2000 foot, and 500 horse, over whom she placed *Fileubakus*, a kinsman of her gallant. Thus strengthened with forces, she began to take revenge on the grandees, who she knew despised her. She first caused to be seized two deputies of the government, under pretence that they held a secret correspon- e dence with the king of *Chiammay*, and had promised to give him a passage through their lands into the kingdom. They were both executed by her order; and their estates being confiscated, one part was given to her favourite purveyor, and the other to a brother-in-law of his, who had been originally a smith. But as these lords were put to death hastily, and without any proof, the rest of the nobility murmured greatly, representing to her majesty the personal merits of the parties, and their royal descent. These remonstrances she was so far from giving heed to, that soon after, in a full council, on pretence of indisposition, she renounced the regency, and conferred it on *Uquumchineraa*, who managed affairs at pleasure, and filled all places of importance with his creatures. The queen had now an opportunity of executing all her designs; so that, in eight months time, she caused most of the great f men in the kingdom to be put to death; and confiscating their lands and effects, distributed them among such as she daily gained to her party. Nothing now remained, but for her to get rid of the young king; which she did, by giving him poison, in the same manner as she had done to his father. All obstacles being now removed, she, to complete the whole, married her favourite paramour, and caused him to be crowned in the city of *Odia*, the 11th of

A. D. 1545. *November* 1545. But these usurpers did not long enjoy the fruits of their iniquity: for, on A. D. 1546. the 15th of *January* the next year, being invited by *Oya Passiloko*, and the king of *Kambodia*, to a feast prepared in the temple called *Quiay Figrau* (or *Frigau*), that is, *the god of the*

† PINTO, p. 276, & seqq.

(G) By *Brakalons*, doubtless, is to be understood than one officer of that denomination.
Barkalons: but we do not find that there is ever more (H) Doubtless *Kachinchinges*.

- a *atoms of the sun*, whose festival it was, they were both slain by those two princes, with all their party : and thus things became quiet again, though with the destruction of most of the nobility^s.

^s PINTO, p. 277, & seqq.

S E C T. VII.

The reign of Pretiem. Siam conquered by the Barma king of Pegu. Râjah Api throws off the yoke : his character and death. The revolution which followed.

- b **T**HE next thing to be considered was to choose a successor; which, with the assistance of four or five more lords, they affected. The person whom they cast their eye on was a religious man, named *Pretiem*, natural brother of the late king's father. He was a *Talagrepo* of a temple called *Quiay Mitrau*, where he had resided for thirty years; but being brought from thence by *Oya Passiloko*, he was, on the 19th of the same month, crowned king, with great magnificence. *New king elected.*
- c THE *Brama* (or *Barma*) king of *Pegu*, who, at that time, reigned in the city of *Anapleu*, being informed of the deplorable state to which the empire of *Sornau* (or *Siam*) was reduced, and that the new monarch was ill beloved of his subjects, for his cowardly, as well as tyrannical disposition, resolved to lay hold of the favourable opportunity, and invade his dominions. A. D. 1549.
Barma inva-
sion.
- d Accordingly, on the 7th of *April* 1548, he set out from *Martabân*, with an army of 800,000 men, of whom 40,000 were horse, and 60,000 harquebusiers. These were accompanied with 5000 elephants, and 1000 pieces of cannon, drawn by a thousand couple of buffaloes and rhinoceros's. There were likewise as many yoke of oxen, for carrying the provision; besides a vast quantity of baggage. Among these forces there were 1000 *Portugueses*, commanded by *Diego Suarez de Albergaria*, nicknamed the *Gallego*, who had the title of the king's brother, and governor of *Pegu*, with a yearly pension of 200,000 ducats. The army never stopt till they entered the dominions of *Siam*; where, after five days march, they arrived at the castle of *Tapurau*, containing about 2000 houses, which was attacked three times in one day, without success. But *Suarez*, who was general of the camp, having caused it to be battered with forty pieces of heavy artillery, a breach was made, of twelve fathom width; which being entered by 12,000 foreigners, in half an hour 6000 *Siameses*, of which the garrison consisted, with their commander, who was a *Mogor* (or *Mogol*), were all cut to pieces. The *Brama* king, not content with this slaughter, ordered all the women likewise to be put to the sword, to revenge the death of above 3000 of his men^a.
- e AFTER this cruel execution, he marched directly to *Sokotay*, five leagues thence, situated on the river *Lebrau*, one of the three arising from the lake *Chiammay* (A), on the bank of which he encamped. But being advised by his lords not to lose time and men, by attempting any other place, till he got to the capital of *Siam*, he next day departed, by roads made through the woods, by 60,000 pioneers sent before for that purpose. When he came to *Tilau*, hard by *Junfalan*, on the south-west coast, near *Quedah*, he took guides; and, in nine days, arrived in sight of *Odiaa* (or the city of *Siam*); where he pitched his camp, which he inclosed with ditches, and strong palisadoes. During the five days that these and other preparations were carrying on, the besieged never offered to stir: of which seeming contempt of so great an army, *Diego Suarez*, the camp-marshal, was at a loss to know the cause; and therefore determined to give an assault to the city, towards the two points on the south side, where the wall was weakest. He began the attack the 19th of *June*, an hour before day, with two bodies, each consisting of 6000 men, who endeavoured to scale the walls with 1000 ladders; but the besieged defended themselves so valiantly, that, in half an hour, 10,000 fell on both sides. The king of *Barma* then founding a retreat, ordered the attack to be renewed with his 5000 elephants of war, divided into twenty troops. These carried, in their castles placed on their backs, 20,000 select *Moens* and *Chaleus* (B), who had double pay, and were furnished with small cannon, as well as muskets, besides a sort of scythes, eight or ten feet long; with which they made such havock, that, in less than fifteen minutes, most of them were beaten off the walls, from whence the elephants, with their trunks, tore down (C) the target-fences, with served for battlements.
- f

^a PINTO, p. 278, & seqq.

(A) If there be no such lake, as hath been already shewn, the source of this river must be uncertain; nor do we meet with the name of *Lebrau* in the *French* relations of *Siam*.

(B) An account of these people see before, hist. *Pegu*, p. 252.

(C) *Loubiere*, with good reason, looks upon this re-

lation to be a fiction: for, as the city takes up the whole island in which it is built, the walls, which encompass the island, leave no room in front for an enemy to approach them; whereas, according to *Pinto's* account, the city could not have been washed by the river on the south side.

The enemy re-
pulsed:

THE wall being thus cleared, the enemy once more set up their ladders, which they had a
quitted: and mounting to the top, planted their standards, with shouts of victory. The
Turks, desirous to signalize themselves on this occasion, asked leave of the king to enter
first; which, by advice of *Suarez*, who was always so kind as to put them on the most
dangerous services, desiring nothing more than to see their numbers lessened, was readily
granted. Having thus obtained their desires, 12,000 of them, among whom were some
Abissins and janizari's (D), mounting the wall with great outcries; and sliding down on the
other side, descended, through a bulwark, into a place below, with intent to open a gate,
and give admittance to the king of *Barma*, who had promised 1000 *bisses* of gold, amounting
to 500,000 ducats, to those who should do him that important service. But while they
endeavoured, with two battering-rams, to break the gate, they were suddenly charged by b
3000 resolute *Jaos* (E), and, in little more than a quarter of an hour, were all cut to pieces.
The *Jaos*, flushed with this success, immediately mounted the wall, and attacked the enemy
whom they found there, so furiously, that, having slain most of them, they threw the rest
headlong to the ground^b.

renew the
assault:

THE *Barma* king, far from being discouraged at this disaster, ordered the assault to be
renewed, imagining, that the elephants alone would be able to open his troops a way into the
city. At the noise of their approach, *Oya Passiloko*, captain general of the forces within,
with 15,000 men, most of them *Luzons*, *Borneos*, and *Champaas*, with some *Menankabos*,
ran to the gate through which the enemy proposed to enter; and setting it wide open, sent
the king of *Pegu* word, that having heard his majesty had promised 1000 *bisses* to the person c
who should open the gate to him, he had now performed that service, and hoped the king
would be as good as his word, to send him the money. The answer which the *Barma* monarch
gave to his sneer, was by a furious attack, which he ordered to be made forthwith upon the
place, with such good success, that, in three hours space, the gate was twice forced open, and
gave the assailants admittance into the city. At this alarm, the king of *Siam* perceiving that all
was in danger of being lost, hastened with 30,000 choice soldiers, and began a most bloody
fight. The conflict lasted above half an hour, during which our author knew not what passed:
only he observes that the cries of the combatants, intermixed with the noise of martial instru-
ments, roaring of cannon, and yelling of elephants, were so terrible, that it deprived those d
who heard them of their senses, as well as courage. Nor was the sight which appeared at the
gate less dreadful and stupefying to the beholders; for the place which the enemy had been mas-
ters of was all covered with dead bodies, drowned in their blood, which flowed in streams on
all sides.

are again re-
pulsed:

SUAREZ, seeing the *Barma* forces intirely repulsed, and the elephants frightened with the
fire, as well as most of them hurt, prevailed on the king to sound a retreat; which he
did, though unwillingly, with a resolution to give a fresh assault the next morning: but this
was put off, by reason of a wound with an arrow, which he did not feel in the heat of the
action, and which obliged him to keep his bed twelve days. As soon as he was well again,
he attacked the city a second time, with no better success than the first; yet being obstinately
bent to take it, if he perished in the attempt, he assaulted it five times more, in the open e
day. But, although assisted by the ingenious contrivances of a *Greek* engineer, yet he was
always forced to retire. The siege had already lasted four months and a half, with the loss
of 140,000 of his men; he therefore determined to storm the city in a more effectual man-
ner. For this purpose he ordered twenty-six strong wooden castles to be made: each was
sixty-five feet long, fifty broad, and twenty-five high, strengthened with double beams of
timber, covered with lead, and accommodated with twenty-six iron wheels, to run upon:
each of them likewise was filled with wood and pitch, and had long massy chains fastened to
the fore part^c.

and again at-
tack.

THE machines being finished in seventeen days, in a dark and stormy night, attended with
a heavy rain, the *Barma* king ordered all the artillery in his camp, as well as other arms, f
great and small, to be discharged three times. This was answered in like manner from the
city; so that the noise made by so many arms, at least 100,000 in all, shot off without inter-
mission, for three hours together, intermixed with that of thunder and lightning, as well
as of the tempest, is not to be described; nor the dread it threw upon the whole army
to be expressed: yet, in the midst of this horrible storm, the castles, which had been brought
close to the walls of the city, were set on fire, and flamed so horribly, that none durst come
within a stone's cast of them. At the same time the enemy attempting to scale the walls, a
bloody conflict ensued; but as they gained no advantage against the besieged, after four hours
attack, the castles being burnt to the ground, they retired to their camp.

The siege
continued:

THE king of the *Barmas* called a council of war, to sound the opinion of his lords; and g
finding that they agreed, in sentiments with himself, to continue the siege, the rather, as they

^b PINTO, ubi supra, p. 280, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 282, & seq.

(D) We cannot conceive how janizari's should come here.

(E) Perhaps *Laos*.

- a observed the *Siameses* were so weakened with their losses, that they were not able to stand another attack, he rewarded his advisers; and then consulted with *Suarez*, and the *Greek* engineer, how to conduct the enterprize. The method they advised for battering down the remaining fortifications, was to raise a mount of earth, higher than the walls, and thereon plant a considerable number of cannon; which counsel was immediately put in execution: 60,000 pioneers being employed, who, in twelve days, finished the fort or platform, whereon were planted forty pieces of artillery. But next day, just when the battery was going to be played off, an express arrived in the camp, with news that the *Shemíndoo* had begun a rebellion in *Pegu*, and already seized on the principal places in the kingdom. At this news the king was so moved, that he immediately raised the siege, and embarked himself on the river
- b *Pakarau*, where he stayed only that night, and the day following, which he employed in drawing off his artillery and ammunition: then having set fire to his camp, he departed, on the 15th of *October* the same year, for *Martabán*, where he arrived after an expeditious voyage of seventeen days^d.

THE *Barma* king of *Pegu*, named *Para Mandara* by some authors, intended, as soon as the affairs of his kingdom had been settled, again to have invaded *Siam*, whose conquests he was bent upon; but he was slain presently after his return, by another rebel, who set up in opposition to the former. However, the design of annexing *Siam* to the empire of the *Barmas*, did not die with him; for *Chaumigrem*, otherwise called *Mandaragri*, his successor, after he had subdued all the neighbouring countries, and extended his dominions to the frontiers of *China*, turned his arms against *Siam*, which he entered with an army of 1,500,000 men (E); and proceeding to *Odiaa*, the capital, closely besieged it: but for all this prodigious force, authors relate that he could not have taken it, had not one of the gates been opened to him by the treachery of some within the city. This happened, according to *Linschoten*, in the year 1568; and thereupon the whole kingdom submitted to the conqueror. What was the king's name who reigned at this juncture is not mentioned: we only learn farther, that he became tributary, and that the queen, with his two sons, were carried to *Pegu*. The eldest of these was named *Rájah Api*, that is, *the fiery king*; but he was, by the *Portugueses*, called *the black*, and his brother *the white king*.

- d SOME years after, the king of *Pegu* gave the two princes leave to return to *Siam*, to visit their father; with whom they continued till the death of the *Barma* monarch, which happened in 1583. His successor, *Pranjinoko*, ascending the throne, the king of *Siam* revolted, refusing to pay him either homage or tribute, which he sent to demand. Instead of this, while he was at war with his uncle, the king of *Ava*, who had likewise set up for himself, and aspired to the dominion of *Pegu*; the king of *Siam's* (F) son arrived, under pretence of putting himself under the protection of the new *Barma* monarch. He brought with him fifty elephants, and 800 armed men. The great *Barma*, or captain-general, who was left behind, to govern affairs in the king's absence, directed the prince to conduct his troops towards *Ava*, there to join the *Barma* army: but instead of taking that route, he changed his road, and returned to *Siam*.

- e THE prince having made report to his father of what had passed in *Pegu*, and how the great *Barma* had taken upon him to direct his motions, the king laid hold of this opportunity to throw off his dependency; and sent *Pranjinoko* word, that since a slave had presumed to give an answer to his son, whom he had sent to join his majesty in the war, he would no longer pay any regard to him, or acknowledge him for his superior (G). Hereupon the king of *Pegu* sent the great *Barma*, at the head of a powerful army, into *Siam*: but that general lost a great number of men before the capital city, which he besieged, as well by the excessive heat of the weather, as bravery of the garrison. This obliged him to return with his forces. However, the king of *Siam* sent him of *Pegu* word, that, if he had taken the field himself, he would have paid him his compliments; but that he would not
- f design to submit to a person who was his inferior. To this the *Barma* king made answer, that it was his will the least of his slaves should subdue the greatest prince who was his subject^e.

THE king of *Pegu*, resolving to give his neighbour no rest, sent his brother-in-law, with a much greater power than the former, to invade *Siam*: but this served only to make the

^d PINTO, p. 282, & seqq. vol. ii. p. 1746. FLORIS ap. collect. voy. 4to. vol. i. p. 439. DE FARIA Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 118, & seq.

^e BALBI viag. Ind. Orient. p. 110, 115. PIMENTA ap. Purch. pilgr. Portug. Asia, vol. iii. p. 119. This *Banna*, perhaps, is the same whom *Balbi* names the great *Brama* (or rather *Barma*).

(E) *Balbi* elsewhere, p. 115. says only 800,000 men.

(F) Perhaps this was *Rájah Api*, or the black prince, the king of *Siam's* eldest son.

(G) According to *De Faria y Sousa*, the king of *Pegu* sent to demand the tribute of him of *Siam*, which the

black prince refused to pay; and this gave occasion to war; in which he first employed his favourite *Banna*.

Rajah Api
king.

overthrow more signal; for the *Siamese* army, commanded by the *black prince*, meeting the enemy in the field, cut 200,000 of them to pieces, and gained a complete victory. This new defeat only exasperated *Pranjinoko*; who, determined if possible to reduce his revolted vassal, raises an army of 1,700,000 men, accompanied with 80,000 horse, and 1500 elephants. The command of this vast power he gives to his eldest son *Maupa Rajab*; and, as if already sure of the victory, confers on him the title of king of *Siam*. At the news of this formidable force all *Siam* trembled, excepting the valiant *black prince*, now king, who marched against the enemy, and gave them battle. In the fight the two kings happened to meet, and encountering on their elephants, *Maupa Rajab* was struck dead to the ground. At this sight his troops immediately fled, and were pursued for a whole month by the *Siameses*, who destroyed the greater part of that vast army.

The white
king.

THIS remarkable victory happened about the year 1590; after which *Rajah Api* was freed from farther molestation on the side of *Pegu*, by the dreadful calamities which ensued in that kingdom. At length the neighbouring kings taking advantage of the distress to which *Pranjinoko* was reduced, about the year 1399 invaded his dominions on all sides: among the rest *Rajah Api*, desirous to revenge the several devastations which that prince had made in his territories, entered *Pegu* with a considerable army, and laid siege to the city of *Uncha*, or *Pegu*, the capital: but, after lying two months before it, he was obliged to retire, and returned to *Siam*, with the loss of 100,000 of his forces. On *Pegu's* ruin, which happened in the year 1600, *Siam* began to recover its former power, under this warlike king; who, in the space of about five years, subdued the countries of *Kamboja*, *Lanjang*, *Jagomay* (or *Jangoma*), *Lugor*, *Patane*, *Tanasserim*, and several others.

His son suc-
ceeds.
A. D. 1612.

IN 1605 the black king died, and left his dominions to his brother, called the white king; who was a covetous prince, but yet enjoyed the throne in peace, till 1610, when he likewise departed this life. He left several children behind him, which occasioned much distraction, whereof he himself was the first and chief occasion: for, on his death-bed, he caused his eldest son, a young prince of great hope, to be slain, at the instigation of *Jokkrom-meway*, one of the principal lords of *Siam*; who, having been possessed of a great number of slaves, thought to have made himself king. However, he missed of his aim: for the white king's second son ascended the throne after his father's decease, being then about twenty-two years of age; and soon after dispatched *Jokkrom-meway*. That traitor had, among other slaves, 280 *Japaneses*, who thinking to revenge their master's death, and achieve some memorable exploit, ran to the palace, and, surprising it, compelled the new king to deliver into their hands four of the principal nobles, whom they slew, as the chief advisers of their master's death. Having, after this, used the king for some time at their discretion, they forced him to sign, with his own blood, such conditions as they proposed to him; and to give them some of the chief *Talapoy*s, or priests, for hostages. This done, they committed great outrages, and departed with immense treasures, the *Siameses* not being able to prevent them.

Several king-
doms revolt.

UPON this occasion, the kingdoms of *Kamboja* and *Lanjang* revolted; as did also one *Banga de Laa*, a *Peguan*. The year before the king of *Lanjang* entered *Siam*, and advanced within three days journey of *Odiya*, the capital city; hoping to find the country still embroiled with the *Japan* slaves. But as they were departed before this invasion, the king of *Siam* set out to meet his enemy, who thereupon thought fit to retreat. He was threatened with another invasion in *April* 1612 following, from the two other revolting princes^f.

A. D. 1616.

BUT our author did not stay long enough in the *Indies* to know the event; nor do we know from others how long this king reigned, or who succeeded him, to the middle of the same century. All we can do is to fill up the chasm with such particulars, as are to be met with in authors, during that period. The first which occurs is, that, about the year 1615, *Zangomay*, or *Jangomay*, with other provinces, taken from the king of *Pegu* and *Ava*, were again recovered by that monarch^g. The next year the king of *Siam* sent ambassadors to *Goa*, who acknowledged the favours received from the *Portugueses*; and, in answer to the letter delivered by *James de Mendoza*, his majesty offered the port of *Martaván* for the king of *Portugal* to build a fort there; likewise to maintain the garrison, and a small fleet of ships, to cruize on that sea against the king of *Dika*.

Portuguese
ambassadors.

THE ambassadors were splendidly entertained; and *F. Francis*, a *Dominican* frier, sent to accompany them back with the same character, and a costly present. The ambassador, who was received with great marks of satisfaction, proposed to the king, that both nations should join their forces to subdue the king of *Ava*; that there should be a free trade between *Siam* and *Malakka*; and that he should not admit the *Hollanders* into his country. The *Siamite* answered, that the *Portuguese* merchants might freely resort to his ports, and be exempt from all duties; that his subjects should trade to *Malakka*, and that the reason they had done it of late, was

^f FLORIS, ubi supra, p. 439, & seq. DE FARIA, ubi supra, p. 120.
p. 1006.

^g METHOLD, ap. Purch. vol. v.

- a the ill usage they found there, whereof he alleged sufficient instances ; that he had admitted the *English*, *Dutch*, and *Malays*, into his ports, on account of the great respect they shewed him, and the need he had of them ; that he had assisted the *Portugueses* against the *Dutch*, and was no way concerned for the harm those of *Malakka* had done the queen of *Patane*, because she was a mad-woman ; but that, she being now dead, he had placed one of more sense in her room, and desired there might be a free trade with her, as well as with *Siam* : that the goods of such *Portugueses* as died in his dominions, should go to their heirs ; and that such of them as committed any crimes, should be tried at his court, to prevent any wrong being done them by the prejudice of magistrates. Thus the *Dominican* was dispatched, and two *Spanes* sent back with him by the king, to go his ambassadors into *Spain* ⁿ.
- b DE FARIA Y SOUSA, the *Portuguese* historian, speaks of another embassy, which was sent ^{The king's character.} to *Goa* in 1621, by the king of *Siam*, desiring some *Franciscans* would come to preach in his dominions. *F. Andrew*, of the *Holy Ghost*, being sent, his majesty built a church for him, at his own expence, and offered him great riches ; which, to the great admiration of that prince, says our author, he constantly refused. This monarch *De Faria* calls the *black king*, perhaps mistaking him for *Râjab Api* before-mentioned, and speaks of him as living in the year 1627, bestowing on him the following character. This prince, says our historian, was small of stature, of an ill presence, and of a disposition partly very wicked, and partly generous. Though cruel men are generally cowards, yet he was very valiant, as well as cruel ; and whereas tyrants are commonly avaritious, he was, on the contrary, exceeding liberal ;
- c so that, in some things, he shewed as much goodness, as he did barbarity in others. He was not content to put thieves and robbers to death in the ordinary way, but caused them to be torn to pieces for his pastime, by tigers and crocodiles (H). Understanding that a king, ^{His great cruelty,} his vassal, intended to rebel, he shut him up in a cage ; and having, for some time, fed him with morsels of his own flesh, torn from his body, had him fried in a pan. With his own hand he cut seven ladies through the middle, only because, as he said, they walked too fast ; and ordered the legs of three others to be chopped off, because they stayed too long when sent for money to bestow on the *Portugueses*. Thus to walk either too fast or too slow, were crimes with this capricious and bloody king.
- His severity extended even to brute beasts. He cut off the paw of a favourite monkey, ^{even to brutes.} because the silly animal happened to put it into a box, wherein were some curiosities. A horse, no less prized by him, had his head struck off in the stable before the rest, because he did not stop at his majesty's command. The crows making a noise over his palace, he caused 500 of them to be caught ; some of which were killed, others imprisoned in cages, and the rest turned loose, with yokes about their necks. In short, a tiger, which did not immediately seize a criminal who was cast to him, was, by his command, beheaded as a coward. Thus much of the wicked part of this prince. Now to speak of his virtues. He kept his word inviolably ; was strict in the execution of justice ; liberal above measure ; and very merciful to those who, in his opinion, committed pardonable faults. A *Portuguese* being sent by him to *Malakka*, to purchase commodities, lost them all at play, and yet had the boldness to
- e return to the king, who received him kindly ; saying, *he valued the confidence reposed in his generosity more than all the goods which the man could have brought.* He shewed great respect to the *Portuguese* priests ; and encouraged planting the *Romish* religion in his territories. To conclude his eulogy, his courage was unspeakable ^{His generosity.}.
- THIS prince seems, by his character (I), to be the same *Râjab Hapi* (or *Api*) mentioned by *Mandelslo*, who says he lived about the year 1614 ; and, at that time acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of *Pegu* : but a few years after threw off his dependency. For entering the kingdom of *Pegu* with a powerful army, he laid siege to the city of *Arrakan* (K), making a vow not to depart till he had reduced it : but not being able to take the place, he built a house near it, where he died.
- f RAJAH HAPI had a favourite named *Oki* (L) *Kronwi*, who aspiring to the crown, brought ^{A revolution.} 4 or 500 *Japaneses* into the kingdom, clothed like merchants, in order to murder the king. This design, however, took no effect ; for *Râjab Api* died a natural death, as before-mentioned. But after his decease, *Oki Kronwi* seized the throne, and caused himself to be proclaimed king.
- HOWEVER, the son of *Râjab Hapi*, by the assistance of his friends, found means to expel the usurper ; but was not fortunate enough to keep the crown in his possession ; for he was

ⁿ DE FARIA, ubi supra, p. 237, & seq.ⁱ Ibid. p. 361, & seq.

(H) Perhaps this king first brought those cruel deaths in use, or inflicted them oftener than his predecessors had done.

(I) For *Mandelslo* represents him as notorious for his cruelty ; of which he relates, as an instance, that it was reported of him, that one time, when he was sick,

hearing two of his concubines laugh in an adjoining chamber, he commanded that they should immediately be cut to pieces.

(K) This seems to be a mistake for the city of *Pegu*.(L) *Oki*, or *Ok-ya*, perhaps.

likewise slain, and was succeeded by his younger brother, who continued to reign in 1639, a when our author was in the *Indies* ^k.

THIS king had taken so great an aversion to the *Japaneſes*, on ſuſpicion they had a deſign upon his perſon, that he put ſome to death, and expelled the reſt: yet afterwards permitted them to return and enjoy their antient poſts; but they exceeded not the number of 5 or 600 ^l.

Siam in diſ-
traction.

WHEN this prince began to reign, or how long he continued on the throne, does not appear from our author *Mandefſlo*; who informs us, that the laſt war which the kings of *Siam* made on thoſe of *Jangoma* and *Lanjang* (M), was purely out of ambition to ſupport the ſovereignty which they pretended to over thoſe kingdoms. He proceeds: it is not long alſo ſince the king of *Kamboja*, who was tributary to this monarch, revolted; hereupon the king of *Siam* entered his territories with a potent army, but was oppoſed ſo vigorously that he was forced to retire. The country, after this, enjoyed a long peace, till the death of the king; who, having cauſed his brother to be murdered, in order to ſettle his ſon on the throne, one of the princes of the blood took occaſion to uſurp the crown.

The uſurper's
craft.

THIS uſurper made ſhew as if he would eſpouſe the intereſt of the ſtate againſt the kings of *Pegu* and *Ava*, but chiefly him of *Kamboja*; yet this was all pretence, for he did not enter into open hoſtilities with any of them, although he kept an army on foot as if for that purpoſe; his true deſign being to ſtand on his guard, and oppoſe any attempts which, he had reaſon to apprehend, the heirs of the deceased king would make to recover their right.

A. D. 1624.

He continued the ſame friendſhip for the *Hollanders*, which his predeceſſor had teſtified for them; whereof he gave a proof in the year 1624. For *Fernando de Silva*, governor of *The Manillas*, having ſet upon a *Dutch* frigate in the river *Menam*; this king ſeized on his ſhip, and forced him to reſtore the frigate: for which favour the *Dutch* always aſſiſted him againſt his enemies, and particularly the *Portugueſes*; who, after that, took occaſion to diſturb the trade of the *Siameſes* to *China*. *Patany* likewiſe having revolted ſome years after (N), they aſſiſted him with ſix ſhips to ſubdue the rebels ^m.

Diſagreement
among authors.

IN what has been cited from *Mandefſlo*, we find two accounts of the ſucceſſion of theſe kings, not reconcilable either with each other, or with what has been related from *De Faria*: they both commit the ſame error with reſpect to *Râjab Api*, unleſs we may ſuppoſe there were two princes of this name or title. *De Faria* ſays, *Râjab Api* was living in 1627; but, according to *Mandefſlo*, he muſt have died before the year 1624, at which time we find an uſurper on the throne. In his ſecond account, he ſpeaks of a king murdering his brother, to make way for his ſon to ſucceed him, on which an uſurper ſteps in: but there is nothing like this in his firſt account, nor can we tell what to make of either; in ſhort, they ſeem to be a jumble of events collected from *Floris*, *De Faria*, and other authors.

^k MANDELSLO VOY. p. 127.

^l Ibid. p. 125.

^m Ibid. p. 126.

(M) In the *Engliſh* translation of *Mandefſlo*, it is miſ-printed *Langsgaugh*.

(N) Our author ſays lately, ſpeaking with reference to the year 1639, when he was in the *Indies*.

S E C T. III.

Reign of Chaw Paſa-thong. He depoſes the king, and uſurps the throne. His daughter's funeral: the cruel executions which attended it.

Chaw Paſa-
thong

HOWEVER, the king who reigned in his time muſt have been the famous *Chaw Paſa-thong* (A), mentioned by later writers; for we are told that he died in 1657, after a reign of thirty years, which carries back the beginning of it to the year 1627. But, in this caſe, if, as we are aſſured by ſucceeding authors, that *Paſa-thong* was an uſurper, he could not well be the ſecond ſon of *Rajab Api*, but muſt have been the prince who immediately ſucceeded him: unleſs we could ſuppoſe, that, after the death both of the uſurper and his elder brother, he aſcended the throne the year laſt-mentioned, in which *Rajab Api* muſt have died; for *De Faria* ſpeaks of him as living, at leaſt in the beginning of it. *Van Vliet* (B), who wrote the hiſtory of this prince, ſays he was an uſurper, and of the royal blood, though not that he was the brother of the former king. But *Loubiere*, who allows him to have been an uſurper, charges *Van Vliet* with a miſtake, in aſſerting that he was of the royal race ^a. However that be, his acceſſion to the crown in 1627 is farther confirmed by the age of his ſon *Chaw* ^e

uſurps the
throne.

^a LOUBIERE relat. Siam, p. 9.

(A) *Chaw Paſa-thong*, according to *Gervaiſe*, ſignifies the king of the golden language.

(B) *Jeremy Van Vliet*, who wrote the revolutions which

happened in the kingdom of Siam. It is printed in French, in 4to, after Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels, Paris 1663. But we have it not immediately before us.

a *Naraya*, who was twenty-four years old at his father's death^b. This places his birth in the year 33; consequently his father was then on the throne, because his mother, who was daughter to the deposed king, was not married to him till after his usurpation. Now as some time must have passed before she married him, on account of her reluctance, and she likewise had a daughter before she had that son, it is very probable that his reign was as long as *Loubiere* makes it.

ONE remarkable circumstance in his usurpation is, that, having entered by force of arms into the palace, he compelled the king to quit, and fly into a temple: from thence he had the unfortunate prince dragged, and carried back again a prisoner to the palace: where he caused him to be declared unworthy of the crown and government, for having deserted the same, as if he had done it voluntarily^c.

b THIS king, before his usurpation, had been *Chakri*, or chancellor; in which post he gained so much credit, and wealth, as opened the way for him to the throne. To establish himself the firmer thereon, though already married, he espoused the daughter of his predecessor. This princess, who had a great deal of spirit, as well as virtue, did all she could to avoid the match, unable to endure the thoughts of wearing a crown, in prejudice to four brothers, whom she tenderly loved. The resistance which she made on this occasion, and the affection which she openly expressed for her brothers, made the tyrant resolve to put them all to death: but having had notice of their danger, they, by assistance of some faithful servants of their family, who still were employed at court, escaped out of the palace where they were shut up. Two of them took refuge in the kingdom of *Laos* (or *Labos*), where they were kindly received: but the other two, hoping to find an asylum at *Pipeli*, perished there, by the treachery of those on whom they depended for protection and assistance^d. This is the account given by *Gervaise*: but, according to *Loubiere*, *Chaw Pasa-thong* put to death all the princes of their blood. Two indeed escaped the slaughter longer than the rest: but, in the year 1650, the last of them, who was then twenty years of age, underwent the same fate as the others, with one of his sisters, upon an accusation notoriously false^e; the particulars whereof are related by *Struys*, who was an eye-witness, on the following occasion.

THE funeral of the king's only legitimated daughter being to be performed on the 23d of February 1650 (C), six months after her decease; the king sent to invite the *Sieur Van Muyden*, consul for the Dutch company, to attend the ceremony of burning her corpse. Preparations were made in the middle of the court or parade, before the palace, where were erected five towers of wood, and upon each a pole: that which stood in the midst was thirty fathoms high; the other four, which formed a square, only twenty each. The fabric of these towers was very artificial: round about under the architrave, they were neatly painted with foliage, raised with gold, and depressed with amber and burnt ivory. On the stilobat were carved heads of leopards, tigers, and panthers. Under the projecture there were supporters in antic-work, and emblematical to the occasion. The cornice was adorned with close leaves, suitable to the frieze and architrave, either carved or painted. Within the great tower, which stood in the middle, was a very costly altar, covered with gold, and set with precious stones, about six feet from the ground. On this altar was placed the body of the princess, in a coffin of gold, an inch thick. She was standing: her hands joined: her face turned towards heaven: her robe had a long train, and was all beset with jewels: her crown, her necklace, and her bracelets, likewise covered over with diamonds, were of an inestimable price.

WHEN those who attended on this occasion had taken their places, on scaffolds made on purpose, all the grandees of the kingdom, with their ladies, apparelled only with a white cloth, without any ornament, passed along; scattering flowers and perfumes round the body and the altar with a sad countenance. After this the corpse was carried twenty paces from thence in a chariot, whose richness equalled that of the altar. The great men and ladies, having paid her the same honours as before, wept as bitterly as if they had lost what they held dearest in the world. This mournful scene having lasted near two hours, the chariot was drawn very slowly towards the funeral pile, attended by the same lords and ladies, who were still weeping. Before them marched the king's eldest son, aged about twenty, only brother of the deceased princess by the same mother. He was dressed in white, as well as the lords who attended him, and mounted on an elephant, whose housings was embroidered, with chains of gold on his neck. On his sides were his two brothers, by different venters, riding on elephants accoutred like the first; each holding a long scarf of white silk, one end of which was fastened to the horse. On the sides of the horse walked fourteen more of the king's

^b Gervaise hist. Siam, p. 244.
p. 242, & seq.

^c LOUBIERE, ubi supra, p. 9.

^d Gervaise, ubi supra,

(C) *Glanius*, in his voyage to the *East Indies*, putting himself in the place of *Struys*, or some other person, pretends he was present at this funeral, and the execu-

tions which followed it; although he did not leave *Europe* till 1668; that is eighteen years after.

sons on foot, cloathed also in white, and with branches of palm in their hands; all well a instructed in the art of weeping.

Funeral pile.

ON each side of the way, along which the herse was to pass, there were stages or scaffolds, where the lords, of inferior rank than those mentioned before, expected the convoy. When the body was arrived over-against them, some threw several kinds of habits among the people, and others oranges full of *fikols* or *mases*: two pieces of money, the first worth about half a crown, the latter but half that sum. The body being at length come to the funeral pile, the grandees took it with great respect, and laid it thereon, several instruments sounding in the mean time; whose mournful notes, accompanied with the lamentations of all the court, were capable of softening the hardest hearts. This sad concert being ended, they covered the body with *sandal* and *aquila* wood: then having cast thereon a great quantity of perfumes, b the king and nobles returned to the palace; leaving the ladies with the corpse, which was not to be burned till two days after^f.

Female mourners.

THE hardest task therefore fell on them: for though they must have been already sufficiently tired with weeping, yet they were obliged, by the ceremony, to continue that sad exercise for those two days, without intermission. This was a severe penance, from which those of the greatest quality were not excused; and, to see that it was punctually performed, certain old women were mixed with them, who, with a kind of discipline or scourge, lashed those, who, oppressed with sleep or weariness, slept but one moment, and thus made them shed real tears, instead of counterfeit. During this dismal situation of the ladies, round the deceased princess, the priests were mounted on scaffolds, in the court where the first tears were shed, praying c night and day for her soul. While the body was there exposed, they interrupted their prayers often, to cast among the people garments of all sorts, utensils for house-keeping, instruments serviceable to artificers, beds, mats, and other moveables.

Fire-works.

ON the side of the court there were erected twenty other towers, made of reeds, lined within and without with paper of several colours. These were filled with variety of fire-works, which were played-off for fifteen days successively. During this interval the king caused large alms to be given both to the poor and to the priests: the expence of which, added to the preparations already mentioned, according to the king's agent's accounts, amounted in the whole to 5000 *kalfi*, which make about 66,000 pounds *English*. In this account we do not reckon the several statues of gold and silver; among which there were two of the first metal d four feet and an half high, and an inch and half thick. These were set up, for the honour of the deceased princess, in the beautifullest temple in the country; and were all made out of gold, silver, and jewels, which she had received during her life, as well from the king her father, as from the principal lords of the court^e.

The body burnt.

THE body having reposed two days upon the sweet-scented wood which served to burn it, all the court went to relieve the doleful ladies, whom their penitential fatigue had rendered very lean. The ceremony began with prayers and speeches made by the priests. When they had finished their offices, the king took a lighted wax-candle from the hands of the arch-priest, and set fire himself to the funeral pile, on which the body was consumed, lying in the gold coffin, wherein they had left the jewels and other rich ornaments which were about it. When e they came to gather up the ashes, in order to inclose them in an urn of gold, there was found a piece of flesh, of the bigness of a young child's head, which the fire had not touched. The king, who was one of those who took up the ashes, looking upon that piece of flesh, said to the lords who were present: *What think ye, is it out of respect, that the flames have spared these remains of my daughter's body?* Then waiting for their answer, one of them said, *that his majesty had too much understanding to doubt what he saw.*—*How!* reply'd the king, all in a fury, *I have but too much reason now not to doubt any longer, what I have a thousand times suspected, that my daughter was poisoned.* In finishing these words, he gave orders for securing all the women who had served the deceased princess, without excepting one.

Nobles, falsely accused,

THESE were put to the torture to extort confession: but although they all disavowed the f crime, yet that did not save their lives, nor allay the king's fury. On the contrary, it augmented every day, and gave rise to new suspicions; so that a number of innocent people were imprisoned, and underwent the same cruelties. When the court was drained, and the king found none about him on whom to discharge his fury; he, on various pretences, sent for the greatest men in the kingdom, whom, with their wives, he ordered to be confined as soon as they arrived at court. The torture employed to discover the guilty among these, was that of fire, already mentioned. He caused several pits to be dugged round the city, about twenty feet square, wherein great fires were kindled; and thither the prisoners were sent, loaded with chains. They were first made to stand in tubs of hot water, to soften their skin; and the soles of their feet being afterward scraped with sharp irons, they were carried g before the judges, who examined them concerning the pretended poisoning. They who still

^f STRUYS'S VOY. ch. viii. p. 41. & GLANIUS VOY. p. 152.

^e *Ibid.* *ibid.*

a denied the fact were obliged to walk bare-footed upon burning coals; and if their feet were found to be burnt or blistered with the fire, they were deemed guilty. Some, who being overcome with the heat of the fire, fainted and fell down, perished there miserably, none daring to help them.

THE guilty were put to various kinds of deaths. Some were tied to posts, and killed by ^{put to various} elephants, in the manner before described^b. Others were buried in the road to the city, up ^{to the chin,}

b to the chin, and all passengers ordered to spit on them: nor durst any, under pain of death, give them the least relief, or hasten their death, which those miserable creatures most ardently demanded^c. Among other punishments which, according to *Glanius*, were inflicted upon these unhappy innocents, there was one which is frequently executed on notorious malefactors. The criminal is bound so tightly about the waist with a napkin, that a man may grasp him there with his hands: after this they prick him with engines as sharp as needles: not so much to draw blood out, as force him to hold in his breath. Then watching a proper time, they, of a sudden, cut him through the middle, and clap the upper part of his body upon a burning hot plate of brass; which preventing the effusion of blood, by searing or stopping the vessels, the patient remains a considerable time alive, in far greater torments than can be imagined^d.

THESE cruel executions continued four months; during which they took away the lives of ^{Executions} an incredible number of persons. One day, in less than four or five hours, our author ^{related.} *Struys* avers, that he saw above fifty put to death, and the like number in a forenoon. During this time it was reckoned that 2500 lost their lives, though some computed 300 more: and it was thought few of the nobility would have escaped, if they had not absented themselves from court on this occasion. All this tyranny was acted, under pretence of their having had a hand in this sham poisoning, or been privy to it: but it was afterwards well known that the king had, of a long time, formed the design to cut off all the chief officers of the state, whom he began to stand in awe of; and the better to effect it, without danger of a rebellion, he had newly raised an army of 250,000, giving out that he intended to declare war against the *Chinese*.

ON the 28th of *February* 300 persons, who had served the deceased princess, were carried ^{Late king's} to undergo the fiery trial. But as it was said to have spared those domestics, I know not ^{daughter} how, says *Struys*, they were by that means released. And now comes on the last act of this ^{A. D. 1670.} tragedy, though first resolved on, and to which the former executions were only preparatory. This was the death of two of the preceding king's children; of whom, at this time, there remained no more than three, two daughters and a son. They began with the elder princess, and her household, who was one of the youngest of his children, and who was suspected of the pretended poisoning, because she could scarce forbear to laugh when all others wept at the funeral of the deceased. She had likewise frequently complained that the king slighted her, and therefore she was not treated with the respect due to the royal blood (D). On the first of *March* she was brought forth, with a great number of ladies, who were all led through the fire; but, according to report, none of their feet were blistered, excepting those of the princess. Hereupon she was cast into a dungeon, loaded with chains of gold, and none were ^e suffered either to see or speak to her. Next day she was brought again to the hall of audience in the palace; where, upon being threatened with the torture, whether out of fear, or to acquire glory, she told her judges: that *in case the king would promise to put her to death, without exposing her in public, she promised, on the honour of a dying princess, to discover the whole affair, without farther trouble.*

SEVERAL of the old courtiers, who loved her father, were so moved with this declaration, ^{put to death.} that it was thought they would have interceded for her pardon, if the king's fury had not restrained them. However, they reported what she had said, and the king granted her request. On this she declared, that *the fact was committed by her and her nurse, who had employed certain sorceries, which occasioned the piece of flesh to remain unconsumed.* She added, ^f that *her ignominious death did not trouble her so much as the miscarriage of her good design; which, in case it had succeeded, would have restored the small remains of her family to their former state, and freed the nation from the slavery of so cruel a tyrant.* On farther examination she protested, that *the poison was not provided for the innocent princess who was dead, but for the king himself.* When this confession was reported to the usurper, he ordered the executioner to cut a piece of flesh out of her body, and force her to eat it. The lady suffered her flesh to be torn away with amazing patience: but when he tendered it to her to eat, she refused, crying out, *O wretched tyrant! thou mayest tear my body to pieces, but hast no power*

^b See before, p. 345.

^c *STRUYS* *ibid.* ch. ix. p. 44, & seqq.

^d *GLANIUS* *ibid.* p. 140.

(D) These are the words of *Glanius*, who seems to have taken his account from the same source: in the *English Struys*, they are perplexed. It is there said, *she complained, that her daughter (who was also the king's*

daughter) was had in contempt; and his eldest daughter, in her life-time, promoted to great honour: as if the complaint came from the mother of the princess, who was the dethroned king's consort.

Her courage. over my mind. She added, *Know that I defy thy cruelty; and that the goddess of Siam, who will speedily appear, when the remaining virtue of my royal race shall avenge thee and thy tiger brood.* With these, and the like speeches, she continued to revile the king; till, by a second order from the palace, she was hacked in pieces (E), and thrown into the river.

Her brother put to death. THE same day her only brother, aged twenty years, was brought to execution. The Dutch were told he had been pardoned, on account of madness, which he had counterfeited during the course of this tragedy. But as soon as he mounted the scaffold, it appeared that he had all his senses about him: for he behaved with such grace and modesty, that some of the courtiers could not forbear shedding tears. He likewise, in a bitter speech, so vilified the king, and vindicated himself, that the populace were almost moved to an insurrection. He concluded his harangue with severe reproaches; and declared himself more concerned for the ill success of his sister's attempt, than his own death. So soon as he saw the executioner approach, he cried out, *Innocent indeed I am, as was my sister: but now, thou inhuman tyrant, since it is thy will it should be so, I scorn, was I sure of obtaining it, to desire thy pardon, that thou mayest not hope for the least pity from the hands of them who shall hereafter revenge my death.* With these, and the like words, he seemed to declare his innocency; yet uttered some expressions which contradicted those protestations (F), and were probably spoken, faith our author, only to exasperate the king. Thus was all the race of the former king extirpated, excepting one daughter, who was not capable (G) of doing any-thing against the interest of the reigning prince¹.

His bravery. THIS is all we meet with in the authors (H) before us, concerning this prince; who died in the year 1657, after a reign of thirty years^m. He had by his first wife one daughter and four sons; and by his second one daughter and one son. This son, who was twenty-four years old when his father died (his mother having deceased some time before), seemed to be the only prince living intitled to the crown, as all his mother's brothers, who only had a right to dispute it with him, were dead. But all his hopes, as well as the wishes of the people in his favour, were eluded, by the artifices of his father's brother, *Pra Sitama Racha* (I): who, although he had no right to succeed an usurper, yet making a handle of the custom of the country, which authorizes the brothers of the deceased king to succeed him, in exclusion of his own children, took possession of the throne. The young prince deeply resented this ill usage in his heart; but thought it prudence to smother his disgust (K) till a favourable opportunity of shewing it, which not long after presented itself. For the brutish uncle having resolved to take his sister for a concubine, the young prince opposed it with so much courage, that the tyrant determined to cut him off: but being informed of his design, by the very persons who were to have assassinated him, he took the field, and desired assistance from the foreigners residing in *Siam*.

Pra Sitama Racha. THE *Portugueses* were the first who joined him, on his promises to favour their commerce, and reward their services handsomely. He had scarcely gotten together 1000 men, when, not to give his enemy time to stir himself, and assemble his troops, he marched with them directly to the palace; where, having put to the sword all who opposed his passage, he opened himself a way to the king's chamber. The usurper, being in no condition to defend himself, had changed his dress, with an intent to get-off in that disguise, among his domestics, who fled on all sides: but being discovered by a *Portuguese*, the prince fell upon, and killed, him with his own hand (L).

THE heads of the conspiracy were arrested; some of whom he punished for examples, and made friends of others, by his generosity towards them.

THIS event happened, according to *Loubiere*, in the year 1657; but *Kämpfer* places it on the 9th of *October* 1656, three months after *Sitama Rasia's* usurpationⁿ.

¹ STRUYS voy. ubi supra.

^m LOUBIERE, p. 9.

ⁿ GERVAISE hist. Siam, p. 245, & seq.

(E) It is not likely that she suffered such an ignominious death as this is reckoned in the East; besides, it is not usual to shed the blood of princes, especially by the hands of an executioner.

(F) His sister did the same. Perhaps they held themselves innocent, as they did not design the death of the prince, but of the king himself.

(G) According to *Glanius*, she was not ten years of age: but this could not be, if the daughter of the preceding prince, who was dethroned in 1627; unless he had been suffered to live several years after, which is not likely.

(H) For we have not *Van Vliet*, who gives the revolution made in *Siam* by this prince.

(I) *Kämpfer* calls him *Rasia*, *Resia*, or *Racha*, *Sitama Ratia*. *Hist. Japan*. book ii. ch. 2. p. 23.

(K) *Loubiere* says, that to secure his life, he took sanctuary in a cloister, and cloath'd himself with the inviolable habit of a *Talapey*.

(L) *Loubiere* says, that he was slain with a musquet by a *Portuguese*, as he was flying from the palace on his elephant: but *Kämpfer* writes, that he was beaten to death with clubs.

C H A P. XI.

Reign of Chaw Naraya.

S E C T. I.

*He attacks and kills his uncle, who had usurped the throne.—Quells several revolts.—
Bishops sent to India.—Mission of Siam.—The Jesuits form a design to convert the
king, and all his subjects.—War with Kamboja.*

^a **A**S soon as this prince, named *Chaw Naraya* (A), saw himself in peaceable possession of Chaw Na-
the kingdom, he solemnly married his father's daughter by his first wife, and had her ^{declared}
declared queen, with all the usual ceremonies. His own sister he gave in wedlock to one of
his half-brothers, who was a very honest man, and had no hand at all in the conspiracy, as the
four others were suspected to have had, on which account they were disgraced. Two of them
died of grief some time after: he who was married survived them ten or twelve years, and
then left the world, like them, without issue (B). The other two lived till the king's death,
and were sacrificed by the usurper who succeeded him. One of these two, that he might
take from his brother all occasion of distrust, became a *Talapoy*, or religious man. He
lived in a great temple near the palace, whither the king went often to visit him, and offered
^b him the chief posts in the state, which he always refused. This gained him the intire confi-
dence of his majesty, and veneration of the people, who looked on him as a saint. The ^{other} ^{brother}
other brother, who was paralytic, led an obscure and languishing life, in a little castle ^{belonging to the capital, where he remained shut up, without being allowed to go to court.}
Whenever he appeared, he affected to stutter, and talk wildly (C); for fear, perhaps that
the king, who always distrusted, and did not love him, should take other measures with him,
in case he thought him in a condition to do him any mischief ^a.

THE two princesses, his own sister and his wife, died about the year 1680, within three ^{or four months one of the other;} ^{The queen dies.}
or four months one of the other; and their bodies were burnt in the palace, on the same
funeral pile. Ever since then the king was so afflicted for the death of the queen, whom
^c he passionately loved, that he never would marry a second time, but contented himself with
a few concubines.

THE princess, who was the issue of that marriage, inherited all the virtues and great ^{qualities of her mother.} ^{The princess:}
qualities of her mother. She was of a good size, and handsome, excepting that her nose
was a little too flat. She was extremely agreeable, and had a great deal of vivacity, accom-
panied with solid judgment. This account our author *Gervaise* had from those who had seen
her, before she was fourteen years of age: for, after that, the princesses see no men, except
the eunuchs; their own brothers not being suffered to talk to them, unless through a curtain.
The king, who knew her good qualities better than any-body else, had a mind, about the
year 1684, to make a trial of them twice; by putting the crown (to which she was pre-
^d sumptive heir) on her head, and resigning to her the government of his kingdom for twenty-
four hours. In the execution of this arduous task she exceeded his expectations: for she
reasoned on the most difficult affairs of state, proposed by his council, as if she had been ^{her great ta-}
bred up to them; and, what she wanted in experience, was supplied by the depth of her ^{lents.}
capacity. There was only one thing with which she might justly be reproached; and that
was her too great severity to her maids of honour, whom, for the smallest faults, and even
for little abusive words spoken to one another, she caused to be shaved in her presence, and
thus dishonoured them, during the remainder of their lives.

THE king had an adopted son, who was very handsome, and had a great deal of spirit. Mompe
He had rendered himself very popular, by his obliging carriage, and was loved exceedingly ^{To-so, his}
^e by his majesty. He was treated as if one of the king's own children: he had a *sherolle*, or ^{adopted son,}
pavilion, on his elephant; was as richly drest as the king himself; entered at pleasure into

^a GERVAISE, p. 246. & CHOISY, p. 398.

(A) So called by *Gervaise* and *Loubiere*; but *Kæmpfer* gives his name more at large, *Pro Narees Naraye Fin Chaw*.

(B) According to what we shall find afterwards in *Kæmpfer*, he had at least one son, who usurped the crown after *Chaw Naraya's* death.

(C) In 1685 the eldest was thirty-seven years old;

and though of a very weakly constitution, was yet haughty, and capable of giving disturbance, if his body had been able to act. The other was only twenty-seven years of age; he was well-made, but dumb; though some said it was only a political muteness. *Choisy*, p. 398.

designed for the
princess.

his apartment; and was exempted from prostrating himself in his presence. According to the court-scandal, the king had this prince by one of his concubines, whom he politically married to an *Ok-kown*, as soon as he found her with child; and let him pass for that officer's son, till he saw how he should deport himself when grown up: however, as soon as he was born, he had him brought into his palace, and publicly adopted him for his son. *Chaw Naraya* finding him to answer his early wishes, designed him as a husband to his daughter, who discovered an affection for him; both by her sorrow at his turning *Talapoy*, about the year 1682, and the joy she expressed when she heard he had renounced the profession. *Kæmpfer*, in his relation, speaks as if they were married; for he calls *Mompe Totsa* (D), the son-in-law, as well as adopted son of the king^c. But others, who speak of the great revolution which happened in 1688, say no such thing: nor is it likely it could be so, since they were not married in February that same year, when the *French* ambassadors left *Siam*; and *Mompe Totsa* was put to death in the *May* following.

Several re-
volts quelled.

CHAW NARAYA did not give himself up to effeminacy and sloth, like other *Indian* princes, but immediately put himself at the head of his army; and having defeated his neighbours who had invaded his dominions, returned to his capital, and applied himself diligently to the affairs of government. He stifled the seeds of civil war in their birth, by his prudent conduct: and several cities, which designed to revolt, were contained within the bounds of duty, by the privileges which he granted them; while others, which had actually thrown off their subjection, were reduced to obedience without much bloodshed. Some traitors about him, who intended his assassination, being discovered, he caused them to be put to death privately, rather than with any noise: but the conspiracy which put his life most in danger, was that of the *Talapoy*s. These good religious, these priests of the law, says our author, who, in appearance, lead so holy a life, assembled by agreement, on their chief festival, in the principal of their temples, with a design to murder the king, who was to assist on that occasion. As it is the custom for his guards to remain without the pagod, and they had resolved, as soon as the king, with only five or six of his officers, were entered, to shut the doors, they thought themselves sure of their blow: but, by good fortune, two officers having been sent before, to see if every-thing was ready for celebrating the day, they were much alarmed at the extraordinary number of *Talapoy*s; and more so, when they perceived arms to be hidden under their gowns. The king was secretly informed of this; and the regicides, having been convicted on the spot, were all put to the sword by the soldiers, who were sent into the temple for that purpose.

Insolent San-
krat

THIS action of *Chaw Naraya*, though strictly justifiable, yet got him the character of a cruel and bloody prince: nor were the priests at all industrious to remove that prejudice out of the minds of the people. After this a *Sankrat* took the liberty to tell the king to his face, with some warmth, that his subjects murmured against him, and were offended at the rigour of his punishments. The king received this charitable remonstrance with a good grace: but, a few days after, sent the prelate one of those great baboons, so much abominated by the *Siameses*; with an express command to feed him well, and let him do what he would in his house, till farther orders. The mischievous animal no sooner got into the *Sankrat*'s house, but he began to make dreadful havock: he broke a great quantity of the most costly china-ware, and gnawed to pieces the richest carpets; bit some of his domestics, and beat others. In short, the *Sankrat*, unable to bear the creature any longer, went and begged his majesty to deliver him from so wicked a guest. *What*, reply'd the king, smiling, *you cannot endure the inconveniency of an ape for only three or four days, yet would have me suffer the insolence of my subjects, a thousand times more insupportable than the most malicious apes, all my life long. Go*, added he, *and learn this lesson, that if I know how to punish the wicked well, I know how to reward the good better*. In effect, there was no kind of favour which an honest man might not reasonably expect of him: nor did he ever turn away unrewarded any person, who did service to either the public or himself^d.

pleasurably pu-
nished.

Bishops sent to
India.

ABOUT the time that this prince ascended the throne, great endeavours were employed in *Europe* towards propagating the *Romish* faith in the east, with more success than hitherto had been done. In this bold undertaking the *French* aspired to have the principal hand. The pope, who had been long importuned to send bishops into the *East Indies*, in order to make priests of the natives, to supply the want of missionaries from *Europe*, pursuant to the scheme of *Alexander de Rhodes* the Jesuit, had at length consented; and three persons, all *Frenchmen*, were nominated for that purpose; *Francis Pallu*, canon of *St. Martin* of *Tours*; *M. de la Motte Lambert*, formerly counsellor of the court of aids in *Normandy*, and afterwards director of the great hospital of *Des Valides* in *Roan*; and *Ignatius Cotolendy*, rector of the principal

^b CHOISY, p. 247, & seqq.

^c KÆMPFER, hist. Japan. p. 20.

^d GUYRAUD, p. 252, & seqq.

(D) By others he is called *Monpi Totsa Pra-pie*.

a parish in *Aix*. The first was made nominal bishop of *Heliopolis*, and had *Tong-king* for the principal place of his mission: the second was appointed bishop of *Berytus*, whose jurisdiction extended over the kingdoms of *Champa*, *Kamboja*, and *Kochin-china*, with the three southern provinces of *China*, the island of *Hay-nán*, and other parts: the third was consecrated bishop of *Metellopolis*, and had the northern *China* committed to his pastoral care^e.

THE eastern *Asia* being thus divided among the three *French* bishops, who were to act as *Missioners* of apostolic vicars, in their respective departments, they left *Europe* in 1660 and 61, accompanied with about ten ecclesiastics. The bishop of *Berytus*, being arrived at *Siam*, resolved, in 1663, to repair to *China*, in order to execute his pastoral function in that empire. He accordingly left *Siam* to go by sea, but was driven back by a furious tempest: and, understanding afterwards that a persecution was begun in *China* against the converts to the *Romish* faith, he resolved, in concert with the bishop of *Heliopolis* (for the other bishop was dead) to settle in *Siam* a fixed residence for the *French* missionaries. To this they were induced by the situation of the country, which lay conveniently, as the center, from whence they might easily convey themselves, or send ecclesiastics, into the neighbouring kingdoms, whenever the way should be open.

PURSUANT to this resolution, they established a seminary there, for educating youth, and learning the languages of the circumjacent nations, who had all settlements, or camps, as they are called, at the capital. The *French* named theirs the camp of *St. Joseph*. The seminary proved of so good effect, that, in 1665, the bishop of *Berytus* sent missionaries from thence to *China*; and, in 1667, built a church, the ground of which was given to them by the king, who also shewed a regard for the missionaries, and put questions to them, to inform himself concerning their religion. These condescensions in his *Siamese* majesty, encouraged the bishops to attempt his conversion. To this end they presented him with a book of cuts, containing the mysteries of the life and passion of *Jesus Christ*, the apostles, and evangelists; in hopes that he would enquire into their history; which he did a few days after. On this occasion *P. Laneau*, who spoke and wrote the language of the country, inserted an explanation of them in the blank leaves of the book. This being shewn by the king to his chief doctors of the court, they confessed the religion of the missionaries was good, but said, that what his majesty professed was as good. This is what the bishop of *Berytus* reports in one of his letters. He adds, that the king has often said their religion pleased him; and to this good opinion of it imputes the favour which he shewed the missionaries, and the orders which he gave to furnish materials for building them a church.

ALL these good signs, continues the bishop, might well afford matter of joy to the missionaries, in hopes to see some act of providence in the conversion of *Siam*, by the example of the king. But this prelate not only found that these were no proofs of the king's inclination to be baptized, but had the integrity to confess it; saying, that they have reason to fear those favourable tokens proceeded from the same condescending disposition which he shewed to others, who endeavoured to persuade him to change his religion. For he observes, that, since the time when the queen of *Achin* had invited him to embrace the *Korán*, he had treated the Mohammedans more favourably than before: and, in a subsequent letter, declares, that the greatest obstacle to the propagation of the *Romish* religion in *Siam*, was the credit of the Mohammedans, and their extreme zeal to establish their faith. For as they were numerous in the country, drove a great trade thither, and possessed many considerable posts in the state, they made no small progress by their intrigues at court; and endeavoured to influence the king, particularly, by alleging the example of so many neighbouring monarchs, who had renounced their idolatry, to become the followers of their prophet. In 1668 there arrived two ambassadors, one from *Achin*, and the other from *Golkonda*, on the same account; and the last of them obtained leave to build a mosque in the capital city. These assiduities, concludes the bishop, joined to the signal services which the Mohammedans do the Siameses, makes it reasonable to fear, that *Siam* will at length become Mohammedan^f.

THIS was a judicious way of reasoning; and the missionaries would have done well to have conformed themselves more considerately to his sentiments: for the *Indians* can never see any reason to change their native images for those of a foreign manufacture: and although the *Korán* has succeeded in converting such numerous islands and countries of the *Indies*, yet the gospel of the *Jesuits* has not yet converted one. But the *Romish* missionaries are too sanguine and presumptuous to give over the attack, while any of them are left on the breach; and the smallest prospect of hope will embolden them to renew it. For, presently after, they formed expectations of converting the king's brother, on his having the curiosity to see the above-mentioned pictures, and hearing them explained by *P. Laneau*; after which, we are told, he declared, that he acknowledged only one God, the Creator, and daily worshipped him. Now,

^e Voy. de l'évêque de Beryte, p. 3, & seq. also *PALLU* abrégé des Miss. p. 13. Franc. p. 6, & seqq.

^f Relat. Miss. eveq.

although this is the common profession of the *Indians* on both sides the *Ganges*, yet from a thence the missionaries would have it believed, that the above-mentioned prince was inwardly persuaded in favour of their religion, and would openly profess it, unless restrained by reasons of state ^s; the common salvo for errors of judgment in such cases.

Audience of

THE bishop of *Heliopolis* went back to *Europe* in 1665, on the affairs of the mission; and returned to *Siam* in 1673, with letters from the king of *France* and pope *Clement IX.* accompanied with presents, to thank his *Siamese* majesty for the favours bestowed on the *French* bishops, and to desire a continuance thereof. On this occasion the bishop, on the 18th of *October*, obtained an audience of the king, as ambassador from *France* and the pope; and had the privilege of sitting in his presence, without the accustomed prostrations during the ceremony; concessions never before granted to any foreigners. At the end of the audience, b in which the letters above-mentioned were read, the king told Mr. *Lambert*, bishop of *Berytus*; that *as he had the advantage to commence an alliance between the two kings, it was also his business to seek out the means of keeping it up.* A few days after they received notice, that his majesty intended to send ambassadors the next year into *Europe*, with answers to the letters of the two sovereigns, whom the bishops had written to. The 19th of *November* following they were admitted to a private audience, wherein the king discoursed with them for three hours, about the state of *Europe*, and its princes, particularly the grand monarch. He then enquired what might be the motive which had induced the bishops to cross so many seas, and the king of *France* to send his subjects to countries so far from home. These questions furnished them with the opportunity which they wished for, to inform his *Siamese* c majesty; that *zeal for the salvation of souls, and a strong desire in their prince to extend the kingdom of God,* was the sole cause of their voyage. The king of *Siam* made answer, that he was willing to promote their monarch's glorious designs; and, to give him proofs of the esteem which he had for his virtue, he resolved to make him an offer of a port in any part of his dominions, where a city might be built, to the honour of *Louis the Great*, and where, if he thought fit, he might send a viceroy to reside ^h.

the bishops.

Their hopes revived.

THESE favourable dispositions in the king of *Siam* renewed the hopes which the missionaries had first conceived of his conversion, and, consequent thereto, of all his subjects. We are told, that the honour done the *French* bishops, on occasion of these audiences, filled the whole court with esteem, both for those prelates, and the holy law which they professed. It d is added, that the noise which this news made in the provinces augmented much, when they came to hear, that, some time after, the king had promised to build a church to the God of heaven and earth; from whence it was judged, that several persons would immediately embrace the religion of the *French*: which, saith our author, accordingly happened. These conversions gave occasion to some of the natives to make a great noise, and complain openly, that they were going to introduce an unknown religion, without the king's authority. But these murmurs, which in another country might have given rise to a persecution against the missionaries, proved a favourable occasion, which they laid hold of, to open a way for preaching their religion throughout the kingdom: for they forthwith presented a petition to the king, requiring that he would permit his subjects to embrace the *Romish* faith. Hereupon his e majesty declared, in a public assembly of the grandees of his court, that he would leave all persons at liberty to embrace it, who had a mind, without hindering them: and soon after sent one privately to acquaint the bishop of *Berytus*, that he would in time permit the preaching and exercise of the *Romish* religion, by a solemn edict ⁱ.

Missioners sent for.

THIS was the state of the mission in *Siam* in the year 1674, at which time they had three schools in the capital, and the seminary was vastly increased. For all this, and notwithstanding the recruits which had arrived from time to time, they were in great want of missionaries in the year 1675; so that the bishops wrote very pressing letters into *Europe* for a considerable number to be sent them, in order to carry on the work of conversion among the f *Indians* ^k. We have been the more particular in relating the establishment of the *French* mission in *Siam*, because it seemed necessary, in order to explain the occasion of the two famous embassies from *Louis XIV.* to *Chaw Naraya*, several years after, as well as to give light into the cause of the great revolution, which happened immediately after.

War with Kamboja.

In the interval between the year 1675 and the first of those embassies, which is the space of ten years, we meet with scarce any-thing farther concerning the affairs either of the mission, or of the *Siamese* history. *Gervaise*, the only author who has undertaken to give an account of this king's reign, says nothing more about it than what has been already related; excepting a few particulars touching the part which *Chaw Naraya* took in the wars of *Kamboja*, with which, and the other neighbouring states, the *Siameses* seem to have been continually

^s Relat. miss. Franc. p. 10. p. 227. 233, & seqq.

^h Relat. miss. & voy. des eveq. p. 76. 107. 113. 120. 123.

^k Relat. miss. Franc. p. 61. 228. 388.

ⁱ Ibid.

a embroiled (E), for many years. *Kamboja*, indeed, had been distracted with civil wars, occasioned by the ambition of its princes, ever since the year 1628, or thereabout. Towards the year 1680, *Nak Sore-shit* having killed *Nak Protien*, who intended to make away with him, seized the throne; and resolved to marry the wife of *Nak Kotrey*, a prince of the blood, who had fled to *Kochin-china*, upon this assassination. The lady made the less resistance to the tyrant's pursuit, as she had determined to revenge upon him the death of her brother-in-law; and accordingly stabbed him in his bed, the first night of her marriage. At the same time she dispatched two couriers, one to *Nak Kotrey*, to give him notice of what she had done in his favour: and the other to *Nak Sesta*, son of *Nak Protien*, signifying, that it was time for him to come and share the kingdom with the prince her spouse.

b WHEN *Nak Sesta* arrived, instead of acknowledging the service which this princess had done him, he killed her with the same dagger wherewith she had slain his mortal enemy. *Revolution there.* Mean time *Nak Kotrey* returned from *Kochin-china*: but when he heard of his wife's death, he took it so to heart, that he retired into a distant forest, where turning *Talapoy*, he ended his days in peace. While he was alive, *Nak Sesta*, intimidated by the guilt of his crime, durst not appear in public, or assume the title of king: but as soon as he was assured of *Kotrey's* death, he assembled his friends, and, by their credit, got possession of the whole kingdom. However, not thinking himself absolutely secure without the king of *Kochin-china's* consent, and knowing that monarch had no reason to be satisfied with him, he sent him very rich presents, in order to engage him in his favour: but this good prince, who was not to be c bribed to do injustice, adjudged to *Nak Sesta* that part of *Kamboja* which his father had formerly enjoyed; and gave the other half to *Nak Non*, son of *Nak Prasbousa*, who had been adopted by *Nak Shan*, the former king¹.

NAK SESTA, dissatisfied with the king of *Kochin-china*, refused to stand by his arbitration, and declared war against *Nak Non*. The two kings fought several battles; but the equality *The Siamese forces* of their forces always held the victory in suspense. *Nak Sesta* died three months after, and left for his successor *Nak Son*, who was very young. As soon as *Nak Non*, who was a very good prince, received advice of his death, he had the generosity to send his son very considerable presents, and a large number of *Talapoy*s, to perform his father's funeral with the greater pomp. But they who governed the kingdom during the young prince's minority, d received those presents with great contempt, and were so base as to put all those poor priests to death. This cruel action kindled a war between the two kings. *Nak Non*, to strengthen *assist Nak* his interest, applied for succours to the king of *Kochin-china*; and *Nak Son* put himself under *Son:* the protection of the king of *Siam*, who sent him troops, and furnished him with money. The two armies coming to a battle, after a bloody fight *Nak Non* was defeated, and obliged to retire into *Kochin-china*. But *Nak Son* did not long enjoy the peace which this great victory seemed to promise him: for two or three years after, 3000 *Chineses*, whom the *Tartars* had driven out of their native country, joining the *Kochin-chineses* and *Kambodjans*, who were of *Nak Non's* party, with this prince at their head, fell on *Nak Son*; and having defeated him in several battles, wherein the *Siameses* were all cut in pieces, he was forced to fly into the e forests, to avoid falling into the hands of the conqueror. His only resource in this extremity was to demand new succours of the king of *Siam*, who sent him 500 of his best troops: but these being too few to resist the great number of enemies, almost all of them lost their lives; although, contrary to the character of the *Siameses*, they sold them dearer than could have been expected.

THUS matters stood, towards the end of the year 1685. And, when our author was about to quit *Siam* soon after, *Chaw Naraya* designed to send *Nak Son* 18,000 men by land, and a *most of them slain.* squadron of four or five great ships, commanded by *Portugueses* and *English*; together with sixty large barks, to which they give the name of gallies, under the conduct of the bravest *Siamese* officers^m. The king's counsel were much against his intermeddling in this war. They f represented to him, that it would be a means, one day or other, of bringing upon himself the whole power of *Kochin-china*, who had declared against *Nak Son*: that this prince had already been defeated several times: and that the forces which he was going to lend him could not possibly be strong enough to prevent another overthrow. *Chaw Naraya* replied, *It signifies nothing; the honour which the king of Siam will acquire, by protecting an unfortunate prince, who is allied to him, and from whom he can never expect any-thing, will make him amends for all his losses*ⁿ. However that was, we find that the event of this war was such as the king's counsel feared it would be: at least we are informed, that his army was not successful by land^o, and that this assistance given to *Nak Son* had intailed a course of hostilities on the *Siameses*, with *Kamboja* and *Kochin-china*, which had not terminated in the year 1720^p.

¹ GERVAISE, ubi sup. p. 275, & seqq.
new acc. E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 173.

^m Ibid. p. 277, & seqq.
^p Ibid. p. 197.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 256.

^o HAMILT.

(E) *Choisy* says, the king of *Siam* was continually at war with *Pegu* or *Avr*, the *Laos*, *Kochin-china*, and the *Kambodjians*.

S E C T. II.

Siamese embassy to France. Mr. De Chaumont sent to Siam: His memorial to convert the King: Chaw Naraya's acute answer. History of Lord Faulkon. Another Siamese embassy to France.

Siamese embassy to France.

LET us now return to the affairs of the *French* mission. It has been already mentioned, ^a that the king of *Siam* proposed to send ambassadors to *Europe* in the year 1674. Whether he did or not, is a circumstance which does not appear from the authors before us: but it is certain, that two were dispatched from that country, if not in that year, yet a few years after. For, about 1682 or 83 there arrived in *France* two officers of the king of *Siam's* court, with Mr. *Le Vachet* (A), a priest of the foreign missions settled in that country, in order to enquire after two ambassadors who had been sent some time before by the king of *Siam* to *Louis XIV.* These ambassadors first passed over to *Bantam*, in the island of *Java*, for the conveniency of a ship to carry them into *Europe*, and embarked on board the *Rising Sun*, a ship belonging to the *East India* company, with magnificent presents for his most christian majesty. But not returning to *Siam* within the time expected, and a report being spread in that country as if ^b the vessel had been cast away, therefore the king thought fit to send the three persons above-mentioned, in order to enquire into the truth of the matter.

French embassy to Siam,

THOSE officers arrived in *France* (B) just at the time when *Louis XIV.* was about sending some Jesuit mathematicians to *Cbina*, in order to make observations there, for the improvement of geography and navigation. The king of *France*, considering how earnest the king of *Siam* appeared to be in seeking his friendship; and that there were hopes besides of his becoming a convert to his religion, in case an ambassador was sent thither, nominated the chevalier *De Chaumont* for that purpose. The ambassador carried with him the Abbé *De Choisy*, who was to continue with the king of *Siam* in quality of ambassador till his baptism, in case he should become a profelyte to the *Romish* faith; the two *Siamese* officers, Mr. *Le Vachet* ^c above-mentioned, four other churchmen, and six Jesuits, destined for *Cbina*^a. Mr. *De Chaumont* arrived at *Siam* the 24th of *September* 1685, almost six months after he had left *Erest*; fully determined, out of his great zeal, to push the affair of religion to the utmost: but it soon appeared that there was not so much ground to hope for the king's conversion, as the Jesuits had pretended: for the Abbé *De Choisy* observes in his journal, soon after he arrived in *Siam*, that the king's conversion was a thing not to be expected suddenly: that although he favoured the missionaries and their religion, yet he was far from being baptized: that he had not declared himself on the subject of religion, nor done any-thing tending that way for eighteen months before.

to convert the king.

IN short, according to this author, all the hopes they had of the king's conversion were ^d grounded on this contingency: that Lord *Faulkon*, called by the *French* Lord *Constance*, who was of the *Romish* religion, being then prime minister, would have interest enough to prevail on his master to become a Christian: but the Abbé was so far from placing any dependence on this circumstance, that he considers it as a very precarious argument, saying coldly, *we shall soon see how it will turn out.* He adds, indeed, that the juncture was very favourable to make the king do what one would: that the ambassador would first insist on matters of religion, to the end that if nothing was granted on this head, he should be obliged to grant every thing else. However, that the *French* did not despair of having, at least, their religion permitted and approved of, by proclamation through the kingdom of *Siam*. This indeed they obtained, but this was all; and what the king had promised to the missionaries many years before^b. Let ^e us see how they proceeded.

Chaumont's speech

ACCORDING to the above-mentioned plan, Mr. *De Chaumont*, in his speech at his first audience, earnestly recommended to his *Siamese* majesty to forsake the worship of the images of his own country, and embrace the religion of his master^c. On this occasion, we are told, that when *Chaw Naraya* read the king of *France's* letter, he said he saw that monarch wanted to make a Christian of him, and dropt some words of encouragement: that he mentioned the same in council, and promised Lord *Faulkon* to protect the religion of the missionaries throughout his dominions: that the *Barkalon* repeated the same to one of the missionaries; adding, with some earnestness, *that the religion of the pagods was near its end.* However says *Choisy*, who was

^a TACHARD's first voy. Siam, p. 4. MONT relat. p. 38.

^b CHOISY, journ. voy. Siam, p. 285, & seqq.

^c CHAU-

(A) *Le Vachet* went to *Siam* in the second embarkation from *France*, made in 1669; and returned thither on the occasion mentioned in the text.

(B) *Hamilton* says, that in 1683, the first year of *Faulkon's* ministry in *Siam*, the Jesuits got the king to

send an embassy to *France*, and that the same ambassador came also to *London*, and settled a treaty of commerce for the *English* who should trade in *Siam*. *New acc. of E. India*, vol. ii. p. 171.

a not so sanguine in the matter as others, we are not fools enough to believe this in the strictest sense^d.

MEAN time the ambassador was wholly taken up about the conversion of the king, which was the subject of his embassy: and the rather, as he understood the *Persian* ambassador came upon the same errand, with whom he was resolved to be before-hand. Hereupon Mr. *Dé Chaumont* drew a short memorial on that head, and gave it to Lord *Faulkon*, in order to deliver it to the king. The minister seemed astonished at the proposal; and in a long conference on this occasion, would have dissuaded him from pressing the king upon that point. He advised him not to speak of the affair; alleging, that the king, who was extremely attached to the religion of his ancestors, would be strangely startled at such a motion; that it would cause disorder, as things then stood; and could produce no good. But the ambassador very prudently, says *Tachard*, persisted in his opinion, and intreated Lord *Constance* to present that writing to his majesty. The minister, being thus earnestly pressed by the zealous *Chaumont*, took the memorial, and carried it to the king: intimating, at the same time he delivered it, how solicitous the king of *France* was to have his majesty of the same religion with himself.

ON this new attack *Chaw Naraya* asked, *who made the king of France believe that he entertained any such sentiments?* and after hearing the memorial read, bade Lord *Faulkon* tell the ambassador: "that he was exceedingly troubled to find the king of *France*, his good friend, should propose so difficult a thing to him, and with which he was not in the least acquainted: that he referred it to his most christian majesty himself to judge, whether the change of a religion, received and followed through his dominions for 2229 years, without interruption, could be a thing of small importance to him, or easily complied with: that, besides, it was matter of astonishment to him, that the king of *France* should so much concern himself in an affair, which, though it related to God, yet the Deity did not all seem to interest himself therein, but left it wholly to human discretion. For could not the true God (added the king), who created heaven and earth, with all things therein, and who bestowed on mankind such different natures and inclinations; could not he, when he gave to men the same kinds of bodies and souls, have also, if he had pleased, inspired them with the same sentiments for that religion, which they ought to follow, and for that worship which was most acceptable to him; and have made all nations live and die in the same laws? That, since order among men, and unity in religion, depend absolutely on divine providence, who could as easily introduce it into the world, as the diversity of sects which in all times have prevailed in it, ought not one to think that the true God takes as much pleasure to be honoured by different worships and ceremonies (C), as to be glorified by a prodigious number of different creatures, who praise him every one in his own way? Would that beauty and variety, which we admire in the order of nature, be less admirable in the order of supernatural things, or less becoming the wisdom of God?"

"HOWEVER that be," continued the king of *Siam*, "since we know that God is the absolute master of the world, and that we are persuaded nothing comes to pass contrary to his will, I wholly resign my person and dominions into the arms of the divine mercy and providence; and, with all my heart, beseech his eternal wisdom to dispose thereof, according to his good will and pleasure."

So discouraging, as well acute an answer, which, in effect, amounted to a flat denial, convinced the Abbé *De Choisy*, that he had no pretence to remain in *Siam*, as the king of *France's* resident. "Although," says that author, on this occasion, "his *Siamese* majesty builds churches, daily grants advantages to the *Romish* religion, has a crucifix in his chamber, reads the gospel in the *Siamese* language, speaks of *Christ* with great respect, and has conferences with the bishop of *Metellopolis* (D); yet all this is not sufficient to make me stay here^f;" as he was to have done in case of the king's conversion. Afterwards, speaking directly in relation to the king's answer to the ambassador's memorial, he says, it appears from thence that this *Siamese* majesty was not yet sufficiently instructed to embrace the *Christian* religion (meaning the *Romish*); but observes, that he promised to instruct himself^g: which, however, amounted to no more than such an enquiry as is only the effect of curiosity, and a desire to be informed in the religion of other countries.

To return to *Chaw Naraya's* answer, it appears, even from the account of one of the most zealous missionaries, that the king of *Siam*, how desirous soever of cultivating an amity with *France*, was so far from any thoughts of changing his religion, that he seemed, from his method of reasoning, to have been firmly fixed in it; and however well pleased Lord *Faulkon*

^d CHOISY, ubi supra, p. 350, 419, 425, & seq. p. 417.

^e Ibid. p. 447.

^f TACHARD, ubi sup. p. 218, & seqq.

^g CHOISY,

(C) This is the general sentiment of all the *Indian* nations on both sides of the *Ganges*: and this alone is sufficient to account for their not admitting of persecution, which the contrary opinion has produced in *Europe*.

(D) His name was *Louis*, or *Levis*: so that *Lancan*, who succeeded *Catalendi*, must have been dead. This *Louis* seems to have been a *Portuguese*, who, by consent of his superior, had joined the *French* missionaries about 1674.

might have been to hear his master declare himself a profelyte to Christianity, yet he was, at that time, quite averse to making any proposition of the kind to him.

*The Jesuits
still*

*persevere in
hope.*

FOR all this the missionaries did not give over the hopes of converting *Chaw Naraya*. These hopes were founded on the great privileges which were promised on the score of religion, and which made the bishop of *Metellopolis* declare, “that he expected new churches would, in four years, be built throughout the kingdom of *Siam*.” Those privileges were granted according to the ambassador’s memorial; after which *Choisy* himself seems to have conceived a better opinion of the issue: for he says, “Nothing was then wanting to complete the work but missionaries; and believed, that, at the news of this success, they would flock to *Siam* from all parts of the world.” They were farther encouraged in their hopes, by observing, that the king not only desired to keep up a friendship with *France*, but even that twelve Jesuits should be sent over; promising to build them churches, and allow them the liberty of propagating their religion in his dominions. But their chief dependence, doubtless, was on Lord *Faulkon*; who, by his post of prime minister, and the great influence he had over the king, was in a situation to serve them, the most advantageous they could possibly wish for. This was, in effect, confessed by the bishop of *Metellopolis*, who, on occasion of the king’s concessions in favour of his religion, often declared, “that the mission had the utmost obligations to Lord *Constance*; so that his advancement to the high post which he then enjoyed in the court of *Siam*, ought to be looked on as a special providence in their favour.” And here it may be proper to give some account of this extraordinary personage, whose merit had raised him to the highest honours in a foreign country, very distant from his own; and who was no less remarkable for his tragical fall some years after, than his surprising elevation, which happened two years before.

*Lord Faul-
kon’s origin.*

CONSTANTINE FAULKON, for that was his name, was a *Grecian* by birth, born in the island of *Cephalonia*. His father was a noble *Venetian*, the son of the governor of the island; and his mother sprung from one of the ancientest families of the country. But his parents having reduced their affairs to a low condition, their son *Constantine*, when but twelve years of age, resolved to seek a livelihood in foreign countries. Accordingly, about the year 1660, he shipped him aboard an *English* vessel returning to *England*. Here his wit, humour, and agreeable behaviour, made him known to some lords at court: but finding little hopes of advancing his fortune by that course of lifeⁱ, he applied himself to the more substantial affairs of trade. After a stay of some few years in *England*, during which time he became a protestant, he determined to pass into *India*; and arriving at *Siam*, put himself into the service of Mr. *White*, a considerable *East-India* merchant. In this gentleman’s family he lived for some years, and continued his factor when Mr. *White* returned for *London*. By this means (E) he gathered some money; and then quitting the *English* service, he set up for himself. The first step he took was to buy a ship, and put to sea; for he had passed through all degrees of sea-faring: but he had the misfortune to be beaten back by bad weather, and was twice cast away in the mouth of the river of *Siam*.

*Adventures in
Siam.*

PUTTING to sea once more, he was shipwreck’d the third time, and much more unfortunately, on the coast of *Malabâr*. There he was in danger of perishing; and could not save, of all his substance, above 2000 crowns. In this sad condition, being oppressed with grief and weariness, he laid himself down on the shore; and, whether asleep or awake (for he often protested to our author *Tachard* that he could not tell which), thought he saw a person full of majesty, who, with a smiling countenance, most obligingly said to him, *Return, return, from whence you came*. These words so wrought on him, that he could not sleep the rest of the night, his thoughts being taken up with contriving how to return to *Siam*. Next day, whilst he walked by the sea-side, meditating on the same subject, he saw a man coming towards him, dropping-wet, and with a most dejected aspect. It proved to be an ambassador from the king of *Siam*, who, in his return from *Persia*, had been cast away on the same coast, without saving any thing but his life. As both spoke the *Siamese* language, they soon became acquainted with each other’s adventures. The ambassador having thus discovered himself, and told what extreme necessity he was reduced to, Mr. *Faulkon* condoling his misfortune, offered to carry him to *Siam*. To accomplish this design, with the money he had saved he bought a small bark, and provision for the passage. This generous behaviour so charmed the ambassador, that, when he got home he related it to the *Pra Kiang*, or *Barkalong*, then chief minister; who was so pleased in his turn, that he had a mind to know so rare a man.

*Introduced at
court.*

THE minister sent for Mr. *Faulkon*: and, on discoursing him, liked him so well, that he resolved to keep him about himself; in which station he soon gained the esteem and confidence of his master. This chief minister was a man of parts, and well versed in business, but, as he

^b CHOISY, p. 448, 453, 461, & seq.

ⁱ TACHARD ubi supr. p. 134, & seq.

(E) And perhaps by being interpreter for the *English* at court, as captain *Hamilton* tells us he was.

- a loved his ease, he was glad to meet with a person so capable to relieve him. He often spoke of him to the king, and his majesty soon found reason to take notice of him: for, being disposed to send ambassadors to some foreign prince, as he loved magnificence, he was willing to spare no cost: but the *Moors*, or *Mohammedans*, whom he made use of on those occasions, demanded such an immense sum to furnish out the embassy, that he complained of it to the *Pra Klang*. The *Pra Klang* mentioned the thing to Mr. *Faulkon*, who said, if the king would honour him with that commission, he would undertake to provide every-thing for less money than what was offered the *Moors*, and yet prepare much finer presents than they had inserted in their inventory. The king being informed of this, sent for *Faulkon*, and gave him orders for the purpose: which trust he executed so much to his majesty satisfaction, that from
- b thenceforth he conceived a great opinion of his abilities. The *Moors*, vexed to find their exorbitant demands rejected, thought to make themselves amends, by a petition to the king, for payment of what he owed them, in which they brought him in their debtor, to the amount of a considerable sum. But the account being put into *Faulkon*'s hands to examine it, he found that, instead of the king being indebted to them, they owed his majesty above 60,000 crowns.

- THE *Pra Klang* dying not long after (F), the king would needs put Lord *Faulkon* (G) (for as *Male prime* such thenceforth he ought to be considered), into his palace: but he declined it, as well as *minister*. that of *Chakri*, to avoid the envy of the great men^k (H). Nor would he ever accept of any place, though every-thing passed through his hands, and nothing was done without him: so
- c that he was, in effect, prime minister, which rendered him the object of envy, as much, perhaps, as if he had held the post to which it was then annexed: for the *Malay*, who succeeded the deceased *Pra Klang*, looking on him with a malicious eye, made use of one Mr. *Bacon*, an *Englishman*, to create an ill impression of him, and render him suspected by the king. But *Chaw Naraya* perceiving that minister's malice, deprived him of his office, and had him bastinado'd to death^l.

- WE know not what it was which Mr. *Bacon* laid to this minister's charge; and the affair of Captain *Hamilton*, before related, will always make us judge with caution of accusations laid by the agents of interested companies. Perhaps his turning papist, after he left their service, might induce the *English* to think that he would support the *Portuguese* or *French* interest
- d against theirs: although we are told^m, he took all occasions to do our nation service.

HOWEVER that be, he was certainly a person of more than ordinary abilities, of which his *His great* being advanced to so high a post by a judicious prince, is a sufficient proof. He was admired *abilities*. for his affability, dexterity in business, and eloquence; for which *Tachard* highly commends his speech made to the king, on delivering Mr. *Chaumont*'s memorial. The same author says, he was much surprised, considering Lord *Constance* was a man of no studies, at the reply which he made the king, who asked him what he thought the ambassador would say to the reasons contained in his answer to the same memorial? and that the most consummate divine would have been hard put to it to make a betterⁿ.

- THE Abbé *De Choisy* often speaks of him in raptures, praising him for his wit, address, sincerity, and charming conversation^o. He says Lord *Constance* did more business in twenty-four hours, than all the officers at court in fifteen days^p: that he heard 100 men, and answered their petitions, all in half an hour: that, with all the vivacity in the world, he was prudent: that nothing embarrassed him^q: and that, when he found out no expedients, it was because there were none^r. This, it is true, is the character given of him by the *French*, whose favourite he was: but writers of other nations have spoken very disadvantageously of him, as we shall see hereafter.

- MR. *Chaumont* left *Siam* about the middle of *December*, in the same year 1685, accom- *Siam embassy* panied by the *Siam* ambassadors, and *Tachard* the Jesuit, one of the six destined for *China*, *to France*. who was sent back to *Europe* to solicit the twelve missionaries, and other affairs. The *Siam*
- f ambassadors were three in number, all persons of the first quality at court. The first had (I) transacted in all the affairs of *Siam* for fifteen years, under his brother, who was the *Barkalong*, or *Pra Klang*. He was very polite; a man of parts and abilities. The second had been twice

^k TACHARD, p. 135, & seqq.

ⁿ TACHARD ubi supra, p. 219, 227. p. 463.

^r Ibid. p. 434.

^l CHAUMONT'S embassy to Siam, p. 79, & seq.

^o CHOISY, p. 344, & 385.

^m See hereafter.

^p Ibid. p. 411.

^q Ibid.

(F) *Chaumont* says it was two years before his arrival in *Siam*, which places it in the year 1683. *Embassy*, p. 79.

(G) According to *Hamilton*, Lord *Faulkon* was the name by which he went; nor is it probable it could be any other, much less *Constance*, which was not his name, but given to him by the *French*; doubtless to denote his attachment to their interest and religion. His *Siamese*

name was *Oya Visbayjen*. See *Tachard*, l. vii. at the end.

(H) And possibly because this post was so slippery, that the *Siamese* could not reckon up the number of *Barkalongs* since the king began his reign. *Loubiere*, p. 106.

(I) His name was *Manpay*, as we learn elsewhere, and will appear hereafter.

ambassador to *China*: and the third had been at the court of the *Great Mogol*. They were attended by twelve officers of the court, who embarked with them, and carried very rich presents to the king of *France*, in return for those which had been sent to their master^a. But the chief end of their embassy seems to have been to solicit engineers to fortify some of the king of *Siam*'s most considerable towns, and a certain number of forces to garrison them. In the mean time Mr. *Le Mare*, an engineer, was left behind, at the king's request; and likewise the chevalier *De Fourbin*, a well experienced officer, who was soon after posted at *Bankok*, with some troops under his command, which proved of service two years after, in suppressing the *Makassars*^b; of whose revolt we are next to treat.

^a CHOISY, p. 362, 401, & 509.
p. 93.

^b CHAUMONT, p. 61. TACHARD'S 1st voy. p. 234. 2^d voy.

S E C T. III.

Revolt of the Makassars. Plot to kill the king: its discovery. Intrepid behaviour of a Makassar. Obstinacy of their prince. Slain with all his people.

Revolt of the Makassars.

THIS revolt happened in the year 1687, and might have had as fatal effects as that of the *Japaneses* in a former reign, if it had not been timely prevented, by the vigilance of the king, and diligence of his first minister. After the *Dutch* had vanquished the king of *Makassar*, a kingdom situated in the island of *Selebes*, or *Celebes*, about the year 1664, one of that monarch's sons, with many of the natives, retired to *Siam* (K); where the king generously received him, assigning him land, two cannot-shot distant from the capital, for his followers to build houses on for their habitation; and this was called the camp of the *Makassars*, according to the custom of that country. This camp is situated partly on the great river *Menam*, and partly on another called *Kachon*, which falls into the great one in that place. It was allotted them that they might be next to the *Malayans*, who, being also *Mohammedans*, might be ready to assist them, and accommodate them with their churches.

Plot to kill the king,

ABOUT five years before, a plot was laid for taking away the life of *Chaw Naraya*, and placing the younger of his two brothers on the throne. The treason having been happily discovered, his majesty generously pardoned not only his brother, but also the prince of *Makassar*, who was concerned in the conspiracy, and all his accomplices. This act of grace ought to have laid an eternal obligation of gratitude on the fugitive prince. But instead of repenting of his former crime, about *April* 1687, he entered into a new plot, at the solicitation of the princes of *Champa*, fled likewise for shelter to the court of *Siam*; who intended to have placed on the throne the same brother of the king, and then oblige him either to turn *Mohammedan*, or put him to death. Nay, in case he had so far complied, their design was quickly to have deposed him again, in order for one of themselves to ascend it, on whom the election should happen to fall. After this, all the inhabitants of *Siam*, both *Christians* and *Pagans* (if our author's intelligence is to be relied on), were either to change their religions, or to be slain^a.

*by the Cham-
pa princes.*

THESE princes of *Champa* were three brothers, sons of the late king of that country, who, on their eldest brother's coming to the crown, fled hither for fear of him. One of the three was made an officer of the king of *Siam*'s household, and was not in the conspiracy which was set on foot by the younger of the two others, who lived like private persons. The young prince having communicated his design to a *Malayan* captain, born also in *Champa*, a man of parts and learning, as well as courage; this officer entered into his measures, and, with the assistance of one of their priests, conducted the whole affair. He began by giving out, in the camps of the *Malayans* and *Makassars*, "that he had seen in the heavens a sign which he had often seen before, and was every time attended with some extraordinary events, which affected those of the *Mohammedan* religion." He advised them therefore to pray their prophet, that it might turn out to their benefit; and, in the mean time, to be upon their guard. After he had, by this means, filled them with terrible apprehensions, without declaring his design, he disclosed it to each of them by degrees, as he found they gave into it; so that, in less than three months, he inticed them all into the snare, excepting 300 *Malayans*. When matters were in this state, he assembled the three chiefs, to know what was to be done with those who were in the opposition: and it was resolved, when the plot was ripe for execution, to assemble the 300 *Malayans* with the rest, flattering themselves that they would not stand out, when they saw their countrymen so readily embrace the party of the conspirators. Their

^a TACHARD'S 2^d voy. p. 89, & seqq.

(K) This prince, named *Daën Maali*, whose nephew had usurped the throne, on his father's death, through

discontent, retired first to *Yana*, and then to *Siam*. For a full account of him, see the history of *Makassar*.

a design was also to set all the prisons open, and free the galley-slaves, in order to augment their forces with such desperate recruits; and their first exploit was to seize the palace, and give the plunder of it to their men.

THE time approaching for putting this plot in execution, which was the 15th of *August*, at *is timely discovered,* eleven o'clock at night, the two princes of *Champa* wrote to their brother, who was at court, acquainting him with what was intended, and advising him to make his escape as fast as he could. At eight in the evening the letter was delivered to the prince; who, suspecting something more than ordinary, from the haste with which the messenger made off, carried it unopened to Lord *Faulkon*, who having read the contents of it, ran with it to the king. His *Siamese* majesty, without seeming concerned, sent 3000 of his guards to defend the palace of *Siam*, and dispatched the chevalier *De Fourbin* to *Bankok*, to prevent its falling into the hands of the rebels. The rest of his guards, to the number of 5000, were posted in the palace; and other troops to defend the avenues and walls of the city ^b.

THE hour being come, the conspirators met in a long tongue of land, which separates the two rivers, opposite to the camp of the *Makassars*. But as soon as the 300 *Malayans* understood their prince's design, they refused to obey him, declaring their abhorrence of such an act of ingratitude to the king their benefactor. This resolute answer having wrought upon others, who had their scruples before, they began to disperse; which the priest observing, resolved to go and discover the plot himself to the governor of the city, lest any-body else should be beforehand with him. As soon as the governor received this information, he posted the few men he had in the palace in such a manner, as to let the conspirators see that the plot was discovered, and he was on his guard. This news greatly alarmed the princes, who were still more surprised next morning, to see 3000 of the king's soldiers arrive in the palace, and all the inhabitants of the city in arms upon the ramparts.

MEAN time *Chaw Naraya* being informed that the rebels had returned home, sent Lord *Faulkon* to *Siam*, to reclaim them by gentle methods, and learn all the circumstances of the conspiracy. By a promise of pardon the captain, who laid the scheme, surrendered himself to the minister, and discovered the whole affair, so far as to confess that his real view was to declare himself king, and make away with the three princes. After this, Lord *Faulkon* published a general pardon to all those who should, within four days, come in and discover their accomplices. The *Malayans* accepted of this grace, but the *Makassars* stood out, resolving to perish rather than submit. Their prince was several times summoned to give an account of his conduct, but still refused, alleging, "that he never would enter into the conspiracy, though much pressed; and that, if he had committed any fault, it was only in not discovering the authors of so black a design: but that he judged his quality of a prince and a friend, would excuse him for not doing the office of a spy, and betraying those who had intrusted him with a secret of such importance ^c."

AN answer so very improper, determined the king to bring him to reason by force; which resolution, instead of intimidating the *Makassars*, only roused their courage; and an action which about the same time happened at *Bankok*, helped to render them the more daring. The captain of a galley, which came from the king of *Makassar* with a present of money and slaves to the prince his relation, seeing the bad success of the plot in which he had been himself engaged, thought it his best way to retire in time. But accordingly he applied for a *fara*, or passport, and obtained it. But, at the same time, orders were sent (A) to the chevalier *De Fourbin* to stop him, and his men, at the passage of the chain which was drawn across the river at *Bankok*. On his arrival the chevalier sent for him, to come and let him know the number of hands on board his galley. The captain, after many excuses made to avoid this danger, sent word he could not come, unless he was followed by his men in arms; and, to take off his suspicion, it was at length agreed, that he might enter the fortress with eight men, armed only with the *Krit*. This is a kind of poniard, from twelve to eighteen inches long; the blade is flat, and about two inches broad at the handle; from whence it goes tapering (often in scollops) to the point, which is very sharp. Some of these blades are poisoned; and this is done two ways; either by applying the poison every time it is used, or else working it in the temper of the metal. *Krits* of this sort are a long time in making, and some blades cost 1000 crowns. To be asked to give up his *krit*, is a great affront with a *Malayan*; and to draw it, without killing his man, a mark of cowardice ^d.

THE captain, at landing with his attendants, took leave of the rest, declaring, that if they demanded his *krit*, he would run *amuk*; and they promised to follow his example, and revenge

^b TACHARD, p. 91, & seq. Also FOURBIN'S MEM. & seqq. FOURBIN'S MEM.

^c Ibid. p. 93, & seqq.

^d Ibid. p. 96,

(A) *Fourbin* complains heavily of those orders, as contrived by Mr. *Constance* to sacrifice him, by making him fall into the hands of the *Makassars*.

his death. As soon as he entered the citadel, he was ordered to send for his men to be counted ; a *Fourbin's* design being to surround them with a company of soldiers, and thus oblige them to deliver their arms. The captain answered carelessly, that he had fifty men on board, and they might take his word for it : but as the thing was insisted on, and he found himself under a necessity to obey, he sent two of his eight followers to acquaint the rest with what was required of them. The chevalier *De Fourbin* took that opportunity to plant some pikemen and musketeers at the entrance of the hall where the *Makassars* were. The captain, seeing the danger he was in, discovered great agitation of mind, inasmuch that the sweat fell from his face in great drops. Mean time the chevalier sent an officer to demand his *krit* in the king's name. The captain made him no answer, but plunged the weapon into his breast, and laid him dead at his feet. The blow was so violent, that he cut through three of his ribs. Two *Siamese* b soldiers, who attempted to seize him, were served in the same manner ; and having killed a fourth, he ran furiously to force his way through the pikes. But finding that impracticable, after receiving a few wounds, he leaped with three of his people through a window, into a port-hole of the bastion, on which the hall stood, with design to jump down from thence ; but the leap seemed so desperate, that it required some shot to make them take it : another volley was sent after them in their descent. For all this, some of them had strength enough to rise, and run staggering upon the soldiers who were posted thereabout, but they were soon dispatched. A *French* captain perceiving the *Makassar* chief not quite dead, though pierced with several balls, advanced to take his *krit* from him : but laying hold of the scabbard, instead of the handle, the almost expiring man had yet strength enough to draw it, and rip up his belly : for c in striking they give the arm a twist, which makes a wound as large as that of a halberd.

Slain with others.

The rest revenge them.

FOURBIN finding by this sample what the rest of the *Makassars*, who were on their way to the fortress, might do, was obliged to alter his measures ; and drawing out his garrison of 3 or 400 men, post them so as that the enemy would be surrounded when they came up. These desperadoes hearing the muskets go off, and being in pain for their captain, sent to demand him. The chevalier gave then good words, to gain time to make his preparations. On the other hand, the *Makassars* put themselves in a posture of defence, rolling the cloth which covers their thighs about their arms, to serve as a shield. When every-thing was ready for the attack, an *English* captain advanced with some soldiers, sending the *French* commander word, that he would bring all that rabble bound neck and heels before him. The *Makassars* think- d ing this a proper time to fall on, ran to meet them ; and, after they had lost a few of their party, with the fire-arms, or pikes, cut him in pieces, with all his followers. Some were found pierced with no fewer than a dozen stabs of the *krit*. The remainder of the garrison were so terrified at this first charge, that they would not wait a second ; but fled in such disorder, that *Fourbin*, who endeavoured in vain to rally them, had much ado to escape himself e.

Are all destroyed.

HAD the *Makassars* taken the advantage which this panic gave them, they might easily have become masters of the fortress : but they contented themselves with killing all who came in their way, without distinction of age or sex ; and then fled to the woods for shelter themselves. Here they remained ten or twelve days ; and, though weakened with hunger and other miseries, yet they were strong enough to kill five or six more of those who went to exterminate them. A youth, not above ten or twelve years old, who with some others had gotten into a temple, made two sallies with the *krit* in his hand, and killed a man each time. Some were taken still alive, though mortally wounded : one of whom, when just expiring, cried out, *Alas ! I have killed no more than six ; if they will suffer me only to kill seven, I shall die contentedly.* Others desired to be dispatched quickly out of the way, that they might go find their companions again, whom they were not willing to survive.

Makassar prince intractable.

WHILE matters went on thus at *Bankok*, the king of *Siam*, unwilling to come to extremities with the *Makassar* prince, sent *Okpra Shula*, one of the chief lords of his court, to bring him to a sense of his duty. The prince owned that he was extremely culpable, and desired the *Okpra* to intercede for him ; but could not be prevailed on to go in person, and ask his majesty's pardon, notwithstanding the grounds which he had to expect it, from the lenity which had been shewn to others no less guilty than himself. This obstinacy provoked *Chaw Naraya* still more ; yet being averse to shed royal blood, and unwilling to destroy a prince with a whole colony of people, without being absolutely compelled to it, sent the same lord once more to try to reduce him by fair means : but the *Makassar* prince, moved neither by the indulgence shewed him on the one side, nor the example made of his countrymen on the other, would not so much as see the court officer, pretending he was sick. Hereupon the king, resolved to punish his obstinacy, or force him to submit, detached 5400 of his guards, under the command of the Lord *Faulkon*, prime minister ; imagining that the fear of such a considerable power might oblige him to what gentleness could not f.

^e TACKARD, p. 97, & seqq. FOURBIN, mem.

^f Ibid. p. 102, & seqq.

a THE operations being fixed to the 27th of *September*, at half an hour after four in the morn-^{Preparations}ing; Lord *Faulkon* set out from *Siam* the evening before, in a *balon*, or bark, accompanied by ^{to attack him.} captain *Njoudal* (A), commander of an *English* man of war than at the bar of *Siam*, several other *Englishmen*, who were in the service of the king of *Siam*, a missionary, and a private person. When he arrived at the point of the horse-shoe, where the other *balons* and galleys were assembled, facing the camp of the *Malayans*, he sent all the *English*, excepting captain *Njoudal*, on board two of the king's vessels which lay half a league below the enemy's camp or habitation. The order of the attack was to be in this manner: *Ok-louang Mahamontri*, captain-general of the guards, was to inclose the camp behind with 1500 men; making a strong hedge, with all his soldiers, from the *Menam*, or great river, to a brook five fathoms broad; which was at the end of the camp. Towards the right, there was a pool behind the camp, b which reached from the *Menam* to within two fathoms of the brook; so that the *Makassars* had no more room to fight in than that narrow spot of ground, which made a kind of causeway: but the general had orders to make a barricade of stakes in that place. *Okpra Shula* was to post himself on the other side of the brook, and line it with 1000 men. On the two rivers there were twenty-two small galleys and six y *balons*, all full of men, to be employed on occasion; beside 1000 more on the tongue of land over against the *Makassars* camp.

THE hour being come, and the signal given, *Mahamontri* set out briskly, followed by ^{Siamese general killed.} fourteen of his slaves, without ordering his troops to follow him, or taking the post which had been assigned him. He advanced thus without thought to the causeway, along which he proceeded to the very houses of the revolvers, where he stooped, calling softly *Okpra Shula*. c One of the *Makassars*, whom he could not see for the darkness, answered in *Siamese*, *What would you have?* *Mahamontri*, believing him to be *Shula*, went forward; asking, *Where are you?* *Here*, replied the foreigner; and at the same time coming out from his ambuscade, with twenty-five more, killed the general, and seven of his slaves, the rest escaping by favour of the night. After this, one part of the *Makassars* passed to the other side of the brook, before *Okpra Shula* had taken possession of it^e.

HALF an hour after five, Mr. *Cotre* (B, an *Englishman*, captain of a vessel belonging to ^{Other losses.} the king of *Siam*, attacked them on the side of the great river, at the extremity of the point of their camp. The captain caused several fire-balls to be thrown to burn their houses, d with a continual discharge of small arms, which obliged them to return to the upper part of their camp. As soon as he perceived this, he landed, followed by ten or twelve *Englishmen* and a *French* officer: but seeing the enemy running towards them, and their own men fly at their approach, they threw themselves into the river to get off. The *French* officer escaped by swimming; but the *English* captain was shot in the head, and died of the wound.

AFTER this blow, the *Makassars* abandoned their camp, which was already half burned, ^{The Makassars remove.} and bent their course towards the upper part of the rivulet, with design to pass on to the camp of the *Portugueses*, and there discharge their fury on the *Christians*. Their drift being perceived by Lord *Faulkon*, he set forward in his *balon*, followed by about fifteen others; in one of which was Mr. *Veret*, chief of the *French* factory, with all those of his nation whom e he brought from *Siam*, in order to hinder the enemy from passing the river half a league above the camp. As soon as he overtook them, he ordered the *Siameses* to land, and at the same time going ashore himself, went directly up to them, followed by two *Englishmen*, two *Siameses*, and a *Japanese* soldier. The *Siameses* having passed through a long hedge of ^{Lord Faulkon retires;} *bambú* trees, 250 paces from the river, and entering into the plain where the enemy were, killed two or three of them, with the loss of one or two of their company. The *Makassars* then divided themselves into two parties, returning to the *bambús* with a design to surround the *Siameses*; and having taken their opium, ran headlong to attack the royalists. The minister prepared himself to receive them, though sixty in number; but perceiving thirty or forty others hastening to fall on his rear, he was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, in which five f of the twelve who accompanied him were slain; four *Frenchmen*, and captain *Njoudal* killed on the spot with five stabs of the *krit* in his body, and two of the *Frenchmen* had no fewer than twelve wounds each.

LORD *Faulkon*, not at all discouraged at this misfortune, landed a second time, followed ^{renews the} by several *English* and *French*, who killed several of the *Makassars*, without losing one man: ^{attack.} however, this minister, finding that there was no reducing them without a much superior force, detached *Okpra Jumbarat* with 400, to advance beyond the place where the enemy then were, with orders to fight them, if they offered to pass that way; and at the same time made a descent himself near the brook, at the head of 3000 men, among whom were all the *French* and *English*, marching towards the revolvers up to the middle in water. In his way,

^e TACHARD, p. 106, & seqq.^b Ibid. p. 108. & seq. FOURBIN'S memoirs.(A) *Nudal*, according to *Fourbin*.(B) Doubtless *Coats*.

perceiving those desperadoes, after a vigorous attack on the 400 men sent before, to retire ^a for shelter to the houses and *bambús* which were on the brook-sides, he detached 800 musketeers, to beat them out of that retreat by a continual fire, which they performed very well. A little after he sent the remaining 2200 men who were with him, to join the 400, and caused the *balons* to advance, in order to hinder the enemy from passing the rivulet. The *Makassars*, seeing themselves attacked thus on all sides, were struck with a panic, and began to separate; the greater part of them retired into the houses, two or three in each; others hid themselves among the *bambús*; and twenty-two of them took shelter in a mosque. These places of retreat being fired by the *Siameses*, the revolvers waited till they were half-burnt about their ears, and then sallied out, making *amuk*; that is, rushing upon the thickest of the troops, with the lance or sword in hand, and fighting continually till they are slain. ^b

The revolvers slain,

Not one of all these *Makassars* escaped. The prince, who had hidden himself behind a house, and was wounded in the left shoulder by a musket bullet, perceiving that he was discovered, rushed out with his lance, and ran directly towards Lord *Faulkon*, who likewise presented his own. The prince hereupon stopp'd, and making a feint, as if he intended to dart it at the minister, at the same time turned upon an *English* captain, who was to the left of him; but a *Frenchman*, who was near Lord *Faulkon*, making a shot at him in the same instant, killed him; at length all the *Makassars* were either killed or taken. They who had fled to the *Mohammedan* temple surrendered without fighting; there were thirty-three others taken, who were all ran through the body. A son of the unhappy prince, about twelve year of age, came and surrendered himself. Being shewn his father's body, which he ^c knew, he said, *That indeed his father had been the destruction of people; but that, notwithstanding, he was very much grieved to see him in that condition*; greatly blaming those who had slain him. Lord *Faulkon* ordered a Christian of *Constantinople*, then in the king of *Siam*'s service, to take care of him. He was afterwards sent with one of his brothers (C) into *France*¹.

with their prince.

Their arms.

THE bodies of no more than forty *Makassars* were found, the rest perished in the river: most of them had breast-plates, made of flat pieces of iron, fastened by the ends one over the other, so that they could easily move in them. None of them had fire-arms, nor do they know well how to use them. What renders them so formidable through the East, is that fury and contempt of danger which opium inspires them with; but still more that wonderful ^d dexterity which they have in throwing darts and lances, as well as in using the sabre and *krit*. Some had long trunks, out of which they blew poisoned fish-bones fixed in shafts, where-with some *Siameses* who were wounded died in three hours time. There were likewise found on the dead certain scrolls or billets, which (as charms) contributed to render them more daring. The *Siameses* lost no more than seventeen men, reckoning seven *Europeans* among the number, in all this action (D), which lasted from half an hour after four in the morning till four in the afternoon. Lord *Faulkon*, having ordered the heads of the slain to be cut off and exposed in their camp, departed to give an account of what had passed to his majesty; who commanded him to thank the *French* and *English* for the share they took in this expedition. ^e

Their surprising resolution.

AMONG those taken alive there were four *Makassars* of the king's guards, who deferred the day on which the conspiracy broke out; for which the king resolved to punish them in an exemplary manner. They beat them terribly with sticks, ran iron pins under their nails; broke all the joints of their fingers; burnt the flesh off their arms, and squeezed their temples between two boards: all this they bore with inexpressible resolution (E). What is more, they had the constancy to refuse being made converts by the Jesuits; who imagined, that people, weakened by such terrible sufferings, would more easily have complied with their proposal. After this, at seven in the morning, they were fastened naked to the ground, tied hands and feet, and a tiger let loose on them: but the beast only smelled to them one after the other, and then attempted to get away by leaping over the inclosure, which was fifteen feet high. At noon, the executioners ^f being impatient, drew off the tiger, and fastened them standing to thick posts, as if this posture was more proper than the former to irritate the animal. He slew three of them before night

Sad instances of it.

¹ TACHARD, p. 111, & seqq.

* Ibid. p. 114, & seqq

(C) Count *Fourbin* says, they saved the lives of none of the prisoners excepting the prince of *Makassar*'s two sons, who were carried to *Louvo*. They were brought afterwards by P. *Tachard* to *France*, where they served in the marine.

(D) *Fourbin* speaks of an action two months before this, in which were killed seventeen *Europeans* and above 1000 *Siameses*; but *La Maire*, who was on the spot, says nothing of it.

(E) As an instance of their intrepidity, Count *Fourbin* relates, that seeing one of the first six, who were killed

at the fort, running up to him, he plunged his lance into his breast: the *Makassar*, as if insensible of any hurt, still pressed forward, making incredible efforts to get at *Fourbin*, by thrusting his body on the lance; and would certainly have gained his end, if he had not been kept back by the guard which gave breadth to the blade, he had no way to save himself but to give back, without daring to draw out his lance to repeat the thrust, until some others came up and killed him.

a and the fourth before morning. What is admirable, they were never once heard to bewail themselves, or even so much as to fetch a sigh. One of them saw the tiger eat his foot, without offering to draw it away; another, without making the least complaint, felt him breaking all the bones of his back; the third suffered the animal to lick the blood which fell from his face, without turning away his eyes, and without shrinking: one of them alone went round his post, to avoid the sight and onset of that furious creature; but he died at last, with the same resolution and patience as the others had done^k.

^k TACHARD, p. 114, & seqq.

S E C T. IV.

Embassy of Mess. Loubiere and Ceberet. The Siamese murmur at the French Forces and missionaries. Petracha's conspiracy. Lord Faulkon imprisoned, and the French arrested. Prince Totso and Lord Faulkon executed. The king's brothers murdered: The French ignominiously treated, and their general trepanned to court. Escapes by his address, and is besieged in Bangkok. Chaw Naraya dies; his character and family.

b **T**HE very same day, viz. the 27th of September, on which the revolt of the *Makassars* *Second embassy* was suppressed, four ships arrived at the bar of *Siâm* from *France*, bringing with them, *from France*, besides the *Siam* ambassadors who had been sent thither two years before, two envoys from *Lewis XIV*; namely Mess. *Loubiere* and *Ceberet*, with a letter to the king of *Siam*; the twelve Jesuits, and a body of *French* soldiers, under the command of Mr. *Des Farges* as general, and Mr. *Bruan* (Z), lieutenant-general.

In a day or two after their arrival, a treaty was drawn up between P. *Tachard* and Lord *Faulkon*; which, as that Jesuit expresseth it, was very favourable to religion and the interests^{ed} of *France*. At their first meeting they went both together into a bark, and remained there by themselves the rest of the day, and all the night following^a. As no other person was

c present, we know nothing of what passed in this long private conference; however, we may presume something was done towards furthering those very important designs which we are told were on foot between the kings of *France* and *Siam*, for the good of religion and trade^b.

To give our readers the best light we can in this affair, we shall relate what Count *Fourbin* *Occasion thereof* hath written upon the occasion. This author informs us, that Lord *Constance* having, besides of the circumstance of his being a foreigner, incurred the hatred of the whole *Siamese* nation, by his ingratitude to the *Praklang* or *Barkalong*, to whom he owed all his good fortune (A); the Mandarins and other grandees, incensed by a proceeding which put them all in fear for themselves, conspired secretly against the new minister; and proposed to destroy him in the

d same manner as he had done his benefactor. But *Constance* was before-hand with them, and had so wrought himself in credit with *Chaw Naraya*, that more than 300 of those who would have done him the ill office, lost their lives on that occasion. After this, he knew so well how to make use of his good fortune, and the foible of his master, that he gathered immense riches; partly by extortions, and partly by commerce, the whole business of which he had seized to himself. So many oppressions, which yet he exercised under the pretence of public good, had set the whole kingdom against him; however all stood quiet, waiting for a revolution, which, from the king's age and bad state of health, they judged not to be far off.

e *Constance* was not ignorant of the ill-will which every body bore towards him, and knew better than any one how little he had to reckon on the life of the king, as well as what he *disguis'd the* had to fear from a revolution. He plainly saw that nothing could secure him from the *Siameses* resentment of the *Siameses*, but the protection of some foreign power established in the kingdom, and therefore began his scheme by proposing to the king the introduction of strangers into his state, to whom he was to intrust the care of some principal places. He so dexterously set forth the advantages which would arise from an alliance with foreigners, that *Chaw Naraya* *Contrives to* blindly gave into every thing which the minister recommended. The difficulty was to deter- *secure himself* mine on the choice of a prince to be addressed on this occasion. *Constance* durst not trust

^a TACHARD, p. 182, & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 9.

(Z) He is by some named *Bruant*, by others *Bruan*.

(A) This minister, *Fourbin* says, he destroyed, by rendering him suspected by false insinuations to the king. But whether the count had been misinformed, or *Tachard*, to save the honour of *Constance*, has repre-

sented the matter falsely, we find a different account of this affair, as already related: by which, if true, it appears that the *Barkalong*, who was put to death, was not his benefactor, but one who succeeded him.

any of the neighbouring potentates, whose ministers, inconstant like themselves, might, after getting all they could out of him, sacrifice him to the resentment of the Mandarins; his view therefore was turned towards the *Europeans*, yet without all the encouragement which he might have proposed from that quarter. He saw that it would be in vain for him to apply to either the *English* or *Dutch*, because the trade of *Siam* was not considerable enough to allure them to settle there: for the same reason he could not address himself to the *Spaniards* or *Portugueses*. He had therefore no other course to take but to apply himself to the *French*, whom he judged most easily to be imposed on. With this view he persuaded the king to seek the alliance of *Lewis XIV.* by ambassadors, who had in charge particularly to insinuate, that their master had an inclination to become a Christian; although, says our author, *he never had the least thought that way*.^a

by foreign assistance.

THE king of *France*, in the belief that religion obliged him to concur towards so good a work, sent, in his turn, ambassadors to *Siam*; while *Constance*, perceiving his project to succeed in part so well, began to contrive how to carry the whole into execution according to his own views. He first opened his mind to Mr. *Chaumont*, by acquainting him, that the *Dutch*, with a design to enlarge their commerce, had for a long time desired a settlement at *Siam*, which yet the king would never listen to, for fear they should make themselves masters of his dominions: but that, if the king of *France*, on whose integrity he could more confidently rely, would enter into a treaty with his *Siamese* majesty, he would undertake to put into his hands the fortress of *Bankok*; a place of importance in the kingdom, and, as it were, the key of it: on condition, however, he should send thither troops, engineers, and all the money necessary to begin a settlement.^b

Imposes on the French.

MR. CHAUMONT and the Abbé *Choisy*, to whom this affair was communicated, not judging it to be practicable, declined to take the management of it upon them; but P. *Tachard*, blinded with the advantages which he imagined would accrue to the king of *France* from such an alliance, readily embraced it. He was drawn into this delusion by the artifices of *Constance*, who, concealing all his own private views under an appearance of zeal, rated to extravagance the benefits which would flow from such an union, as well with respect to *Louis XIV.* as to religion: assuring him that, one time or other, the king of *Siam* would declare himself a proselyte to Christianity; and insinuating the liberty which the missionaries might propose in the exercise of their ministry, under the protection of a *French* garrison at *Bankok*. Nor was he less flattered by the promises of Mr. *Constance* to make a considerable settlement in behalf of the society of *Jesus*, for whom he was to build a college and an observatory at *Louvo*. In a word, this Jesuit, seeing nothing in the whole scheme but what appeared very advantageous for the king, for religion, and for his society (A), undertook to negotiate the affair without hesitation: he even promised to bring it to bear, provided P. *La Chaise* would embark in it. From this time the whole secret of the embassy rested in P. *Tachard*, who was resolved to return into *France* with the *Siamese* ambassadors.^c

Poverty of Siam.

COUNT FOURBIN had no opinion at all of this project, which he foresaw would involve his native country in a vast expence, and, after all, turn to no account. He had scarce entered within the river of *Siam*, before he perceived how much *Europe* had been abused, by the brilliant relations which had been published there of the riches and splendor of that country. He particularly expresses his surprize, how the Abbé *Choisy* and P. *Tachard* could agree to write things so little conformable to truth: for, although Mr. *Constance* did all he could, during the few months of their stay in *Siam*, to conceal from them the poverty of that kingdom, yet, he says, they must have been extremely prejudiced not to see what appeared so visibly to their eyes. On his first landing at the bar he observed three or four little houses, built of reeds, and covered with palm-tree leaves, in which, he was told, the governor of the bar resided. He went into one, and found three or four *Siameses* sitting on the ground, cross-legged, without slippers, stockings, caps, or any thing on their bodies but a plain piece of cloth to cover them: nor was the house better equipped than the people, as having neither chairs, nor any other furniture. On asking for the governor: one of them answered, he was. This first appearance diminished much the ideas which he had formed of *Siam*. He was still more surprized, when, on asking for something to eat, the governor presented him with some rice; and told him, there was nothing else to be had.^d

Tachard censures.

AT *Bankok* he found not much better fare; nor was there either herbs, fruits, or any other refreshments to be purchased for love or money. Those handsome houses, magnificently furnished, which, in the language of *Tachard*, were built at certain distances on the river-side for lodging the ambassador and his train, were nothing but cabins of reeds, hung with coarse cloth painted. They were likewise moveable; so that, as soon as the ambassador and his people left them, they were conveyed to the next stage, or landing-place: and thus the

^a Count FOURBIN's memoirs.

^d Ibid.

(A) This last seems to have been his chief motive.

- a same sett served all the way to the capital city ; of which he gives but a very mean picture. He falls foul on those who have published relations, for speaking of a pretended city of *Siam*, capital of the kingdom, which they represent as big as *Paris*, and very brilliant in appearance: whereas, our author says, it is a city merely of the imagination, for that *Siam* has no other capital but *Odia*, or *Judia*; and that it is scarce to be compared to a city of *France* of the fourth rank: that the ambassador's house, though the best in the town, was little and ill-built, only it was of brick; all the rest of the place, which is very nasty, being composed of houses made of wood or canes; excepting one street, where the *Mohammedans* and *Chineses* dwell, of about 100 brick houses, but small, and no more than a single story high. The temples also are of brick: as for the king's palace, it is very large, but without either proportion or taste.

b This is the account that *Fourbin* gives in general of the country and metropolis, to which every thing else is suitable. But *Constance*, to dazzle the eyes of the *French*, employed all his arts to give them a grand idea of the kingdom. He made them continual feasts, served up with all the pomp imaginable: he displayed to their view the riches of the royal treasure, which were indeed worthy of a grand monarch, and capable of imposing. But he did not tell them that it was the work of a long succession of kings, who are esteemed illustrious only in proportion as they augment it; and never meddle with it, how great soever the occasion may be. He carried them likewise to the principal temples of the city, whose statues, he would persuade them, were of massy gold; whereas they were nothing but plaister, very artfully gilded (B). There was one fifteen or sixteen feet high, which *Tachard* and *Choisy* took to be solid gold, and have reported it as such in their voyages; but, soon after their departure for *France*, the chapel, in which it was, falling, broke the statue, and discovered the imposture of *Constance*; on which occasion *Fourbin* could not forbear rallying him.

c In short, that minister's earnestness to give the *French* an high opinion of the wealth of *Siam*, was seen in nothing more than the presents destined for the king and court of *France*; to compose which, he almost exhausted the kingdom, sending even to *China* and *Japan* for the most rare and curious things. Nay, that nothing might be wanting to promote his design, the very common sailors had bounty-money given them. It was thus that the ambassador *Chaumont* and the *French* were imposed on by this artful minister. However, he knew that *Fourbin* had already seen too much to be deceived; and, for fear he should discover all, in case he returned to *France* with the ambassador, and so blast his project, he therefore urged the king, who had taken a fancy to the count, to require the ambassador to leave him behind. Considerable offers were made to dispose him to comply: but *Fourbin* was so well acquainted with the poverty of the country, that nothing could have prevailed with him to stay, had not Mr. *Chaumont* ordered him to continue there on the behalf of the king of *France*. Four days after, he was created *high admiral, general of the king's armies, and governor of Ban-*

d *kok* (C) ^f. But the more opportunities he had of being acquainted with the affairs of the country, the more he was convinced of the miserable state of things, and dissatisfied with his own condition. After the ambassadors were gone, he went to *Louvo* with Mr. *Constance*, where he was introduced to the palace for the first time. The situation in which he found the Mandarins surprised him: they were all sitting in a ring on osier mats, with a single lamp which lighted the whole court: and when any of them had a mind either to read or write, he drew a piece of wax candle out of his pocket, and lighted it at the lamp, stuck it on a piece of wood; which turning on a pivot, served them for a candlestick. On asking *Constance*, If all the grandeur of these Mandarins consisted in what he saw? The minister said, Yes; and, taking him aside, told him, "The country was really poor; but your fortune shall not suffer on that score; I will take care of it." After which he let *Fourbin* into all his designs, such as have been related. He went daily to the palace for two months, without seeing the king more than once; afterwards he saw him oftener; and, on a time, being asked by his *Siamese* majesty, If he was satisfied to stay at his court? He confesseth, that he told a great untruth by answering in the affirmative.

e He was shocked particularly at the rigour with which the smallest faults were punished; as the cutting open the mouth from ear to ear, for not speaking enough; or sowing it up, for speaking too much: cutting off the buttocks, burning the arms with red hot irons, and

^c FOURBIN'S memoirs.

^f Ibid.

(B) Or perhaps covered with very thin plates of gold, as the *Chelles* observed some to be.

(C) Mr. *Fourbin* was afterwards honoured with the dignity of *Oktra Jak di Jon Kiarm*; that is, a divinity who has all the lights and experience for war. This new mark of the king's favour inflamed the jealousy of Lord *Constance* to such a degree, as to attempt to poison

him by milk, which he sent him; on eating of which, four of his slaves died immediately. What gave first rise to his malice was to see how, for a word speaking to the king in behalf of that minister, *Fourbin* had delivered him out of an ugly scrape, in which he had involved himself by an act of tyranny and oppression.

running cane splinters under the nails to the very roots; a punishment which scarce any a escape, at least once in their lives. *Fourbin*, surprized to see the great Mandarins exposed to such kinds of treatment (nor are the sons and brothers of the king more exempt than others), asked Mr. *Constance*, if he had the like to fear from the laws? That minister answered, No. but in that, says our author, he lied; for he was bastinado'd himself under his predecessor, as I understood afterwards. In short, the count thought he had no great reason to be pleased with the provision made for him, as not suitable to the high posts which were conferred upon him. The king ordered a very little house to be given him, with thirty-six slaves to wait on him, and two elephants. The whole subsistence of his family cost him but five pence a-day; so temperate are the men, and so cheap the provisions: he had his own table with Mr. *Constance*. The furniture of his house was of no great value; to which were added twelve silver b plates, and two great cups of the same metal, but all very thin; four dozen of cotton napkins, and two candles of yellow wax a-day. This, says he, was all the equipage of monsieur the high-admiral, and general of the king's armies^c. Having related these particulars, so necessary for understanding the state of *Siam*, the occasion of the *French* embassies, and cause of the revolution which followed, we proceed in our history.

Their mean appointments.

Ambassadors return.

THE *French* ambassadors having discharged their commission, Mr. *Loubiere* had his audience of leave on the 22d of *December*; at which time the king, who had been for some while sick, was much altered in his countenance. That ambassador departed from *Siam* on the 4th of *January* 1688; with him went three *Siamese* officers of state as envoys, who carried their king's letter to *Louis XIV.*; and *Pere Tachard*, with the character of *Chaw Naraya's* envoy c extraordinary to the king of *France* and the pope. He had orders from the king of *Siam* to carry with him twelve *Siamese* youths, to learn the *French* language; but was so hurried away that he could take with him no more than five. After they were gone, the twelve *Jesuits* performed their functions of teaching their religion, and the mathematical sciences, in the colleges erected for them in the two royal cities of *Siam* and *Louvo*^d.

THE major part of the troops were posted at *Bankok*, within the mouth of the river *Siam*, under general *Des Farges*; and the remainder were sent to keep garrison at *Mergbi*, a port on the western coast of *Siam*, in the bay of *Bengál*, at the mouth of the river which washes *Tenasserim*^e, under the command of Mr. *Bruan*, his lieutenant-general.

The people uneasy

THE introduction of foreign troops and foreign priests into the kingdom, occasioned d various conjectures, and induced the people to suspect that the king had a design to make some considerable change in the laws, as well as religion of the country. The odium on this occasion fell chiefly on Lord *Faulkon*, as the person who, influenced by these foreign priests, had given *Chaw Naraya* this bad advice.

THE missionaries themselves thought he was their tool: for although that nobleman continued a protestant for a considerable time after he was settled in *Siam*, yet falling at length into the hands of the *Peres Thomas* and *Maldonat*, they prevailed on him to renounce the church of *England*, and embrace his former religion, which was that of *Rome*^k.

SOME say, not only that he had recourse to the *French* to secure his power, but even that he had views of usurping the crown^l. But this is not likely: it is certain however, that the measures which he advised the king to take, gave much discontent, and at least furnished a handle for those suspicions, which soon after produced an extraordinary revolution in the kingdom.

at the court suspicious

THE intrigue was carried on at court, under the plausible pretence (B) of freeing the gulf of *Siam* from the oppressive yoke of the *Dutch*; who being possessed of the strong fortress of *Malakka*, situated at the entrance of the streights leading into it, had imposed a toll and duty on all the *Indian* ships which traded or passed into that bay. However, the *Siameses* were of opinion that the true design was first to bring the kingdom under the *French* power, and then to change the established religion of the country: towards the attainment of which two ends Lord *Faulkon* had prevailed on the king to appoint for his heir and successor, in prejudice to his two brothers, his adopted son (*Mompi Totso*), whom the *Jesuits* were said to have converted to the *Romish* faith (C). It was under this successor that the conspiracy was f

^c *FOURBIN's* memoirs. vol. i. p. 138, & seq.

^d *TACHARD*, p. 279. 298.

^e *Ibid.* p. 189, & 261.

^k *TACHARD*,

^l *KÆMPFER*. hist. Jap. p. 19.

(B) The following account is taken from a pamphlet, printed at *London* in 1690, and intitled, *A full and true relation of the great and wonderful revolution that happened lately in the kingdom of Siam, &c.* It is said to contain the substance of several letters, written from *Siam* in *October* 1688, and from the coast of *Choromandel* in *February* 1686; never before published in any language, and now translated into *English*.—They seem to have been written partly by the *Dutch*, and partly by the *French* officers, who were then at *Siam*; and therefore

we rather follow the account given in this relation, than that of *Kæmpfer*, or some others.

(C) We rather put it thus, than as it is in the original: that he had been bred up in the *Romish* religion by the *Jesuits*, and had been adopted by the king, on the persuasion of Lord *Faulkon*; which facts are contrary to what is related before of *Mompi Totso* turning *Talapain* for a time, and being adopted from his birth by the king, whose son he was supposed to have been.

a to have taken effect. The *French* were already in possession of *Bankok* and *Mergbi*, the two chief places which open a passage into the kingdom of *Siam*; they were also allowed to have a command in the guards about the king's person.

THESE things were said to be done for the security both of the king and his kingdom. ^{The French} It is true, the *French* were better able to fortify and defend the frontier places than the natives, who are not at all skilled in that necessary art; they were likewise more capable of serving the king on all military occasions. But the *Siamese* officers of state and great men considered these proceedings in the worst light imaginable; so that it was with the greatest impatience and resentment that they suffered them to be carried on. They concluded, that these great *French* squadrons, filled with such numbers of men, and so plentifully provided b with warlike stores, aimed at something more than securing the commerce of the *French* company of merchants; all whose stock, says our author, was not of importance enough to occasion the expence of fitting out one of those fleets. Neither could they believe that those exceeding rich presents, which arrived so frequently from *France*, were sent for no other end than to keep up a strict friendship between the two kings^m.

As for what concerns the Jesuit missionaries; they were looked on with an evil eye by the *Siameses*, who could not, without indignation, hear their specious discourses, wherein they endeavoured to persuade them, that all the fatigues and dangers which they ran through in coming to live among them, proceeded solely from the strong desire they had of doing them good: whereas, it was obvious to every-body, that their true design in teaching physic, surgery, astronomy, and mathematics, was to have the better opportunity of making converts c of those who applied to them to learn the sciences. They called to mind likewise, that that were the methods which the same set of men had practised in *Japan*, and what a formidable party they at length made in that empire, by virtue of their conversions (D). These were the reflections which the grandees of *Siam* made on this occasion: as they judged the constitution both in church and state to be in danger, by the measures which were pursued at court, they resolved to obstruct them; but they were loth to attempt any thing that way during the life of *Chaw Naraya*ⁿ.

As soon as the king fell ill, which was in *March* 1688, *Pecherachas*, or *Pitrachas*, who ^{Pitrachas's} had taken his measures long before-hand to establish himself, in case of accidents, glossing d his designs under pretence of the good of the state, began to insinuate to the people; that the *French* were come into their country with no other view than to destroy the royal race, ^{the} religion and their customs, by obliging them to submit to *Pra-pye* (or *Monpi*) and *Constance*,^{war} who would be the second person in the kingdom, in case their designs succeeded. By these artifices it was easy for him to gain all the grandees, as well as the people, on his side, and inflame them in a strange manner against the *French*: the rather as the princes, who were the true heirs to the crown, always looked upon him as a faithful subject, who acted in favour of their interests; whilst they considered *Pra-pye* and *Constance* as their most avowed enemies^o.

CONSTANCE, from whom these intrigues could not be hidden, notwithstanding the fair Farges sent appearance which *Pitrachas* put on to amuse him, in *February* sent general *Farges* an order e from the king, to come up to *Louvo*, with the greater part of his troops. When that order came, he had in all under his command no more than 200 men: Mr. *Bruan* had three of his best companies at *Mergbi*; and, after his departure, the general was obliged to spare thirty-five choice soldiers, with two or three officers, to send on board ships which the king of *Siam* had sent out to cruize; besides, the small number of men which remained, diminished every day by sickness. He departed from *Bankok* with seventy men and five officers, under great uneasiness of mind, on account of the rest of his garrison whom he left so weak in the fort; of which there still remained unfinished two bastions, two curtains, and a cavalier (E).

On his arrival at the city of *Siam*, near which they were obliged to pass, they found all the gates shut; and he was informed by the bishop of *Metellopolis*, the Abbé *De Lionne*, and f the chief of the *French* factory, that it was reported the king was dead: that all were in arms at *Louvo*, and on the roads: that they talked of arresting Mr. *Constance*, spread a thousand stories to the disadvantage of the *French*; and, in short, that they had advice, a great body of *Siamese* troops were marching for *Bankok*, to make themselves masters of it. On these tidings, general *Farges* did not think it prudent to continue his route: but, halting in the

^m Full and true relat. p. 2, & seqq.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 5.

^o FARGES relat. revolut. a Siam, 1688.

(D) Some authors give the affair another turn. They say, that the king, in his sickness, being desirous to secure the crown to his adopted son, Lord *Faulkon* took the proper measures with that prince to fulfil his master's intentions. To strengthen his party, his relations were in high post, and had troops under their command; the *French* too were in his interest. *Pitrachas* therefore, to give a colour to his conspiracy, pre-

tended that designation was unjust; and that what he did was to secure the crown to the king's brothers, as the rightful heirs. (*La Martinicre introduction a l'hist. d'Afrique*, &c. tom. i. p. 251.) And indeed this is more likely to be the fact, than that the *French* intended to subdue *Siam*, with so small a force.

(E) A kind of high platform for cannon.

neighbourhood of the capital, he wrote without delay to Mr. *Constance*, to acquaint him with a those unlucky reports; and let him know, that he judged it much better, for the good both of himself, as well as the *French*, that he should repair to them, and go offer their services to the king's two brothers, heirs of the crown, who were then in the city of *Siam*; and by that means remove the suspicions which the princes had conceived against them^a.

*Constance
embarrassed.*

BUT that minister, either thinking the evil not so great as it was, or not being at liberty to retire from *Louvo*, or, in short, being in the interest of *Pra-pye* (as, it is said, he afterwards confessed), he would not listen to the *French* general's advice; who therefore, as soon as he had received the answer of *Constance*, retired immediately to *Bankok*, with a view to preserve his troops. What followed, says *Des Farges* (F), has clearly evinced, that I could not have acted otherwise, without engaging myself in a party, no less unjust than weak, and causing the ruin of all the *French* who were in *Siam*. For it appeared for certain, from the information of two Mandarins whom he had in his hands, that, at the very time when *Constance* sent for them to *Louvo*, *Pitrachas* was already in possession of the palace; and had at his devotion more than thirty thousand men at *Louvo* and on the roads: without reckoning the forces of the two princes, which were at that time joined with those of *Pitrachas* against the party of *Pra-pye*, in which, as *Farges* supposes, *Constance* wanted to engage him, although he durst not declare his intentions to him.

*Pitrachas in-
vites*

As soon as *Pitrachas* understood that the *French* were returned to *Bankok*, and that it would not be easy to master them, as they were not divided; he had recourse to all the artifices imaginable to oblige the two princes and the princess to repair to *Louvo*: because it was of the last importance to him to prevent their joining with the *French*; and he could not advance his affairs so long as either the one or the other remained masters of the capital city and of *Bankok*, by the assistance they were able to afford each other on the least suspicion of his designs. He therefore repeated his invitations to them, under pretence that the king, who was at the point of death, wanted to see them, in order to place the crown on the head of one of them: adding, that they ought not to delay one moment, to come and receive the oath of allegiance from all the court, in order to prevent *Pra-pye* from gaining ground to their prejudice; and that as a faithful subject, zealous for their service, he had disposed all things in such a manner that they had nothing to fear^a.

*the prince and
princess to
court.*

THE princes hesitated much to comply with these pressing solicitations; not that they had for then the least suspicion of *Pitrachas*, but because they saw themselves masters of *Siam*, and were not so sure of being well received at *Louvo*, where both *Pra-pye* and *Constance* then were; a circumstance which seemed to forebode some unlucky accident. However, at length the younger prince ventured to go thither with the princess, who either was then, or was to be, his wife. They made their public entry, escorted by a great number of troops, sent for that purpose by *Pitrachas*, who received them with the utmost submission, and did them homage; in which he was followed by all the Mandarins. *Pra-pye* and *Constance* were, it is said, the only two who did not pay their attendance: however, some time after, the latter came, but the prince would not admit him.

*Assassinate
Nonpi.*

It is likely that *Pitrachas*, having now in his hands those who might aspire to the crown, would, before he made use of arms, have waited the king's death, which was not far off: but, being informed that *Pra-pye* had caused some troops to advance, in order to try his fortune, which could not but prove fatal to him under the dominion of the king's brothers, his declared enemies; that crafty lord prevailed on the princes and great Mandarins to secure his person. This important task he undertook to execute himself; and although *Pra-pye* was then in the king's apartment, from whence he had never stirred from the time his majesty fell sick; yet *Pitrachas* laid his scheme so well, that having drawn him by artifice to the door of the chamber, he forced him out by violence, and had him slain upon the spot, without regarding the king, who intreated him to spare the life of his favourite and adopted son.

*Sends for Con-
stance.*

THIS first act of the tragedy being over, *Pitrachas* judged it time to seize Mr. *Constance* also; sending for him, in the king's name, to come to the palace. The minister, who knew nothing of *Pra-pye*'s death, yet was under some uneasiness, took with him three *French* officers, among whom was one of general *Farges*'s sons (A). As soon as he was entered the

^a DES FARGES relat. revolut. à Siam, 1688.

^a Ibid. ubi supra.

(F) This relation of *Des Farges* has for its title, *Relation des revolutions arrivées à Siam, en 1688*. Amst. 1691.—It was the first which appeared from the *French*; but the editor does not tell us how the manuscript fell into his hands. In all likelihood, it was brought to *Holland* by either the *Maligne* or the *Coche*, which were taken in 1689 by the *Dutch*, as mentioned in a former note.

(A) According to the *full and true account*, he was accompanied by a train of his friends, among whom were these officers of note; Mess. *De Beuchamp*, *De Fretteville*, *Vaudrille*, *De Laiffe*, and the chevalier *De Fourbin*. A mistake for *Farges*; *Fourbin* having left the country the year before.

a palace, *Pitrachas*, at the head of a great body of armed men, took him by the arm ; and, with a fierce and disdainful tone, said, That he arrested him as a prisoner, for having conspired with *Pra-pye* against the state, and dissipated the public treasure. The officers offered to lend him their assistance (B) ; but he thanked them, and desired they would give up their swords without opposition. *Pitrachas*, concealing his evil intentions against the *French* for the present, ordered that they should be conveyed to *Thi Pousson*, under pretence of securing them against the rage of the populace.

As for *Constance*, he was led, as in triumph, upon the walls of the palace, followed by a number of *painted arms*, who are the guards, and, at the same time, executioners, of the king of *Siam*. He was afterwards carried into the palace, and there strictly guarded, loaded with b five heavy chains, and debarred from seeing any body. He was tortured several times in different manners ; and according to the common report, confirmed by the depositions of the two Mandarins before-mentioned, he confessed, in his torments, that he had held a correspondence with *Pra-pye*, and also dissipated, or sent out of the kingdom, great sums of money. They, after this, drew from him all the light they could, with respect to the affairs of the foreigners, and then cut him in pieces. His house was pillaged ; and his wife, with most of her family, put to the rack, in order to come to the knowledge of all his effects. There remained besides three Mandarins of that party, who were put in fetters the night after Mr. *Constance* had been seized ; all which was done without making the least noise ^b.

c THIS is the account of matters as given by general *Des Farges*, to which it may not be amiss to add certain particulars, which we have from other quarters.

P. D'ORLEANS tells us, that the conspiracy was formed between *Pitrachas* and *Monpi* (or *D'Orleans*, *Pra-pye*), who was drawn into it in hopes to marry the princess, and ascend the throne : that *Pitrachas* resolved first to get rid of *Constance*, as the greatest obstacle to his designs : but that *Constance*, apprised of it, resolved to be beforehand with him ; and, as his chief dependance was on the *French*, sent for *Farges* : that *Farges* advanced with eighty soldiers ; but, when he drew near the city of *Siam*, being misled by reports of troubles at court, returned to *Bangkok*, and never after could be prevailed on to march to his assistance ; that *Constance*, thus left to himself, endeavoured to persuade the king to appoint one of his brothers to succeed him ; but, not caring for them, he declared his daughter queen, with liberty d to marry one of her uncles : that this not pleasing the grandees, the factions continued ; and *Pitrachas*, falling out with *Monpi* about the disposal of a place, the latter discovered the plot to the king, who thereupon chid *Constance* : that, *Constance* having pacified the king, it was agreed that *Pitrachas* should be seized the first time he appeared in his majesty's apartment ; but that lord, being apprised of the design, assembled his friends, and next morning, the 18th of *May*, became master of the palace without resistance : that *Constance*, zealous to serve his master, against the advice of his friends, went to the palace with a small guard, some *French*, two *Portugueses*, and sixteen *English* ; but being inclosed with soldiers, all fled from him but the *French*, who would have defended him, but he would not suffer it ; and thus he was seized by them. This account of P. D'Orleans, being collected from letters sent e from *Siam*, cannot be supposed to be so exact as the accounts of those who were chief actors in the affair.

SOME say, that when Mr. *Constance* was sent for by *Pitrachas*, he was advised by many of his friends not to obey the order, but, instead thereof, to raise the forces of the city ; assuring him that many officers of the army would come over to his party, which was much superior to the general's, as being at least 50,000 strong : that besides, he had all the fleet at his devotion, and had made himself exceeding popular by his courteous deportment to people of all ranks and degrees ; but that, being infatuated, he was deaf to all advice ^c. Yet, according to *Kempfer*, he would have avoided obeying the summons, if he could have told how ; and that, dreading some ill event, he took leave of his family in a very melancholy manner ^d.

f HOWEVER that be, we are told, that the next day *Okpra Pitrachas* sent for Lord *Faulkon* ; and ordered him to acquaint the *French* officers, " That there was no design of keeping them ^{The French arrested.} prisoners ; but that, as a most dangerous plot against the king's life had been discovered, " and all the parties concerned were not yet fully known, there was a necessity of securing " all persons of note, till such time as matters should be brought more to light. And as " for you, Lord *Faulkon*, (said he, with an air of authority) I charge you to say this, and no " more, to the *French* officers ;" letting him know, at the same time, that he should be narrowly watched. This visit to the *French* was only an artifice of *Pitrachas* to moderate

^b FARGES, ubi supra.

^c HAMILTON, ubi supr. vol. i. p. 174.

^d KEMPFF. hist. Japan. p. 20.

(B) According to Pere D'Orleans, as soon as *Constance* heard *Pitrachas* had made himself master of the palace, he ran thither in great zeal to serve the king, with a guard of only some *French*, two *Portugueses*, and sixteen *English* ; with whom he would have forced his

passage, had his followers been as resolute as himself : but he was scarce entered into one of the courts, when he found himself surrounded by the *Siamese* soldiers, and at the same time deserted by all but the *French*, who were taken with him, and put in irons.

their resentment, and divert them from taking measures for their common security. Among the several troops of guards which were about the king's person, one was made up wholly of *Europeans* of different nations, especially *French*; and the *Siamese* troop itself, consisting of 150 men, was commanded by *French* officers. These were sent to *Thalapfen* (or *Tbli Pousson*), a house of pleasure which the king had at some distance from *Louvo*; whether *Ckpra Pitrachas* had before hand ordered a great body of forces to encamp, and be in readiness, as occasion should require. Two days after this, the *French* officers, who had been taken into custody at *Louvo* with Lord *Faulkon*, were sent thither also, under a strong guard.

Prince Tot'o
put to death.

MATTERS having proceeded thus far, *Pitrachas* had Lord *Faulkon* again brought before him: it was then that he opened to him the cause of all these motions. He reproached him in a very severe manner; and, having charged him with treason against the king and government, caused him to be put to the ordinary and extraordinary torture, to force him to discover his accomplices in the intrigue for making the king a christian, and subjecting the kingdom to the *French* power. When he had continued this unhappy lord for several hours under those grievous tortures, he ordered the king's adopted son to be brought to the place, and his head to be cut-off immediately (C); then, causing a string to be run through it, had it hanged about Lord *Faulkon*'s neck, after the manner of an *European* cravat. This tragedy was acted on the 2th of *May* (D). The two following days he was again applied to the torture, in the cruellest manner that could be devised; the young prince's head continually hanging at his breast both night and day. Thus they continued to torment him till the 4th of *June*; when, being unable to hold out any longer, he died under the violence of the torture^e.

Lord Faulkon
executed.

THIS was the unhappy end of Lord *Constance*, or *Faulkon*; who, after rising by his merit to the highest pitch of grandeur, fell a sacrifice to the ambition of another. He was sober, ingenious, and industrious^f. He had an agreeable aspect, was gifted with a great understanding, and very eloquent, although not bred to learning^g. His modesty, skill, and diligence in dispatching affairs (E); and his disinterestedness in refusing both the appointments of his office, and all presents from private people, daily increased the king's confidence in him, and made him deserving of a better fate. He was very civil to the *English*, and did them all the friendly offices which lay in his power. He was also very desirous of settling a trade between this nation and the *Siameses* (F): but his good intentions were obstructed^h; and who knows, but it was their slighting his kind offers which made him turn his thoughts to the *French*. In the year 1688 he sent a very considerable present to King *James II.* of all the rarities and valuable things which the *East Indies* produce, estimated to be worth about 6000 poundsⁱ.

HOWEVER we must here add, that, besides what is said of his ingratitude to his benefactor in the notes, his treatment of Count *Fourbin*, if fact, shews him to have been a bad man. At first he caressed him, and promoted his advancement at court, where he was made high-admiral, general of the king of *Siam*'s forces, and governor of *Bankok*: but when he found that the count was become a favourite with *Cbaw Naraya*, he did all he could to destroy him; first, by poison, and then by sending him upon the most dangerous enterprizes, which obliged him at last to desire leave to depart the country. But after he had obtained it, a *Portuguese* officer was sent, by way of honour, to bring him to court. On this occasion the bishop of *Metellopolis* said, "Take care you do not put yourself into the hands of those *Portugueses*. I know Mr. *Constance* well; you need not doubt but these men have orders to murder you on the road.—Be advised by me, and draw yourself out of the hands of so artful and wicked an enemy while you may." The *French* ambassador was suspicious of him, and at last looked on him in the same light.

FARGES says, he had great qualities, but that it required time to know him. That he had no sincerity, and a boundless ambition; was easily offended, and never forgave; which made him hated by the *Siamites*, and most foreigners. To proceed,

^e Full and true relat. p. 6, & seqq.

^f HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 170.

^g KÆMPFER. p. 19.

^h Full and true relat. pref. p. 8.

ⁱ Ibid.

(C) We think it better to adhere to the account of the general *Farges* (confirmed by that of others), who makes the tragedy to commence with the murder of *Monpi*.

(D) *Kæmpfer* says, *Pitrachas* threw the head at Lord *Faulkon*'s feet, with this reproach, *See, there is your king*. At the request of the king, who was exceedingly grieved at this event, his body was decently buried. *Monpi*'s father was seized by stratagem between *Judia* and *Livo* (or *Louvo*), and all their adherents dispersed.

(E) Our author adds, his fidelity in managing the public revenue. And although he is charged with

squandering it, to carry on his project of bringing in a foreign power; yet, in other cases, he might have acquitted his trust with great integrity.

(F) Yet there seems to have been no good understanding between the officers of the *English East India* company and him. For we are told by, Count *Fourbin*, that in 1683, being at *Masulipatan*, the director of the *English* factory there, who was a sworn enemy to Mr. *Constance*, invited him to dinner, where that minister was not spared; and that, among other things, the director said, *If he could lay hold of him, he would have him hanged up*.

- a KÆMPFER relates, that after he had been tortured and starved for many days, so that his body was almost reduced to a skeleton, he was carried in a chair to his own house, which he found rifled. To add to his affliction, his lady, who lay a prisoner in the stable, was so far from taking leave of him, that she spit in his face, and would not so much as suffer him to kiss his only son of four years old; another, who had died a little before, being still unburied. From thence he was carried out of town; and, after his head was struck off, his body was divided in two parts, and covered with a little earth, which the dogs scratched away in the night time, and then devoured the corpse to the bones. Before he died, he took his seal, two silver crosses, a relick set in gold, which he always wore on his breast, being a present from the pope, with the order of St. *Michael*, sent him by the king of *France*, and delivered them to an officer of the court, desiring him to give them to his little son^k.

As soon as this execution was done on Lord *Fau'kon*, all his effects were seized, and his family carried to prison. His lady, after undergoing a very strict examination, was at last put to the torture; which she endured for several days together, without confessing what they expected or desired. She was then thrown into prison, where she continued for some months, with chains on her hands and fetters on her feet. At the expiration of this term they made her and her family slaves; in which disgraceful quality they took off her irons, opened the prison doors, and turned her out^l.

- PITRACHAS having destroyed this party, applied all his thoughts to ruin the *French*, whom he considered as the chief obstacle to his designs. He was not able to draw to court the elder of the two princes, brothers of the king, who seemed to conceive some suspicion on the repeated instances which were made to him on that account; and at which the younger, as well as the princess herself, expressed their surprize. The usurper therefore, to take away all distrust, thought proper to let the elder remain at the capital, and to take a solemn oath, before the second and the Mandarins, by which he acknowledged the princes for his true lords, and promised to do nothing but what was for their service. This engagement, performed with all the ceremony necessary to render it sacred among the *Siameses*, banished all distrust against that artful minister, and gave him more authority than ever. However, although the lives of the young prince and princess were in his power; he was sensible that the elder, who was in the city of *Siam*, might, in conjunction with the *French*, give him so much exercise, that he durst not venture to destroy them. For this reason he employed all his art to inspire, as well those of the royal blood as the rest of the nation, with hatred against the *French*, in order to join in their destruction; and he had so far gained his point, that the princess herself, as our author had been assured, was the first to give into that design^m.

- HOWEVER *Pitrachas*, before he proceeded to open force, had recourse to all sorts of stratagems to surprize the *French*. He wrote several letters to the bishop of *Metellopolis*, the Abbé *Lionne*, and the chief of the *French* lodge at the capital, to assure them, that he intended no manner of harm to either them or their religion; yet the Abbé, on going to *Louvo*, to his great astonishment, found, that all the *French* in that city had been arrested, and the other Christians imprisoned and ill-treated (G). But the Mandarin, who had been first ambassador in *France*, protested to him that the *French* had been used in that manner, merely to secure them from insults; and that, as to the other christians, he would go forthwith and set them at liberty; which he did in a little time after.

- THE Abbé *Lionne*, who went to the palace, was received very courteously by *Pitrachas*, in the midst of a magnificent court; but, after many compliments, he declared to him, “ That it was the king’s intention that general *Farges* should repair to *Louvo*: that it was true, his majesty did not blame him for returning to *Bankok*, on account of the evil reports which then were current; and that he knew the general could not march since then, for the disorder which had seized him; to cure which, the king, as a mark of his esteem, had sent his physicians: but that, being now informed that he was perfectly recovered, it was necessary that he should no longer defer to obey his majesty’s orders: That, for this end, he had sent the two Mandarins, late ambassadors in *France*, with design

^k KÆMPFER, ubi supra, p. 21.
revolut. à Siam.

^l Full and true relat. p. 7, & seq.

^m FARGES relat. de la

(G) According to the full and true account, *Pitrachas*, the better to facilitate his design of driving the Christians out of the kingdom, commanded that all the *Portuguese* should come together, and retire into a little island near the capital city; threatening to put to death all those who should attempt to make their escape out of it. The *English* had the misfortune also to feel the effects of his indignation; for they were first plundered of all their effects, and then thrown into prison. As

for the *French* who were at *Siam* and *Louvo*, they were not treated with the same violence at the beginning, because their numbers were too considerable, and it might have been hazardous to provoke them; besides *Pitrachas* was willing rather to surprize those who were posted at *Bankok* and *Mergbi*, than attack them by open force. According to *Kæmpfer*, p. 22. the *Dutch* were assured of *Pitrachas*’s protection, and orders sent to *Bankok* to let their ships pass during these troubles.

“ to do him (*Farges*) the more honour, and give him a new proof of his friendship ; to
 “ which *Pitrachas* added, that if the general did not repair to *Louvo*, his refusal might
 “ receive a bad construction, and occasion mischievous consequences : that he hoped he would
 “ make no more difficulty in the matter ; and that, in the interim, he would keep his son,
 “ the chevalier, near him, at court.”

up to court.

THE ambassadors were ordered to declare farther, “ That the king, having caused
 “ Mr. *Constance* to be arrested as a prisoner of state, had a design to give his place to the
 “ general’s son (H) : that, for this reason, it was necessary he should stay at *Louvo* for some
 “ time, to instruct him in the business of his post ; a particular which made one of the chief
 “ motives for sending for him.”

The general’s
 perplexity.

FOR all their artifices to conceal the state of affairs, *Des Farges* could easily perceive that
 things were in a very bad situation, so that he was not a little perplexed what course to resolve
 upon. He could have been glad that the Mandarins would have been satisfied with the refusal
 which he made, to accept for his son the employments which they presented him ; but they
 absolutely insisted that he should go up with them : to which he was likewise pressed by the
 Abbé *De Lionne* (whom they had brought with them), in consideration of the state in which
 affairs then were. On the one side he perceived the danger he ran by putting himself into
 their hands ; but, on the other, he saw he could not refuse going without causing an open
 rupture, at a time when he was in no condition to sustain a siege ; having neither provisions,
 nor carriages for cannon in the place, which moreover was open on all sides.”

He resolves
 to go.

AT length, after many reflections, he was of opinion, that both honour and duty required
 him to expose himself, with his two sons, to all sorts of perils ; to try, if by such marks of
 confidence, he could remove the suspicions of the *Siamese*, and preserve his troops : a thing
 which seemed impossible to be effected any other way than by obeying the order. He con-
 sidered likewise, that by this means he should avoid bringing on the *French* the imputation of
 want of fidelity, and gain time for putting *Bankok* in a better state of defence. He then gave
 the necessary orders to Mr. *Verdesale*, who commanded under him ; adding, in presence of
 his other officers, “ that he was sensible of the risk he ran in going to court ; but that the
 “ danger arising from his non-compliance would be more general and certain : that he (*Ver-*
 “ *desale*) should do his duty in his absence, and sooner see him and his sons hung up in his
 “ fight, than surrender the place intrusted to his care.”

Brought before
 Pitrachas.

PITRACHAS, being informed of the *French* general’s resolution, sent him a handsome
paleki, with other voitures for those who accompanied him. On his arrival at the gates of
Louvo, he was complimented by a Mandarin, who invited him, as from the king, to go
 directly to the palace (I.) This message he judged foreboded no good, and made him believe
 that he should be arrested. He passed through several courts full of armed men ; and was
 at first very well received by *Pitrachas*, who had assumed the title of *Great Mandarin*.
 After many compliments on his merit, and the affection which the *Siameses* had for his per-
 son, he asked, by way of conversation, “ Whether he had the absolute command of the
 “ officers and soldiers left behind at *Bankok* ; and if any of them dared to disobey his
 “ orders ? ” *Des Farges* answered, without considering *Pitrachas*’s drift, “ That discipline
 “ was very exactly observed in the armies of his master ; and that all must obey at the first
 “ word of a commander.” “ Ha ! I am very glad to hear that (replied the Great Man-
 “ darin) ; the king sent you an order to come up with your troops. How comes it then
 “ that you have brought nobody with you but your son ? ”

Ordered to
 bring his
 troops,

THIS question, though unexpected, did not surprise the general so much, as the assurance
 of the first ambassador (K) ; who affirmed to his face, that he had importuned him to bring
 his garrison along with him. *Des Farges* perceived by this that it was a concerted affair,
 and began to despair of getting out of the scrape. Very well, replied *Pitrachas*, “ I see it
 “ is a misunderstanding : you have only to write immediately to your officers and soldiers to

ⁿ DES FARGES, ubi supra.

(H) According to the full and true account, this inter-
 view is represented to have been with *Pitrachas* himself,
 who, in the king’s name, offered *Des Farges* the place
 of *Barkalong*, which *Constance* enjoyed.

(I) We are told by others, that he set forward by
 water on the 7th of June. But he had not advanced
 two leagues on his way upon the river, when, per-
 ceiving himself surrounded with armed barges and
 galleys, he began to think that some extraordinary
 business must be in agitation. That his surprise was
 increased, when, on his arrival at *Siam*, he saw him-
 self put into a *palanki*, or close litter, and carried to

Louvo, guarded by several troops of armed men, in a
 manner he had never been escorted before : that, as
 soon as he got to *Louvo*, he was conducted to the king’s
 palace, without being allowed to go first to the *jeuists*
 house, as he desired, under design of reposing himself
 a little ; though his true pretence was, to learn the pre-
 sent posture of affairs, which seemed to him to be much
 altered (1).

(K) This was *Manpay*, who, the year before, had
 been in *France*, in quality of first ambassador ; and
 since his return was made *Barkalong*, or chief minister
 of state (2).

(1) Full and true account, p. 10.

(2) Full and true account.

- a "repair to you, since, you assure me, that none of them will venture to disobey your commands." The general, without regarding the danger in which he was, answered, "That, if he was on the spot, what he had told him would be the case; but that, according to the customs of *France*, a governor out of his garrison has no authority there: and that, before he left his, he had desired the first ambassador to let him know, whether the king had sent any other order, that he might execute it at once; since it was most certain, that Mr. *Verdesale* would not obey him in his absence. The Abbé *De Lionne*, perceiving the danger in which they were involved, represented to the first ambassador, "That all was lost if the general was detained; and that Mr. *Verdesale* was a person who would hearken to nothing, but would push things to the last extremity."
- b THIS discourse seemed to make an impression on the *Siameses*; who judged it better to send *Des Farges* back, and keep his two sons as pledges for performing his promise. After-wards, they pretended to send him on an expedition against fictitious enemies (L), in which he was to have the whole command; and therefore, to secure the victory, proposed to him to write to Mr. *Bruan* at *Mergbi*, to join him with his troops. It was to no purpose to desire leave to depart the kingdom, in case they distrusted the *French*; the king's will must first be obeyed. They then sent him a draught of the letter in *Siamese*, which, translated, formed a jargon, proper to give Mr. *Bruan* to understand, that the general was arrested, and their affairs in a very bad way. *Pitrachas* however was well pleased with the copy; imagining that what was a good style in *Siamese*, was the same in *French*.
- c To add to his affliction, he was informed of an unhappy affair which befel the *French* who had been detained at *Louvo* (M). These, after the departure of the Abbé *Lionne*, with the two Mandarins from thence, being in fear that *Des Farges* would not quit *Bankok* to obey the summons, determined at all hazards to escape thither. With this view they took horses at that place, and made all the haste they could to get into the neighbourhood of the city of *Siam*, where they found more than 400 men (N) assembled, with a design to stop them. Presently after, certain Mandarins advancing, gave them their parole, that nothing ill should happen to them, provided they freely surrendered themselves. This promise prevented them from standing on their defence, which besides they saw would be to no purpose. The *Siameses*, however, regardless of their word, treated them in the most cruel and ignominious manner in the world. They stripped them almost naked, and conducted them back with ropes about their necks, which they tied to the tails of their horses; making them sometimes trot, not regarding the chevalier *Des Farges*, the general's son, who was one of the number: nor did they spare to beat them with sticks and lances, to oblige those to rise who fell down with such evil treatment, insomuch that one of them died on the road (O). They were afterwards exposed at *Louvo* for three hours to the mercy of the populace (P), who struck them in the face, and committed all the outrages imaginable.
- d As this history confirmed *Des Farges* still more in his opinion of the extreme hatred which the *Siameses* bore to the *French*, he made haste to return to *Bankok*; constrained to sacrifice his two sons (Q), whom they demanded in hostage, in order to get quickly to the place where he believed his presence was most necessary. He met with, on the road, the bishop of *Metellopolis* (R), whom the Great Mandarin had obliged to repair to *Louvo*, under pretence that the king wanted to discourse him on affairs of consequence: but, in reality, to make

° DES FARGES, ubi supra.

P DES FARGES, and the full and true relat.

(L) The *Kochinchinians* and *Laos*; who were said to have threatened the kingdom with an invasion. *Full and true account*, p. 13.

(M) And at *Thalasson*, or *Thli Pousson*. The most considerable persons among the *French*, we are told from another quarter, were the chevalier *Des Carges* (a mistake for *Des Farges*) and *De Fritteville*, with Mess. *De Vaudrille*, *De Lariffe*, and two engineers, one named *Bresley*. Their intent was to get to the quarters of the *French* company in that city, and there, seizing on some vessel, sail to join general *Farges* at *Bankok*, and inform him of what had passed: for these transactions had been hitherto carried on with such incredible diligence and secrecy, that not the least tidings of them had as yet reached either that garrison or *Mergbi* (1).

(N) According to the *full and true account*, a body of 6 or 7000 was sent after them: so that early next morning, when within two leagues of the capital, they were surprised to see so great a detachment of the army both before them and behind them, to hinder their getting into the city.

(O) This person, as we learn from the *full and true account*, was *Bresley* the engineer, mentioned in the last

note but one; and seems to be the same, who, as *Kæmpfer* relates, seeing a halter put about the neck of each of them, according to the *Siamese* custom on such occasions, died of the fright. But he errs in saying they were general *Farges*'s hostages, who made their escape from *Louvo*; for *Farges* had not been there yet.

(P) They were chained two and two together by the neck, and imprisoned. Their domestics were treated in the same manner; and so were all the other *French* who staid in that city. See the *full and true account*, ubi supra.

(Q) *Kæmpfer* says, *Des Farges* was indeed well received; but, before he was permitted to return to *Bankok*, was obliged to deliver up that place, and leave his two sons, with twelve more of his countrymen, as hostages at *Louvo*.

(R) He had lived long among them, and was apostolic vicar in the greater part of *India*. *Full and true account*, p. 14. *Kæmpfer* calls him Mr. *Louis*. Capt. *Hamilton* speaks of a *French* bishop named *Giffec*, who in 1720 was eighty years of age, and had been there at least since 1708.

(1) *Full and true account*, p. 3, & seq.

sure of his person, and send him to *Bankok*, some time after the general, to serve his design, by exposing him to danger: for he declared plainly to him in the very first audience, “That he verily believed the general would march up with his troops; but that he would send him, the bishop, to *Bankok*, to let him know, that if he did not come, he would put him, his missionaries, the jesuits, and all the christians, at the mouth of the cannon.”

begins hostilities.

In spite of all the dangers which threatened, it was unanimously resolved, as soon as *Des Farges* reached the fortress, to perish rather than yield themselves up to the mercy of the *Siameses*, who had given them so many proofs of their ill-will. Mean time hostilities commenced, by attacking a ship belonging to the king of *Siam*, whose crew had refused to sell the *French* provisions, in very injurious terms. After this, the general withdrew the troops which were in the old fort on the west side of the river, because it was not possible to keep it; at the same time ordering the parapets to be demolished, and such cannon, as could not burst, to be nailed up. Nor were the *Siameses* backward to annoy them in their work; and no sooner were the *French* retired, than they set about repairing the fort and unnailing the guns. To prevent their lodgment, three officers, at the head of thirty men, were sent in two shallops against them; but finding a multitude, which they did not expect, they were forced to retire, after the loss of three or four men. The *French* then made a great fire, to hinder the enemy from mounting a cannon, which would have uncovered the fortress. Their works were several times destroyed, yet they had the obstinacy to repair them, although it cost them abundance of men. Mean time they did not cease firing for three or four days: and few nights passed in which they did not make false attacks; which, joined to the inconveniencies within the fortress, gave the *French* inexpressible fatigues^a.

Bravery of St. Crik.

As there was no possibility of receiving succours from without, nor hopes of obtaining composition from their enemies; they resolved to send a small bark, belonging to the company, out of the river, in quest of two *Siamese* vessels, manned with *Frenchmen*, which had been sent a cruising two months before. This was a dangerous enterprise, but their situation required it. A lieutenant, named *St. Crik*, with nine soldiers, sailed down the river, after escaping the fire of the fort; but scarce was the bark out of sight, when it was attacked with such fury that the *French* could not prevent boarding. However *St. Crik* cleared the deck of the multitude, by setting fire to part of his powder and all his grenados, which he had disposed for the purpose. The bark having afterwards run aground, the *Siameses*, who imagined all the powder was consumed, entered her again without any apprehension; and were tossed into the air in greater numbers than before. Then *St. Crik*, setting fire to some barrels which he had reserved, blew up the bark, and all the *Siameses* who were in it; most of whom perished with him, to the great admiration of those who were on shore^d.

Pitrachas's artifices.

PITRACHAS, on the first advice which he received, that *Des Farges* refused to advance with his troops, did not fail to send to him the bishop of *Metellopolis*, as he had promised. This prelate arriving at a time when the enemy's fort was battered with most violence, the *Siameses* took all his men prisoners; stripped him, and, putting a robe about his neck, threatened to expose him to the cannon of the fortress (S). The Grand Mandarin yet tried another expedient: which was to make the general's sons write, to acquaint their father, “That there was no more life for them, unless he came to *Louvo*; and that it was even a favour done them, that they were suffered to let him know the dangerous condition in which they were.” *Des Farges* wrote for answer, “That he would willingly part with his own life to save theirs; but when the honour of the king, and the preservation of his troops were concerned, he had no interests but what he thought himself obliged to sacrifice: that they ought to rest satisfied with the consolation, that they had committed no crimes wherewith to reproach themselves; and that the king would in time revenge the outrages which should be done them.”^e

The two princes murdered.

MEAN time the Grand Mandarin, from the advice which he received of what passed at *Bankok*, conceived little hopes of succeeding in his design against it, any more by force than stratagem; and began to think that he ought not to defer prosecuting his ambitious views any longer on that score, but clear his way to the throne by making away with the two princes, brothers of the king, who only stood in his passage: one of them was already in his hands, and he had taken his measures to secure himself of the other. He therefore assembles the principal Mandarins in the place, and complained in strong terms against the princes, who, he said, had sworn his destruction; and desired to know what they thought was proper to be done with them. As his power was now too great for any person to oppose him, and he had

^a DES FARGES.

^d Ibid.

^e Ibid.

(S) According to the *full and true relation*, he actually was, with a halter about his neck, fastened to a gibbet, set up in a place most exposed to the fire of the cannon. *Kæmpfer* says, the bishops, and seven or eight jesuits,

were imprisoned in the court of the king's magazines, where our author saw them living cheerfully. Three other jesuits, who settled at *Louvo*, on pretence to learn the *Palli* (or *Balli*) language, disappeared of a sudden.

a besides gained over most of those great men by fair promises; they unanimously gave it as their opinion, that the princes were ungrateful persons, and deserved to be punished.

IMMEDIATELY orders were sent to seize the prince, who was at *Siam*, and bring him up to *Louvo*. Not many days after, both he and his brother were sent to *Tbli Poufon* (T); where, being put into scarlet sacks, they were beaten to death with clubs of sandal wood. This is the account which general *Farges* gives of the princes, and their fate: but, according to *the full and true account*, they never reached that place; for they were murdered in the way by a party of men, who were appointed to do that execution (U). After this, they fell upon all the considerable persons (who were the friends or acquaintance of the three princes, and the minister, already dispatched out of the way) and caused them either to be put to death after
b the same manner, or else closely confined in prison.

THE old king was still alive when his two brothers were put to death; but he died the day following*. According to *Kämpfer*, this happened on the 11th of *July*, in the fifty-fifth year of his age (X), and thirty-second of his reign. *The king died.*

THE character of *Chaw Naraya*, as given by the *French* travellers, is very advantageous; *His character* they will even have him to be the greatest prince who ever reigned in *Siam*. He was for stature somewhat of the middle size, but strait and well-shaped. He had besides an engaging air, a sweet and obliging carriage, especially to strangers. He was brisk and active, an enemy to idleness and sloth; for he was always either in the woods a hunting, or in his palace minding the affairs of his kingdom. He was no lover of war, because it ruined his people, whom
c he tenderly loved; but no king in all the east appeared more fond of glory, or impatient to revenge an affront when offered to him by any of the neighbouring princes. His love for learning prompted him to send to *Europe* for persons who might teach his subjects the sciences. He was desirous of knowing every thing; and having had a piercing genius, easily became master of what he had a mind to learn (Y). He was magnificent (Z), generous, and a sincere friend as could be desired. These were the illustrious qualities which acquired him the respect of his neighbours, the fear of his enemies, and the love, as well as esteem of his subjects, which fell little short of adoration. He was never addicted to those vices, particularly the immoderate use of women, so commonly found among the eastern princes; and often punished the most considerable officers of state, for being too much given to their pleasures. He had
d too much understanding to believe the senseless doctrine of an annihilated God, or rather a Being who, weary of governing, plunges himself in repose, and for ever after forgets what passes in the world. On the contrary he believed the Deity to be eternal, and that he governed the universe by his providence: to the same immortal being he prayed twice a day, for two hours time, in the morning when he was up, and at night before he went to rest.

CHAW NARAYA left behind him only one daughter. According to *Loubiere*, she was called *Nang fa*, that is, *young heaven*^b. *Chaumont* says she was styled the *princess queen*^c; and all agree that she had the rank and honour of a queen. In 1685 she was twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age. She had her lands, revenues, soldiers, and officers, distinct from the king's. She daily gave audience, morning and evening, to all the wives of the great officers at court,
e who durst not fail to make their attendance: and while the princess queen received them sitting on her throne, they lay prostrate, with their heads to the ground, in the same manner as their husbands appeared before the king. She was severe even to cruelty in her chastisements of her female attendants, as hath been already mentioned. She went to see his majesty twice every day, and dined with him. Lord *Faulkon* had often been admitted, on affairs of importance;

* FARGES relat. revolut. a Siam. and true relation, pref. p. 12.

^a Full and true account.

^x DES FARGES, ubi sup.

^{*} Full

^b Relat. p. 55.

^c CHAUMONT relat. p. 110.

(T) Or *Tlle Poufon*, in the *full and true account*, called *Thetapfon*. It is one of the king of *Siam*'s pleasure-houses, a short league east of *Louvo*, according to *Tachard*. *First voy.* p. 231.

(U) According to *Kämpfer*, they were beaten to death with sandal clubs, in a temple near *Liwo*, or *Louvo*.

(X) The *full and true account* says he was about fifty-nine years old. *Kämpfer* places this event in the year 1689, or that of the *Sonkard*, the *Siamese* epocha 2232; but, according to *Loubiere*, p. 8, it ought to be 2234. Besides it was not in the year of *Christ* 1689, but 1688. as appears from the foregoing account of the *French*, which seems, for the general, to be most authentic. Capt. *Hamilton* relates this revolution with somewhat different circumstances; and says, he had the account from Mr. *Besepool*, Lord *Faulkon*'s secretary, who lay in prison three years after his master's death, with his neck in the portable pillory, and was often whipt, to make him accuse those whose estates the usurper attempted to seize.

(Y) This is the character generally given of him by the missionaries. But Count *De Fourbin*, who was often about his person, says quite the reverse of him. He used to entertain the king with little stories, which pleased him, but never took any pains to dress them; for he observes, that his *Siamese* majesty was a prince of no genius, and very ignorant; whereas *Tachard* cries him up as a prodigy of wit and judgment.

(Z) *Fourbin* observes, that although the kingdom of *Siam* is poor, and one sees no footsteps of magnificence in it, yet when the prince went a hunting, or shewed himself in public, he appeared with all the pomp suitable to a great monarch; and the superb figure which he made when he went abroad, was scarce to be excelled by any other prince. As for the manner in which he was served in his palace, it was known to no person; his most intimate favourites not being admitted nearer than a window, from which he talked to them.

when they were at dinner, but could never see her face, for a little screen which was placed a before her. It was by means of Lady *Faulkon* that *Choisy* got his information concerning her.

CHAW NARAYA left a sister likewise, and several aunts, at his death, who were all old women^d.

^d CHAUMONT relat. p. 110. & CHOISY, p. 373, 374, 398.

C H A P. XII.

Reign of Pitracha. Peace concluded with the French. They depart from Siam; none to remain, under pain of death. A pretender taken and punished. Pitracha's successors.

Reign of Pitracha, or, Picheracha.

The usurper's policy.

His family,

and character.

The king's om pacified.

THE usurper managed his affairs so politically, that this great revolution was brought about without causing the least tumult or insurrection throughout the whole kingdom. *Opra Pecherachas*, or *Pitrachas* (A), was distinguished from among the other grandees by his majestic air and by his illustrious birth; for he was said to be descended from the true royal race, from which the father of the late king had usurped the crown. He was foster-brother to *Chaw Naraya*, and much about the same age. His affected zeal for religion had gained him the esteem of all the *Talapoy*s, as well as veneration of the people; who besides observed in him a heart truly *Siamese*, full of esteem for his own nation, and contempt for others: but being at the same time a great politician, he knew so well how to dissemble and conceal his mind, that he constantly refused the most considerable dignities both for himself and his son, seeming to aspire to no other happiness than that of a private life. The distance at which he kept himself from public affairs, removing all suspicions of his designs, he was constantly one of the first in the counsels of the king. Mr. *Constance*, who was thought to have the whole power, and omitted nothing to make the *French* think so, had not near so much credit nor access as *Pitrachas*; although he was in great favour with his master, who thought none but he capable of treating with foreigners, on account of the thorough knowledge which he had of their customs, and of all the courts of *Europe*^a.

To this account of general *Farges* we may add the report of other authors. *Pitrachas*, as hath been observed before, was one of the most powerful lords of the court, as having had the command of all the king's elephants and horses, which are esteemed that monarch's principal forces. His family had not only been long in the highest offices in the state, but was frequently allied to the crown; and it was even publicly reported, when *Loubiere* was at *Siam*, that either he, or his son *Sourakak*, who was an *Ok-louang*, might pretend to it, if they should happen to survive *Chaw Naraya*, who was nursed by *Pitrachas*'s mother. The people loved him because he appeared moderate; and was by them supposed to be invulnerable, because he had come off unhurt in a battle against the king of *Pegu*, wherein he exposed himself much. His courage had likewise gained him the favour of *Chaw Naraya*^b. *Kämpfer* tells us, that his mother was the king's sister, and that his own sisters and daughters were the king's wives. On these accounts that monarch always looked on him as his most intimate friend; and he was the more grieved at the severity which *Pitrachas* exercised against his brothers and adopted son, as he never expected any thing of the kind from his hand; the rather too because he always expressed an abhorrence for the burthen of a crown^c: the common artifice however, in all times, of those who coveted it most. This lord having brought all things to bear according to his mind, set out from *Louvo* the last day of *July*, and arrived at the capital, where he was crowned with great ceremony and without opposition^d.

PITRACHAS (B) being now master of the kingdom, forthwith disposed of the great offices of the state in favour of those who had served him. He promoted all the Mandarins whom he

^a DES FARGES relat. revolut. de Siam. Japan, p. 23.

^d Full and true relat. p. 21.

^b Full and true relat. p. 17, 21. LOUBIERE, p. 89.

^c KÄMPF.

(A) Others write *Petracha*, or *Pitracha*, which perhaps is more correct; as *Racha*, which makes two of the three syllables of his name, seems to be the same with, or at least an imitation of, *Râjah*; a name of dignity equal to that of king, in the hither peninsula of the *Indies*.

(B) This account is from the *French* officer, who was made prisoner at *Mergé* after *Braac*'s retreat, and was carried to the capital at the time when this transaction happened. See his letter in the *full and true relat.* p. 21. also, p. 17.

a had any reason yet to fear, and even set at liberty those whom he had caused to be arrested, in order to gain both parties over to his interest. He eased the people of their servitudes; and commanded public alms to be distributed, which effectually procured him the affections of the whole nation. With regard to the princess, he still preserved his respect for her, whom he proposed to make his consort (C). However, it was reported, that she expressed extreme grief at the death of the young prince, who either was, or was to have been, her husband (D); and that, in the excess of her rage, she had loaded with injurious language the author of his death: but time, in no long space, wore out her grief, and she chose rather to live a queen, than die unhappy. But to return to the affair of the *French*:

b PITRACHAS had no sooner resolved to make away with the princes, than he began to think of accommodating matters with the *French*, and obliging them to depart the kingdom in peace. In order to this, he sent for the sons of general *Des Farges*, and told them, "That he found himself moved with compassion for them; that besides, he knew the integrity of their father's heart, and that he was not capable of breaking his word: adding, that he was convinced they were the troops, who, possessed with panic fears, could not be persuaded to obey him: that he granted them their lives; and farther, out of consideration for the general, as well as friendship for them, would send them to him." Their return to *Bankok*, which happened on the 24th of *June* (E), gave extreme joy to all the garrison, as well as their father, who at first could not conceive what lucky motive to impute it to: but when afterwards he was informed of the death of the two princes, he concluded that the Great Mandarin was willing, by this action of generosity, to open the way to a peace with the *French*; and the two Mandarins, whom they consulted on that occasion, confirmed him in that opinion^e.

FROM the time the general's sons arrived at *Bankok*, the fire diminished on both sides, and several proposals were made towards an accommodation; but the distrust of the garrison was so great that they could rely on nothing. Toward the end of these long and fatiguing negotiations (F), during which *Des Farges* found means to procure provisions, the two *Siamese* vessels, manned with *Frenchmen*, mentioned before, arrived at the fortrefs: they returned them also the officers, who had been detained at *Louvo*; and some other *French* of that place, as well as the capital, having found means to join them: they then were informed of all the ill-treatment they had received from the *Siameses*, as well as the persecution which the *Siamese*, *Peguan*, and *Portuguese* christians still suffered in a cruel slavery: that the seminary of the bishop of *Metellopolis* had been pillaged, and many young christian girls seized to make concubines of. They learned also from a missionary, who had been put in the kanghe, with all the christians of the province of *Porfeluk*, at the farther end of the kingdom, that ever since the month of *January*, they had not ceased to threaten them with the evils which afterwards befel them. This shews that *Pitrachas* had concerted his measures a good while before, for executing the design which he had in view.

THEY were also informed by a *Frenchman*, who had been made prisoner at *Mergui*, that Mr. *De Bruan*, and the *French* of his garrison, had been attacked; but that water failing in the place, which besides was commanded by a *Siamese* battery, they had forced their way through the enemy, and seized a vessel belonging to the king of *Siam*, by means of which they had gotten safe out of the country^f. But of this more particularly hereafter.

^e DES FARGES, ubi supr.

^f Ibid. ubi supr.

(C) Neither *Kämpfer* nor *Hamilton* tell us what became of this princess, or indeed so much as mention her: the first letters likewise which came from *India* after the revolution, were silent in this particular; but others, which followed them, brought an account, that, by order of *Pitrachas*, she was put into a velvet sack, and had her brains beaten out with clubs of sweet wood; after which her body was thrown into the river (1).

(D) Reports or suggestions were various on this occasion. Some say she was, or was to have been, married to *Monpi*, as before observed; and the *French* say, that she had taken a fancy to the chevalier *Des Farges*, and actually promised to marry him: but this is more than the general *Des Farges* says himself.

(E) This was after the death of the princes and the king, who, according to *Kämpfer*, died the 11th of *July*. There is great disagreement in the dates of different authors: the *French* officer made prisoner at *Mergui* says, he died in *July*, but could not learn the day. He mentions nothing of *Des Farges*'s sons being

sent to *Bankok*, but says, on the 9th of *August*, he, with five more officers, were sent thither, as mentioned hereafter; and if his dates be right, the general's sons could not have been returned to him before *August*.

(F) Authors give no particulars of this long negotiation; only the writer of the *full and true relation* informs us, that, on the 25th of *July*, the bishop of *Metellopolis*, being released from the dreadful situation in which he had been posted before *Bankok*, was sent into the place to obtain a commission from general *Des Farges*, to negotiate a peace with such persons as *Pitrachas* should appoint for that purpose. The commission was immediately granted him; and next day he returned to *Siam* in order to execute it: from that time the *Okpra* began to desist from his cruel treatment of the *French*, and other *Europeans* who were in his power (2). But as it appears from the account of *Des Farges* that he desisted earlier, perhaps *June* should be put in the place of *July*.

(1) *Full and true account*, pref. p. 2.

(2) P. 17, & seq.

THE officer above-mentioned was made prisoner the 25th of *June*, as he relates himself (the day after *Bruan* had retreated), and sent up to the capital, where he arrived the 17th of *July*. The day after *Okpra Pitrachas* was crowned (which must have been the 1st or 2d of *August*), he ordered all the *French* and *English*, who were in that city and *Louvo*, to be set at liberty. On the 9th he, with four other officers, *De Fretteville*, *De Vandrille*, *Des Carges* (G), and *De Laisse*, were all sent by the new king's orders to *Bankok*; not to their own general, as they hoped, but to his general, who commanded the *Malayans*, by whom they were kept prisoners almost a month. All the *French* left at the capital, were delivered into the custody of the *Jesuits*, and (*Viret*) the chief factor of the *French* company, who were to be responsible for them. However, the king being resolved to have a peace (H) at any rate, sent them at last to Mr. *Des Farges*, who would hearken to no treaty unless they were comprehended in it^g.

Jesuits favoured.

The Oriflame arrives.

SHORTLY after, advice came to *Bankok*, that the *Oriflame* man of war, commanded by Mr. *L'Estrille*, was arrived in the road, where he had continued for some time in no small pain, to hear neither from the garrison nor from some officers of his ship, who had first landed; for it seems the *Siamese* had artfully conducted them to the capital, without passing by the fortresses, or mentioning any thing of what had happened: so that if the affairs of the *French* had not been already in terms of accommodation, those officers must have run great hazard; nor could the ship have given the garrison any assistance, or even had the least correspondence with them. This shews, says *Des Farges*, how ill-situated *Bankok* is, and that sooner or later we must have abandoned it.

Lady Constance escapes.

IN the interim another accident happened, which had like to have broken off all their negotiations. The lady of Mr. *Constance*, after having been cruelly tortured to make her declare all her late husband's effects, and suffered many other outrages, as well from the painted-arms, who guarded her, as from the son of *Pitrachas*, who was passionately in love with her, at length found means to escape, and take refuge at *Bankok*^h.

P. D'ORLEANS relates the circumstances of *Madam Constance's* escape in the following manner: a *French* officer, named *St. Mari*, being arrived at the city of *Siam*, to look for materials to equip the ships which were to transport the garrison of *Bankok* to *Pondicherry*, having had an opportunity of seeing that lady, made a tender to her of his services, with his purse. This civility encouraged her to propose the design of making her escape with him; which motion, being a man of gallantry, he embraced. The third of *October* in the evening, the time fixed for their departure, *St. Mari* repaired to her door well armed, as he was resolved to run all risks to bring her off. Things succeeded beyond expectation; the lady, with her son and one chamber-maid, following the officer, got safely on board the balon which waited for them, and next day they arrived at *Bankok*ⁱ. To return to the general's relation:

arrives at Bankok.

THE new king, fearing that if she got out of the kingdom, she would be mistress of the riches which her husband had conveyed abroad, sent the *French* word, that unless they delivered her up, he would not come to any accommodation with them. This proved a most unlucky event; for the sails, cables, anchors, and other things, without which they could not depart, were still in the hands of the *Siameses*; and the general saw he should have all the difficulty in the world to get them restored. Although he was extremely uneasy upon this new affair, which happened without his knowledge, yet he was of opinion, that he ought not to surrender her, without the least providing for her safety. He tried to obtain leave for her to go out of the country: but the king would not hear of it, and hostilities began to break out with more fury than ever. They had already at the city of *Siam* the *Sieur Viret*, chief of the *French* factory, whom the general had sent to finish their affairs, with all the missionaries, and one *Jesuit*, who still remained there. In short, they threatened the relations of the widow-lady with the most cruel punishments; so that her mother wrote to *Des Farges*, intreating him to accommodate the affair. This he did by a treaty, in which the king of *Siam* himself promised to allow the lady *Constance* liberty of conscience, with that of marrying whom she pleased; and that he would not permit any violence to be done either to her or any of her family: on which conditions he sent her back^k.

Delivered up again

^g See full and true relat. p. 21.

^h DES FARGES, ubi supr.

ⁱ DES FARGES, ubi supra.

^j P. D'ORLEANS hist. of M. Constance.

(G) Sure this cannot be a mistake for *Des Farges*, one of the general's sons. If it was he, methinks the author of the letter would have mentioned that circumstance.

(H) *Kempfer* gives an account of the conclusion of this affair very different from all the *French* writers: he says, That the general, being enraged at his disappointment, on his return to *Bankok*, fired on the *Siameses* and their ships: he likewise hung up on the ramparts two of his garrison, who were natives, for appearing not quite so ready to act as he would have had them. and

committed all sorts of hostilities. That this conduct had like to have provoked the *Siameses* to act a bloody tragedy with him and his sons; for which purpose they had begun to raise forts on the river, to cut off his retreat by sea; but on his abating his firing, and laying all the blame on his people, who would not obey his orders, the *Dutch* resident persuaded the court to slight his bravados: so that soon after he obtained leave to depart with his people. The *French* pique themselves much on the triumph of *Des Farges*: must we believe them, or the *Dutch*?

- a P. D'ORLEANS relates, that all the *French* officers of the garrison of *Bankok* were extremely *to the usurper*, pleased at the arrival of Lady *Constance*, and were determined to protect her; but the general, to their great surprize, did not approve of it. A council of war was twice called upon the occasion by his orders, to deliberate on the affair; in which he endeavoured to prove, that it was for the interest both of religion (I) and the nation itself, that she should be sent back: but, says our author, he could not bring any into his opinion excepting his two sons. However, he was inflexible; yet, that things might be done with the less violence, he endeavoured to induce the unfortunate lady herself to submit to his reasons. As this attempt proved in vain, on the 15th of *October* sixteen days after her arrival, she was confined in the prison. She submitted to this force, after protesting against the violence which was offered her under the protection of the king of *France*; and thanking the officers for the good-will which they had testified in her behalf. She was from thence delivered into the hands of an old Mandarin, one of the ambaf- *Her future condition.* sadors who had been in *France*, and was conducted by water to *Siam*; where her last lot was to be sent down to serve in the kitchens of the palace^k. *Kæmpfer* informs us, that in the year 1690, Lady *Faulkon* and her young son went begging about the streets, none daring to intercede for them^l. But afterwards she recovered somewhat of her former condition; for in 1719 she was honoured with the superintendency of the king's confectionary. She was born in *Siam* of honourable parents; and at that time respected both in court and city, for her prudence and humanity both to natives and strangers, whom she was ready to relieve when they fell into difficulties, or under the oppression of the men in power^m. To return to the *French* at *Bankok*.
- c At length their negotiations, which had been so often interrupted and renewed, were terminated by a capitulation; whereby the *Siameses* engaged themselves to give the *French* three *depart Siam.* vessels, with provisions and all other necessaries, besides two great Mandarins in hostage, to conduct them out of the kingdom (K). It was farther stipulated on the part of the *French*, that they should leave the works of the fortress entire, and that they should march out with their arms and baggage; which they did on the first (L) of *November*ⁿ.

As they always apprehended some treachery on the part of the *Siameses*, they were continually on their guard. However, those people discovered no signs of intending to attempt any thing against them: but, on their arrival at the road, they refused to deliver them some tackle and pieces of cannon, which had been left on the shoals near their forts. By way of reprisal, the *French* thought fit to detain their Mandarins, who were responsible for their baggage.

- d It is almost incredible how many works the *Siameses* were obliged to make during the siege. *Siamese works* Besides the cavalier, which, in spite of the fire from the *French* artillery, they had raised against them in the western forts, of which they were masters, they had surrounded the fortress at a small cannon-shot distance with palisades, and afterwards with nine forts, from whence they battered it on all sides. From *Bankok* to the mouth of the *Menam*, the banks were defended by several other little forts, built with design to hinder succours coming to the *French* from without. On these forts were mounted more than 140 pieces of battering cannon, which had been brought from the capital by an arm of the river opened for the purpose, to avoid passing in sight of the *French*. They had likewise, by immense labour, secured the entrance *to block up the French.* of the bar with five or six ranges of thick trees, fixed extremely firm in the ground at low water, leaving only a narrow passage; which might easily be shut with an iron chain, and was guarded by several armed gallies. The *French* could not have believed the *Siamers* capable of so many contrivances (M); but their fury at the beginning was so great and general, that the very women, making it as it were a point of devotion, repaired in crowds with victuals for the soldiers who worked at their forts. They were besides assisted by most of the foreigners who were in the country: they had *English* and *Portugueses* to command their ships at the entrance of the river, and *Dutch* to play off their bombs; while the *French* were blocked up not only

^k ORLEANS hist. Mr. Constance, &c. the E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 175.

^l KÆMPF. p. 21.

^m HAMILT. new account of

ⁿ DES FARGES, ubi supra.

(I) According to the *Full and true relation*, Mr. *Des Farges*, before he left *Bankok*, was prevailed on by the Jesuits to deliver her up to *Pitrachas*, upon this suggestion, that, being a christian, and extremely beloved by the usurper's son, she might marry him, and contribute her endeavours to make a convert of her husband (2).

(K) According to the *Full and true relation*, the peace was concluded and signed on both sides on the 30th of *September*, on the following conditions:

1. That the *French* should surrender the fort of *Bankok*.

2. That all the *French* should have leave to depart the kingdom.

3. That they should have two frigates belonging to the *French* company; a ship of the *French* king's, called the *Oriflame*; and a fourth of seventy-four guns, on which the king of *Siam* was to embark them, and transport them out of his dominions.

(L) According to P. *D'Orleans*, they set sail the 29th of *November*, and arrived at *Pondicherry* the beginning of *February* 1689.

(M) This shews how little *Europeans* know of foreign nations, or are curious to enquire into the state of arts and sciences with them; which are far from being so contemptible, as, by superficial travellers, to conceal their own ignorance, or want of curiosity, they are represented to be.

by an army of the *Siameses*, but also by the *Peguers*, *Malayans*, *Chinese*, *Mohammedans*, and a others, who had their respective forts, where they were intrenched ^o.

Des Farges's
defence

It had indeed been easy for the *French* to have hindered the building of these forts if they had been sufficiently furnished with powder: but their general *Des Farges* chose rather to husband it, and gain time, than put it out of his power in seven or eight days to repulse the enemy, in case they should make an attack: and the event, says our author, has made it appear, that no other course could have been taken, considering the circumstances they were in. On one hand, it was very uncertain whether the proposals of the *Siameses* were sincere; but, on the other hand, it was most certain, that all had been lost if he had not hearkened to them. This made him often say to most of his officers, who breathed nothing but fire and flame, that they should always have an opportunity to make the push of despair; but that time might produce that lucky turn, which they durst not hope for from all their too precipitate efforts.

of his conduct.

Des Farges gave the enemy sufficiently to understand by letters, that if they did not act sincerely, and grant him his demands, he would first blow up their fortresses, burst all their cannon which were at his disposal, and then would fall upon them with his whole garrison; only desiring of them, in such case, the favour not to give any quarter to a *Frenchman*, as he was resolved to deal the same way with every *Siamese* who fell into his hands. The event convinced him, that one need never despair of getting out of a scrape with time, which may produce alterations. That which happened on the death of the princes, began to put the affairs of the *French* in a better situation than they were before. The resolution, which they made the *Siameses* sensible they had all put on, and of which *St. Crik* had given them proofs, served also not a little to intimidate them: but, after all, *Des Farges*, like a true *Frenchman*, was ready to acknowledge, that the fear of vengeance from his grand monarch, contributed more than every thing else to the advantageous conditions, which the *Siameses* had been constrained to grant the *French*; after they had been exposed for five months to the most rigorous treatment ^p.

THIS is the account of the revolution of *Siam* in 1688, and the conduct of the *French* on that occasion, as given by general *Des Farges*, who must certainly have had opportunities of knowing whatever past of moment; and, in all appearance, has been sincere, though not particular enough, in his relation of facts, notwithstanding the reflections passed on him by some of his own countrymen as well as others; of which, however, it will be proper to inform our readers.

Accused by
others

It has been already intimated, that the *French*, according to *P. D'Orleans*, loaded *Des Farges* with reproaches on several accounts: 1. For not advancing to *Louvo* to support *Mr. Constance*. 2. For delivering up *Lady Constance*, who had fled to the banners of *France* for protection. 3. For surrendering up *Bankok*, which, they say, he might easily have defended against all the forces of the king of *Siam*; and therefore go so far as to tax him with cowardice, and even with crimes of a blacker die, breach of trust and robbery.

of heinous
offences.

WE are told that *Mr. Constance* entrusted the general *Des Farges* with immense riches; and that it was the desire of converting them to his own use, which was the true cause of the revolution which happened in *Siam*. To this our author imputes the loss of *Siam*, and the death of the king, as well as of *Mr. Constance*, and others; with the delivering up of *Lady Constance*, and her only son, to *Pitrachas*; lest, if they should pass over to *France*, the vulturs would be obliged to quit their prey. To the same cause he ascribes the persecution which the Christians underwent; and, in short, suggests, that, but for the father's avarice, the son would have been king of *Siam*: for he affirms that the princess, heiress to the crown, had given her hand to marry the young *Marquis Des Farges*, who was forced to abandon her. But for this our author seems to have had no other authority than that of the general's sons, who boasted at *Martinico*, that their father had deprived the *Marquis* of the throne of *Siam*, and the *Chevalier* of the post of generalissimo ^q.

The French
fortify
Merghi.

HAVING thus given an account in what manner the *French* forces, which were at *Bankok*, quitted that fortress and the kingdom of *Siam*; let us next see what became of those which were posted at *Merghi*, under the command of lieutenant-general *Bruan* (N). This officer signalized himself on several extraordinary occasions. He took possession of the place in *March* 1688, with all the satisfaction which he could wish. The *Siameses* furnished him with plenty of victuals, tools, and workmen, for building a fort. He had already pretty much advanced the fabric, when he found the workmen gradually to desert him; and the Mandarins of the province had not the same regard for him as before. He had a dispute with the governor of *Tenasserim*,

The Siameses
refractory.

^o DES FARGES, *ibid*.

^p *Idem*, *ibid*.

^q DE CHALLES *journal d'un voy. aux Ind. Orient.*

(N) So *Des Farges* names him; *P. D'Orleans* calls him *Bruant*; and his name is spelled *Bruhan*, in a letter of one of his officers, inserted at the end of the *Full and*

true relation, so often cited in this history of the revolution.

- a which increased his diffidence. The *Siameses* had raised a little fort at *Margui*, commanded by an eminence, which was also fortified; and as the guard of both posts was too much for a garrison of 120 men (O), the court ordered the lower fort to be demolished as soon as the upper was in a condition of defence. When Mr. *Bruan* went to execute that commission, the Mandarin opposed it; and the courier, whom he sent with a complaint to the minister (Mr. *Constance*), was arrested on the road. At the same time, having received advice from other quarters, that bad designs were forming against the *French*, he caused a small *English* vessel, with a frigate (P) belonging to the king of *Siam*, to be rigged, and brought under shelter of the fort. In this interval he received the letter which *Pitrachas* obliged *Des Farges* to write to him, with orders to evacuate the place: but the extraordinary style of that letter, which, besides, was not signed, was sufficient to hinder this able officer from obeying them.

- b THIS refusal was the signal for war, which immediately began by the siege of that place. *Hospitalities* The enemy, having been often repulsed, gave over their approaches to raise a battery upon a *commence* temple near the fort, which from thence they battered at first with pretty good success: but the *French*, having built another against it, that of the besiegers was soon dismounted. They likewise killed their chief gunner, who was a *Portuguese*, and threw them into such disorder, that they had no hopes of becoming masters of it but by famine, which proved their friend. However, they would not so soon have had their wishes gratified, if the well of the fortress had *The French* not of a sudden gone dry; so that, water failing, the garrison thought fit to retire (Q). This *retreat* they did in such good order, on the 24th of *June*, that the *Siameses*, believing they were going to attack them, fled as fast as they could, and left the *French* a free passage to the sea. They might have embarked without any misfortune, had not some soldiers, who marched last, slipped, through the steepness and slipperiness of the glacis, and stumbled on those who were before them; which struck them with such a panic, that it made them break their ranks, and run in disorder towards the vessels.

- c THE *Siameses*, perceiving the *French* in this confusion, came pouring upon them in great *Pursued by the* numbers, and slew some soldiers; others were drowned; and, among them, one captain *Siameses*. *Hilton*, with part of his company. *Du Bruan*, and his officers, who had bravely sustained the efforts of the enemy, while their men were embarking, entered last into the vessels; and after receiving some shot of cannon from the fort which they abandoned, set sail in spite of the *d Siamese* galleys which came out of the port to follow, but durst not approach them; and thus they escaped the hands of the *Siamers* (R).

- e NEXT day, the 25th of *June*, a *French* officer, who commanded a company of fifty *Siamese* *French officer* soldiers, being upon duty in the little fort of *Mergui* (S), he was seized by his own men; and *seized* for four days fastened to a stake, with chains about his body as well as hands and feet. On the 29th he was carried to view the *French* who were killed during *De Bruan's* vigorous defence and retreat. There were about thirteen dead bodies on the place; and when he had made his report to the Mandarins who commanded the besiegers, they ordered him to be tortured, to force him to declare, "That *De Bruan* was sent to *Mergui*, unknown to the king of *Siam*, solely by Mr. *Constance's* order, to make himself master of the country; and that *De Bruan* expected several ships from *France*, with men, arms, and ammunition, to enable him to carry that design more effectually into execution." He suffered the torture for four hours together.

THE 17th of *July* they sent him for *Siam*, in company with one *Picquard* (T), a soldier. *Sent up to* who was made prisoner on the day of *De Bruan's* retreat; and although both were chained, *Siam*: yet above three score soldiers were ordered to escort them. The 17th he arrived at the capital of *Siam*, and two days after he was conducted to *Louvo*. He was led, without stopping, to the

* P. D'ORLEANS, ubi supr.

(O) According to the *Full and true relation*, he had with him only fifty-two soldiers, three captains, three lieutenants, and as many ensigns, in all, to guard a large fortress, open on all sides. The forces seem to have been divided between the greater and the lesser fort, from what is mentioned hereafter.

(P) It carried twenty-six guns according to the *Full and true relation*.

(Q) After they had been closely besieged for seventeen days together, by an army of 12,000 *Siameses*, who often attacked the place, but were as often repulsed. *Full and true relation*, p. 16, & seqq.

(R) But they had not such good luck at sea: for, besides meeting with violent storms, on the coast of *Martaban*, *Espagnac* the Jesuit, and Mr. *Beauregard* (who was governor of *Bangkok* after *Fourbin*), going ashore for provisions, were made slaves of. They were after-

wards driven on a desert island, and reduced to the utmost extremity at the end of *September*, when a *French* ship put in there and took them in. Bad weather forced them into the river of *Arrakan*, where one *Le Du* was prime minister, and relieved them; but in *Balassor* road, meeting with fourteen *English* ships, they were seized as ships of *Siam*, with whom the *English* said they were at war. From thence they were carried to *Madras*, and got to *Pondicherry* the 15th of *January* 1089.

(S) It is called *Morgen* in the original; which is a letter containing the journal of the *French* officer himself, mentioned in a former note (N), we find the several particulars of moment; and by it the dates of several facts are supplied as well as rectified.

(T) This probably was the *Frenchman* mentioned in the relation of *Des Farges*, by whom he was informed of what passed at *Mergui*.

great hall, where the *Barkalon* (U) sitting with the Mandarins about him, ordered him to be examined strictly with relation to *De Bruan* ¹.

thence to Ban-
kok : NEXT morning a missionary, discovering the place where he was confined, told him, that the bishop of *Metellopolis* was gone to *Bankok*, by order of *Okpra Pitrachas*, to negotiate a peace with general *Des Farges* (X) ; and that they were in daily expectation of hearing it was concluded. This news gave him the first hopes he had of life since he fell into their hands. The 25th of *July* the bishop returned to *Louvo*, with full power from Mr. *Des Farges* to treat of peace ; and from that time *Okpra Pitrachas* began to desist from his cruel treatment of the *French*, and other *Europeans* then in his power.

THE new king, the day after his coronation (which was the 1st or 2d of *August*), ordered all the *French* and *English* who were in *Louvo* and the capital, to be set at liberty. The 3d of *August* our author came from *Louvo* to *Siam*, with four other officers, as before-mentioned, who on the 9th were all sent to *Bankok* to the *Malay* general ; but preparatory to the peace, which was concluded on the 30th of *September*, were put into the hands of Mr. *Des Farges*.

and back to
Merghi. Two days after the peace, the general sent our author from *Bankok* to *Merghi*, to see what was become of Mr. *De Bruan*, and acquaint him with the same (Y). He was accompanied by a Mandarin, who, by the king's order, was to provide him with all kinds of necessities during the journey. The 12th of *October* he arrived at *Merghi*, and not finding *De Bruan* there, on the 1st of *Novem'ber* he embarked on a small frigate of the king of *Siam*, and went upon the rivers *Tavay*, *Martavan*, and *Sorian* (or *Sirian*), belonging to *Pegu*, in quest of him. As he could not hear of him in any of these places, he was obliged to pass by the islands of *Rey*, and go on shore at *Seroide* ; where by some pieces of the *French* soldiers cloaths, and other marks, which seemed to be left on purpose, he perceived they had touched there. On the 12th of *November* he returned to *Merghi*, where finding the ship *Le Coque*, belonging to the *French India* company, he embarked two days after for *Pondicherry*, where Mr. *Des Farges* had ordered him to wait his coming ¹.

The French
leave Poudi-
cherri. THAT general arrived the beginning of the year 1689 (Z), with all the *French*, as well secular and military, as ecclesiastics, on board the four ships, with which he set out from *Siam*. On the way he put into the port of *Balassor*, and there, by advice, as it is said, of the *Jesuits*, set the two Mandarins on shore. This is one of the things for which he is censured by his countrymen ; who thought *Merghi* a much more proper port, not only as it belonged to *Siam*, whither those officers were to return, but as they expected he would in revenge have plundered the *Siamese* temples, and stripped the images of their golden cascs (A).

THE *French* being now all met at *Pondicherry*, sent two ships to *Europe* to inform the king of the state of their affairs : and then, full of resentment for the miseries received from the *Siameses*, resolved to subdue the island of *Jonsalam*, on the coast to the south of *Merghi*. But in this also *Des Farges* disappointed them ; for he departed for *Europe* not long after, without making any attempt on that island before he went. He set sail in the *Oriflame* with his two sons and four *Jesuits*, carrying with him the immense riches which Mr. *Constance* had trusted in his hands ; and which, according to our author, were to be divided between him and those ecclesiastics.

Des Farges
dies at sea.

MR. *Des Farges* died in the voyage, a little on this side the *Cape of Good Hope* ; from whence the *Oriflame* steered her course for *Martinico* in the *West Indies*, whither she arrived about two months after. The general's two sons no sooner landed than they made acquaintance. They were both in the flower of their age, well-shaped, full of vivacity, and profuse in their expences. During the two months which they staid there, they spent no less than 50,000 crowns each in balls, feasts, and other gallantries. About the end of *March* 1690, they left the island in the *Oriflame*, which, in quitting the *Antilles*, met with an *English* ship. The vessels attacked each other, and in boarding both sunk to the bottom, in sight of the *Caribbees*. In the *Oriflame* perished, besides the Marquis and the Chevalier *Des Farges* (who, we are told, were as brave as their father was otherwise), the four *Jesuits*, with their riches and their writings. Thus ended the long and expensive expeditions of the *French* to *Siam*, with all their sanguine hopes of either getting footing in the kingdom, or converting the king and the natives. In these expectations they were the dupes of Lord *Faulkon* or *Constance* ; who, being a foreigner himself, seems to have had nothing more in view than to provide for his own

¹ See Full and true relat. p. 21.

² Full and true relat.

(U) By the *Barkalon* probably must be meant *Pitrachas*.

(X) It is much *Des Farges* mentions nothing of this.

(Y) This we are told was necessary ; as *Pitrachas* had published a declaration forbidding any *French* to stay in the kingdom, or *Europeans* to harbour to them, on pain of death. Full and true relation, p. 17, & 21.

(Z) P. *D'Orleans* says the 5th of *January* 1689.

(A) They would not have liked that their own should have been served so, though they no less deserve it as idols, and objects of idolatry. But what with them would be sacrilege in one case, would be virtue in the other : so much often does the reason of man differ from reason itself, or the reason of things.

a security, by the assistance of foreigners against the *Siameses*, whom he knew to be his enemies^a.

HOWEVER, while these things were transacting in the *Indies*, P. Tachard was very busy in *France*, soliciting new troops to be sent to *Siam*, in consequence of the secret treaty concluded with Mr. Constance. But it may be presumed, that the account given by his two ambassadors and Count Fourbin, made Louis XIV. perceive that he had suffered himself to be imposed on too much already by the intrigues of that Jesuit, to give ear any more to his remonstrances. The news brought afterwards by the two ships sent from *Pondicherry* (B), no doubt completed the ruin of his project with the king. Notwithstanding Tachard did not change his resolution; but in March 1690 embarked with three *Siamese* Mandarins, who had received baptism in *France*, on board a squadron of six ships, all equipped half for war and half for merchandize, on account of the *East India* company, under the command of Mr. De Quesne.

P. D'ORLEANS, from whom we have this intelligence, seems to speak as if Tachard had succeeded in his suit, and had actually set out with more ships and soldiers for *Siam*. But nothing like this was the case. That Jesuit arrived with the fleet at *Pondicherry*, at which place terminated all his grand projects, which the revolution in *Siam* had brought to nothing: for he saw he had no business to proceed to that kingdom, where he should never be acknowledged as ambassador from the king of *Siam* by the enemy of Mr. Constance, who then sat upon the throne. As to the court of *France*, it was in vain for him to look on that side, after being the means of drawing the nation into a vast expence, by two fruitless expeditions, undertaken almost solely on the credit of his report. In short, we are told, that when he solicited Louis XIV. to send ships once more to re-establish by force the mission of *Siam*, the king, who received him not at all favourably, with an air which shewed a dislike to his proposal, said, "You have made voyages for a long time, and laboured much; you would do well to rest yourself." Our author adds, that his superior had notice from the king to send him at a distance; and, in effect, the report ran, that he was banished as it were to *Pondicherry*^a.

WE have been the more particular in relating the circumstances of this remarkable revolution, both to give our readers a sketch of *Siamese* politics, and enable them to form a judgment of the conduct of the *French* in the part they acted therein, as it is differently represented by authors even of their own nation. Two things at least may be observed from the premises: one, how ready the *French* are to catch at every occasion of extending their power or commerce; the other, that they are as easily to be made dupes of as other nations, whom they laugh at for being made dupes of by themselves. It only remains, before we proceed to other particulars, to give some account of the state of the *Romish* mission and the missionaries, both before and after the said revolution.

COUNT Fourbin, on his return to *France*, being introduced to the king, who was inquisitive to know how matters stood in *Siam*; his majesty asked, if the king of that country had really any thoughts of embracing christianity? Fourbin answered, that he never had such a thought; and that no mortal would be bold enough to make such a proposal to him. It is true, continued the count, that Mr. Chaumont in his first audience spoke much about religion; but Mr. Constance, who served as interpreter, dexterously omitted that article. The apostolic vicar, who was present, and understood the *Siamese* language perfectly well, took great notice of this, although he durst not say any thing of it, for fear of incurring the resentment of that minister, who would never have forgiven him, had he once opened his mouth: that in the private audiences which the ambassador had during his stay, he never failed to introduce the affair of religion; but Mr. Constance, always the interpreter, acted two parts on the occasion, telling the king of *Siam* that which pleased him, and returning as an answer to Mr. Chaumont what he thought convenient; so that in effect both were imposed on by the artful minister, and nothing concluded on. Our author added, that he had the above account from the bishop of *Mesopolis*, who always assisted at those private conferences, and told it him as a great secret. Louis XIV. surprised at his discourse, which he listened to with much attention, said to Count Fourbin, laughing, *princes are very unhappy in being obliged to have recourse to interpreters, who are often insincere*^b.

THE king enquired afterwards if the missionaries reaped the fruits of their labours, and had already converted abundance of *Siameses*. Not a single soul, replied Count Fourbin; but as the far greater part of the people is made up of different nations, and there are among the

^a DE CHALLES voy. ubi sup.

^a P. THOMAS let. apologetique.

^b FOURBIN'S memoirs.

(B) These were *La Maligze* and *Le Coche*; they were taken by the *Dutch* at the *Cape of Good Hope*. There were unluckily aboard them four Jesuits, who, wanting to make some astronomical observations, by intreaties and threats prevailed on the two commanders to put in there. These were rich prizes: M. D'Armagnan, going to blow up the *Coche*, of which he was captain,

was killed by the gunner; and the gunner, delivered up by the *Dutch*, was hanged by the *French* for saving their lives. These particulars De Challes had from the armourer of the *Coche*. And P. D'Orleans informs us, that those ships being carried to *Zealand*, he composed his relation from the letters and accounts brought by the prisoners.

Siameses a considerable number of *Portugueses*, *Kochinchineses*, and *Japanois*, who are christians, the missionaries took care of, and administered the sacraments to them : that they went from one village to another, and got admittance into houses by practising physic and distributing little remedies ; but that, after all, their industry hitherto had been quite thrown away : that their chief success consisted in baptizing infants, whom the *Siameses*, who are very poor, make no scruple to expose in the open fields ; and that to this single article was to be ascribed all the fruit which the missions had produced in that country.

by the Jesuits. IN discourse with P. *La Chaise*, the king's confessor, who spoke of the king of *Siam*'s being desirous to retain the Jesuits in his dominions, by building them a college and an observatory ; Count *Fourbin* said thereupon, that Mr. *Constance*, standing in need of the protection of *France*, had promised more than he could perform : that the college and observatory would perhaps be built during the life of the king of *Siam*, and the Jesuits for so long maintained there ; but that, in case the king died, *France* must be obliged to provide funds for the subsistence of those fathers, there being but little probability that a new king would apply any of his revenues to that purpose.

Anecdote about Tachard. P. LA CHAISE observing to him, that he did not agree with P. *Tachard*, the Count answered, that he neither knew what P. *Tachard* had said, nor the motives which induced him to speak ; but that his friendship for Mr. *Constance*, who had his reasons to seduce him, might well have blinded him, and afterwards rendered him suspected : that during the short stay which he made in *Siam* with Mr. *Chaumont*, he had wholly engrossed the confidence of the minister, to whom, on certain occasions, he served as *French* secretary ; and that he had seen briefs, written by that same Jesuit, and signed, *By my Lord* ; and lower down, *Tachard*. At this word *La Chaise*, for all his accustomed gravity, could not forbear laughing.

THIS unfavourable account given of the mission of *Siam* before the revolution, receives no melioration from the account we meet with after it. *Des Challes*, clerk to one of the ships which in 1690 went to *Pondicherry*, where he learned all the circumstances of the late revolution, informs us (C), that the Christians were always persecuted there ; and the missionaries, in particular, every day exposed to the most cruel torments. He adds, that the only persons who were spared were the Jesuits, who had played their cards with so much policy, that, far far from meeting with any vexation, money was given to them by the new king to leave the country.

Jesuits inhumanity. GENERAL *Martin*, governor of *Pondicherry*, in a discourse which he had with our author, censured their conduct very severely. He observed, that if it was true that they suffered no cruel treatment like other Christians, and received rich presents from the usurper, it was also as true, that neither the *French* officers nor soldiers, though reduced to the last extremity, received the least succour from them ; who chose rather to let them die for want, as most of them did, rather than relieve them.

Their converts relapse. THAT all their converts, not excepting one, renounced their religion as soon as ever the persecution commenced ; which shewed how ill they had been instructed : that Mr. *Des Farges*, his sons, and all the officers, had affirmed those things at his table ; and that none of the *Siameses* had stood firm but the proselytes of the missionaries (D), who secretly retained christianity : that what the Jesuits understood best was the science of the world and of commerce, whereof they had extracted the quintessence as it were by the alembic, and knew how to turn it to profit.

Dishonour France. THE general laid to their charge the setting ashore the two Mandarins at *Ballafor*^d ; they ought, said he, to have brought them to *Pondicherry* ; but they rather chose that the *Dutch* (who with the *English* transport their merchandizes to *Europe*) should be thought more their friends, as well as more capable to serve and protect them, than the *French*. That thus they would complete the ruin of the *French* reputation, to which the desertion of *Madam Constance* and her son ; the infamous and cowardly rendition of *Bankok* (E) ; the being forced out of *Mergbi* and the kingdom of *Siam*, after the tragic death of the king, and that of Mr. *Constance*, whom only the *French* could have saved (F), have already given a terrible shock : that the missionaries, with Pere *Tachard* (G), and other Jesuits, remained at *Pondicherry* ; but he knew

^c FOURBIN, ubi supr.

^d See before, p. 400.

(C) In his account of the voyage, under the title of, *Journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales*, &c. without the author's name, in three volumes 12mo. Rouen 1721.

(D) A distinction is made between the Jesuits and the missionaries ; by which last term are denoted the regulars of other orders.

(E) Mr. *Des Challes* is of the same sentiments. He says general *Des Farges* was in a condition to have defended *Bankok* against all the forces of *Pitracas*. But

to assert things is not to prove them ; nor has any body undertaken to refute those which *Des Farges* has advanced.

(F) This censure is too severe ; since it does not appear that it was in the power of the *French* to have saved any of them.

(G) P. *Thomas*, superior of the Capuchin missionaries, says expressly, in his *Lettre Apologetique*, that the Jesuits contributed not a little to the ruin of the mission of *Siam*. It is true, the Capuchins are their enemies.

a not any business they had there : that they behaved with so much complaisance one to another, that any one would take them for the best friends in the world, if he did not know them ; but that possibly at the same time they were contriving how to give one another pain in *Europe*, where he heartily wished they had staid ^c.

THIS character, given by general *Martin*, of the hatred which reigns between the Jesuits *State of the* and other orders in the *Romish* church, is too well known to be doubted : but whether there *mission* be that difference which he mentions between the converts of one party and the other, or those of the Capuchins be better instructed and more stanch than the converts of the *Ignatians*, we will not pretend to determine ; as the authors who since then have given an account of the *Siam* mission, do not make any distinction on the occasion. According to Captain *Hamilton*, it was
b in a very low state in 1720. He observes, that the *French* had a bishop then with a church, and a seminary for the education of converts, which stood a little above the city of *Siam*, on the opposite side of the river ; but that they made very few proselytes except when corn was dear, at which time some of the poorer sort admitted baptism, which intitles them to a maintenance from the church ; but when plenty comes they throw away their beads and brazen saint, and bid adieu to christianity. In the above-mentioned year, the Christians in and about *Siam* did not exceed seventy, and they the most dissolute, lazy, thievish rascals, says our author, to be found in the whole country ^f. A great credit to the popish mission !

WE have now finished our account of this remarkable revolution, with its causes and its con- *Remarks on* sequences : which, besides its use as a very curious piece of history, helps to fill up the reign of *Siam*.
c the prince who brought it about. And as we are possessed of very few other materials relating to it, we shall subjoin some farther remarks on the kingdom of *Siam*, made by Count *Fourbin*, who was not only more sincere than the generality of those who have published relations of *Siam*, but had much better opportunities of coming to the knowledge of the matter he treats of ; qualifications fit to render every thing acceptable which proceeds from the pen of such a person.

IN discourse one day with Mr. *Ceberet* the *French* ambassador, who had travelled by land *The country a* from *Louvo* to the port of *Mergbi*, where he went on board the same ship (H), Mr. *Fourbin* told *desert*. him, that what he had seen was yet the most beautiful part of it : that the whole kingdom, though very large, was scarce any thing but a vast desert : that in advancing into the country,
d one meets with nothing but forests and wild beasts : that all the inhabitants dwell on the sides of the river, because the lands, which it overflows for six months of the year, produce, almost without culture, great plenty of rice, in which the whole riches of the kingdom consist ; so that in ascending the river from the bar to *Louvo*, you see every thing which deserves attention in the whole kingdom, with respect to either the people, their cities, or the products of the earth.

IN answer to the question proposed to him by *Louis XIV.* Whether *Siam* was a rich king- *The people* dom ? He made answer, that it neither produced nor consumed any thing. To explain this *miserably poor*. paradox, he added, that no person has any property in lands, the greater part of the country lies waste ; and the people are so very abstemious, as well as so very poor, that he who can
e earn fifteen or twenty franks a year, has more than is necessary for him to live upon : that the only food of the inhabitants is rice and fruits, which they have in abundance ; for they dare not touch any thing which ever had life, for fear of eating their relations.

THAT there was among them neither nobility nor condition, being all born slaves to the *Abject slavery*. king ; for whom they are obliged to work one part of the year, unless he dispenses with it by raising them to the dignity of Mandarins : that this dignity, which raises them from the dust, does not screen them from the displeasure of the prince, which they incur with a great deal of ease, and is always attended with rigorous punishments. That the *Barkalon* himself, though prime minister, was as much exposed to it as the rest, and did not support himself in that dangerous post but by crawling before his master like the basest of his people ; that if he
f happens to fall into disgrace, the mildest treatment he can expect is, to be sent to drive the plough, after being severely chastised : that in short, when a Mandarin has by his addresses gotten a little sum of money, he must conceal it very carefully, otherwise the king will be sure to take it from him ^e.

As a proof of the difference there was between *France* and *Siam*, he relates, that the Man- *A Mandarin's* darin who had been ambassador in *France*, and was among those who attended Mr. *Ceberet* to *remark*. *Mergbi*, ran up to him as soon as he saw him, and told him, that he had great reason to desire

DE CHALLES, ubi supra.
ubi supra.

^c HAMILTON'S new account of E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 165.

^e FOURBIN;

(H) The ship in which *Fourbin* went from *Siam*, after being at *Masulipatam*, returned to *Mergbi*, on the west coast of *Siam*, to take in provisions.

to return into his own country : then, having made a pompous eulogy on the court, added, in a bad *French*, *France is a great good ; Siam a small good.*

King's retirement.

THE *French* ambassador *Ceberet* being desirous to know how the king of *Siam* governed in his palace ; Mr. *Fourbin* told him, he could not satisfy him on that head : for that they who are without, however eminent in station, never enter that part of it where the king is lodged ; and that those who once enter never go out any more. Every thing passes there in profound secrecy : every person has his fixed employment, and his separate apartment, from whence he is never permitted to remove. Those who serve in one chamber are ignorant of what passes in the rest. Thus all the apartments have their particular officers even to that of the king ; who passes almost his whole life shut up, making part of his grandeur to consist in being rarely seen. When he would speak to his ministers most in favour, he shews himself at a window about six feet from the ground, from whence he hears them speak ; and disappears after he has made known his will to them in a few words.

His revenue.

WITH regard to the interest of the king of *France* and that of commerce, he observes, that the principal revenue of the king of *Siam* consists in the trade, which is carried on almost solely by himself throughout the kingdom ; where nothing is to be found excepting rice, areka, a little tin, some elephants which are sold, and certain skins of fallow beasts, of which the country is full : that they have no sort of manufactures excepting some muslins ; of which the Mandarins only have the privilege of making a kind of waistcoat, which they wear on days of ceremony.

Commerce inconsiderable.

THAT the kingdom of *Siam*, which forms almost a peninsula, might indeed be made a very commodious staple to facilitate the commerce with *China*, *Japan*, and other countries of the *Indies*, being washed by two seas, which open a communication with many countries, as well to the east as west ; whose merchandizes were imported every year to *Siam*, as to a kind of market, where the *Siameses* gained some profit by selling their provisions : but that, as it produced nothing of value, it could serve only to the use above-mentioned ; and consequently the new establishment made by sending troops thither was absolutely unnecessary, that which the *French* company already had in the country being more than sufficient for the purpose.

The French duped.

LASTLY, as to the fortress of *Bankok*, he said it might remain in the power of the *French* during the life of the king of *Siam*, and of Mr. *Constance* ; but that, when one of the two came to die, the *Siameses*, prompted by their natural interests, and the enemies of *France*, would not fail to drive its troops from a place which rendered them masters of the kingdom^d. The event had already verified these predictions when Count *Fourbin* arrived in *France* ; whither, soon after his return, tidings came of the strange revolution which happened at *Siam* in the course of the same year, in the manner as hath been already related. It is now time to return to *Pitrachas* :

A pretender starts up.
A. D. 1689.

THIS usurper was scarce seated on the throne, when he was in danger of being thrown out again by a priest of *Pegu*. This *Talapoy* had been formerly taken into custody at the capital for some misdemeanor, and during his confinement became so well acquainted with the affairs of the court, that he gave himself out to be the elder of the late king's brothers, who had been put to death by *Pitrachas*, as before related. This impostor gained so much credit in all parts of the country among the common people, that in a short time he drew together about ten thousand men ; when being informed that the king's son (*Sourakak*), intended to be on a day appointed at a certain place, in order to divert himself with his whole court, he went thither with his followers, and hid himself in a neighbouring wood ; purposing, as soon as the prince and his retinue were arrived, to put them all to the sword, then to surprize the city, and treat the king and his adherents in the same manner. The prince, who knew nothing of this plot, when the day came, set forwards towards the place ; but perceiving such a multitude of people as he drew near, suspected some ill design, and fled back to the capital, leaving part of his treasure behind him. *Pitrachas*, on this alarm, with great speed assembled an army of 12,000 men, and sent them to meet the pretender, who was marching with his forces towards the city. This unexpected opposition threw the undisciplined rabble into such a consternation, that they immediately dispersed ; flying with so much precipitation, that, for all they were diligently pursued by the king's forces, not above 100 of them were killed, and 300 taken, the soles of whose feet were burned, to prevent their escape. A few days after, the priest himself was found in the wood, sleeping under a tree, with only a boy along with him, and was carried to *Siyuthia*. There he was exposed to public view for several days, chained about the neck and breast to a post ; after which his belly was ripped open, and his bowels being taken out while yet alive, were thrown to dogs to be devoured before his face^f.

Taken and punished.

^d FOURBIN, ubi supra.

^f KÆMPFER, p. 24.

- a We are strangers to the subsequent transactions of this king's reign, and even to the time of his death. But according to the account we have of his two immediate successors, he did not long enjoy the fruits of his usurpation. We are told he was succeeded by his son, by whom we understand *Sourakak* before-mentioned; and that he married his father's widow, though against her will: that he died in 1708, and left the throne to his son *Chaw*, who would have married the same lady, but that she absolutely refused to comply with his inclinations; and the better to avoid his importunities, retired into a convent, where she died in 1715*. We meet with nothing in the authors before us, relating either to this prince or his successors, excepting that in 1717 the king of *Siam* invaded *Kamboja*, with an army of 50,000 men by land, and 20,000 by sea; but was obliged to retire, after losing half his forces, for want of provisions¹.

* *Soir. du monde*, vol. iv. p. 132.¹ *HAMILTON*, ubi supra, p. 181, 196.

C H A P. XIII.

The kingdom of Kamboja.

S E C T. I.

Description of the country.

- c **K**AMBOJA is a country very little known to *Europeans*; for although both the *Dutch* and *English* have had opportunities of viewing it from one end to the other, by means of the river, which they have ascended, and along whose banks the lands principally inhabited lie, yet very few have regarded the improvement of geography, or the curiosity of their countrymen, sufficiently to give any tolerable account of it. The chief, or indeed the only authors, who may be said to have treated of it in any degree expressly, are *Gaspar da Cruz*, a *Portuguese* Dominican friar, who went thither on the mission about the year 1559; *Angensola*, in his history of the *Phillippine* islands, which he wrote about 1592; *Henry Hagenaar*, who went to *India* in 1631, and was sent from *Batavia*, as ambassador to the king of *Kamboja*, in 1637: the embassy of *Gerard van Wusthof* in 1641, from the city of *Kamboja* to *Winkjan*, then capital of the *Laos*, up the river *Mekon*; lastly, Captain *Alexander Hamilton*, who was at *Kamboja* in 1720, and gives some account of it in his *New Account of the East Indies*, published in 1744. These are the principal funds from whence the following history of that country is compiled, interspersed however with remarks from other authors.

- d THE name of *Kamboja*, like that of other countries, has its variations, being found differently written (A) in different authors. But this is not owing so much to the difficulty which *Europeans* find to adjust their orthography to the *Siamese* pronunciation, as some have imagined, as to the difference arising from the different force given to the letters of the alphabet by the several nations of *Europe*, and to the want of the *j* consonant in most of them; for which some use *y*, others *di* and *dj*, while the *j*, in *Camboje* of the *French*, has the sound of *zh* (B).

- e THIS country, situated between the ninth degree, and the sixteenth degree thirtieth minute of latitude; and between the 109° 30' and 126° of eastern longitude, reckoning from the meridian of *Paris*, is bounded on the west by *Siam*; on the north by the kingdom of *Lan-jang* and the *Laos*, with part of *Kochinchina*; on the east by *Kochinchina* and *Champa*; and on the south by the bays of *Kamboja* and *Siam*; or more distinctly by the former on the south-east, and by the latter on the south-west, on which side its greatest extent of coast lies. As it stretches seven degrees thirty minutes from south to north, its greatest length that way is about 520 *English* miles; and its greatest breadth from west to east, including six degrees thirty minutes of longitude, about 398 miles.

- f THE land of *Kamboja*, as to its superficial form, may be compared to a great valley with a spacious river running through the midst, lying between two chains of mountains which extend from north-west to south-east; separating it on one side from the kingdom of *Siam*, and

(A) As *Camb-je*, *Camb-ge*, *Camboya*, *Cambodia*, or *Cambodia*, and the like.(B) As *je*, I myself, which is sounded not like the *English je*, in *jennet*, *jenny*; but like *zhe*, or as if those words were written *zhennet*, *zhenny*. This sound is hardly tobe expressed in any *European* language beside the *French*, except the *English*; which shews the copiousness of its alphabet; while the *French* can neither pronounce our *j* consonant, nor express it by their letters, especially before *a* or *u*.

on the other from those of *Kochinchina* and *Champa*: so that in a good measure it resembles *Egypt*, with this difference, that the valley or space between the mountains is not so long as that of *Egypt*, but is much more extended as to breadth.

Air and soil. THE air must needs be very hot, in consequence of its being situated so near the line; and as it is inhabited almost solely near the great river and its branches, it is attended with the inconvenience to which countries overgrown with woods and uncultivated are subject; that is, of being much pestered with muskittos, which are extremely troublesome to the navigation of the river^m.

THE soil however in fertility is equal to most *Indian* regionsⁿ; it produces corn, rice, pease, butter, oil, and other provisions in such plenty, that *Spaniards*, *Persians*, *Arabs*, and *Armenians*, resort thither to bring them away. It abounds with fruits of various kinds and drugs, such as bangué, sanders, and opium. The sugar is very good; and indigo is prepared here after an excellent manner.

Commodities. KALAMBA, aloes, and other odoriferous woods (C), are found in *Kamboja*; with variety of precious stones, such as amethysts, garnets, hyacinths, cornelians, chrysolites, and acates, cats-eyes; not to mention milk-stones and blood-stones, besides a sort of crystal found in the mountains, which is exceedingly transparent^o.

RAW silk and elephants teeth may be had in this country at reasonable rates; the first at 120 dollars *per pekul* (D); and the largest teeth for fifty or fifty-five dollars each. Gold likewise is among the productions of *Kamboja*, of twenty-one carats fine. Provisions of flesh and fish are exceeding cheap, and may be bought without a permit from the king: our author has purchased a bullock of between 4 and 500 weight for a *Spanish* dollar; rice at eight pence *per pekul*: but poultry are scarce, because the country being for the most part covered with trees, when the chickens grow big, they repair to the woods and shift for themselves. The woods also give shelter to great numbers of elephants and tigers, besides wild cattle, buffaloes, and deer (E): all which animals are free for every body to catch or kill^p.

Its ports. THE coast of *Kamboja* is known by several sorts of marks; among the rest, that of numerous trees, and even entire woods, which appear in view. But although it extends about 140 leagues along the sea, yet there are not in that space above five or six ports fit to receive ships; at least *Europeans* have not discovered more. Of these the first is *Kupang-soap*, on the south-west coast towards *Siam*: where may be had elephants teeth, sticklack, and the gum named from the country *Kamboja*, or *Kambodia*: but then no free commerce is allowed there without a licence from the court of *Kamboja*.

Ponteamas. THE next place is *Ponteamas*, or *Pontiamo*, which drove a considerable trade for many years; having the conveniency of a pretty deep, though narrow river, which, in the rainy seasons of the south-west monsons, hath communication with *Bansak* or *Kamboja* river. This conveniency drew to it the foreign commerce from the capital city; which lying near 100 leagues up the river, and a continual stream running downwards for most part of the way, made the navigation thither so long and troublesome that few ships cared to go up to it. For these reasons they chose rather to resort to *Ponteamas*, which thence increased and flourished till the year 1717, when it was destroyed by the *Siam* fleet^q, as mentioned hereafter.

Islands on the coast. ALTHOUGH there may be other ports on the coast of *Kamboja*, yet these two are all which we are acquainted with (F). On the south-west side it is crouded with little islands, especially towards *Siam*; but those which are largest, and of most note in navigation, lie at a considerable distance from the shore. Yet none of them are inhabited, because the *Salúters*, or pirates, who infest that coast, rob the inhabitants of what they get by pains and industry. There is one called *Quadrol*, about three leagues west of *Ponteamas*, which has the proper requisites for a settlement. It is about three leagues long and one broad, has plenty of wood and water. The land is moderately elevated; the soil black and fat, excepting on the east side facing *Ponteamas*; where yet it has several fine sandy bays, which make good harbours in the seasons of rain and wind.

Pulo Panjang and Ubi. ABOUT seven leagues south-by-west of *Ponteamas* river, and eighteen west of the nearest coast, is *Pulo Panjang*, consisting of a cluster of eight islands, which form a pretty good harbour. Thence south-east about twenty-two leagues, and almost eight due south of the

^m HAGEN. apud recueil des voyag. Holland. de la compag. des Ind. Orient. tom. v. (vol. 8. bound) p. 339.

ⁿ ARGENSOLA's discovery and conquest of the Spice Islands, apud Stephens's collect. voy. and trav. p. 142, & 143.

^o ARGENSOL. ibid.

^p HAMILT. ibid. p. 198.

^q Ibid. p. 195.

(C) Sapan wood, sandal wood, agala wood, sticklack and lack for japanning; besides many sort of physical drugs. Hamilt. new acc. of the E. Ind. vol. ii. p. 107.

(D) The *pekul* is about 140 pounds weight.

(E) *Argensola* adds, lions, boars, and other wild beasts common to other *Asiatic* countries. *Ubi supra*, p. 143.

(F) There is a place mentioned in the journal of *Hagenaar's* voyage, p. 355. called *Cinckebanes* (which in our characters we presume should be written *Sinke-shanes*): but it is not said whether a port or island. There are many such inaccuracies in the same journal.

point of *Kamboja*, is *Pulo Ubi*; which lies in the way of all ships bound from either the gulf of *Siam*, or the south, to the river of *Kamboja*. It is about seven or eight leagues in compass, the land pretty high and very woody, affording good masts for shipping^r. It hath water on the north side, where vessels may ride; but the best anchoring place is on the east side, against a small bay.

THE last island of note on the *Kamboja* coast is *Pulo Kondôr*, about forty leagues to the eastward of *Pulo Ubi*, and twenty south of the *Bansak* river (G). It belongs to a great parcel of little islands, and is the only one inhabited. There is good anchorage on the north side; and at the south end lies another island, stretched from north-west to south-east, about three miles long and one broad, in such a manner as to form a harbour between. The entrance is from the north-west, where the two islands are about one mile asunder; but towards the south end of the harbour they almost meet, there being only a small passage for boats^s.

THIS island stretches with a great bend from north-east to south-west, forming a great hollow or bay on the south-east side. It is not above three leagues long and one and a half broad (H). It has two good ports (I), one parallel to the other; and both lying from north-west to south-east. The inhabitants call it *Konon*, and some *French* the island of *Orleans*. It may in fair weather be seen sixteen leagues off.

THE sea abounds with fish, particularly large turtles of a delicate taste; with whose shells and oil the inhabitants drive a profitable trade on the continent. Of a fish like anchovies the make a brine or pickle, which the *Kochinchineses* mix with their rice. There are very few birds here: the most remarkable are spar-hawks, who are at continual war with the fishes: and a bird as large as a wood-hen, which is of a beautiful green, with a stripe of white at the end of the tail; the flesh is greyish, and very delicious: but fowl are plenty.

APES are here in prodigious numbers. Of lizards there are five kinds: one sort like those in *France*; the rest are of the size of common serpents. Some of them have wings, and are of the bigness as well as colour of lizards: under the chin they have a purse, white, and shaped like a heart, which swells and falls in breathing. Other lizards are covered with scales, and of a frightful aspect; what is worse, their bite is mortal. They get into the hollows of trees in the evening, and set up a cry so loud that one would think it came from some great bird. It is called *koka*, from that word which it seems to utter at those times. The lizards of the fifth kind, which are likewise scaly, have hands and feet, armed with claws, as large as those of a boy of fifteen; the tail is triangular: they are seven or eight feet long, and, it is said, are good to eat (K).

ONE sees in *Pulo Kondôr* flying squirrels; rats which have ears like the human; dormice as large as fowl; butterflies with trunks. Serpents and insects of all kinds are numerous, and very troublesome. In the island to the south-west of the port, there are several sorts of wild beasts^r.

THIS island, as well as the lesser surrounding it, are covered with trees ever-green, for the general very thick, tall, strait, and the wood hard. The *areka*, mango, ebony of all sorts, and milk-trees, are very common; also bambû, rattan, and wild muscadine. There is a little shrub which bears wild grapes, or rather a kind of gooseberry. Many of the trees are odoriferous, and some yield gums; whereof one sort much resembles benjamin. The tree, which affords an oil, called *goudron* by *Dampier*, is here very common. It is of the kind whose body is tall and wood hard; the leaves and bark much like those of the chestnut-tree. The oil is drawn in this manner; three or four feet from the ground they make a hole in the tree a foot high, one and a half wide, and half a foot deep. Here they put fire, and in a little time the oil begins to drop: at first it is brown, then it grows whitish, and at last reddish; it has then the consistence of butter, and a very sweet smell. The best times for gathering this oil are in *September*, *January*, and *February*; but it may be had all the year round. The inhabitants make torches, by steeping in this oil the bark of a tree, which afford a very clear light. This tree, as well as many other sorts, is very proper for masts, yards, plank, and other ship timber (L); the rest afford wood for all kinds of works.

^r HAMILT. p. 204, & 206.

^s DAMPIER'S voyage, vol. i. p. 390. Eng. Pilot, p. 65, & seq.

^r DAMPIER'S voyage, vol. i. p. 390, & seq. P. GAUBIL ap. Souciet observ. math. astron. &c. p. 107.

(G) Captain *Hamilton* says, about fifteen leagues south of the west channel of *Kamboja* river. *New account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 204.

(H) Pere *Gaubil*, in his voyage to *China* in 1722, found the latitude of *Pulo Kondôr* to be $8^{\circ} 34' 14''$; and computed it to be one degree more east than *Batavia*, consequently in 105 degrees of longitude, according to *De la Hire's* tables: but only $99^{\circ} 24' 45''$ according to those of *Harris*. See *Souciet observ. math. astron. &c.* p. 112.

(I) Captain *Hamilton* says, that there were two harbours or anchoring places at *Pulo Kondôr*, but neither of

them good. One at the north-east end, for the south-west monsoons; the other on the west side, for shelter against the north-east winds: but the bottom of this last being rocky, is bad for anchors and cables.

(K) These may be the guanos *Dampier* speaks of, p. 392.

(L) *Dampier* observes, that there are trees bearing a kind of wild or bastard nutmegs, but insipid; also wild mangos, which are delicate. The grape tree is strait; and the fruit grows in clusters about the body of it, like the durion and kakao

Fruit trees.

FRUIT trees are very numerous, but for the most part wild; as almond and mellar trees, a kind of services, and other fruits; fair to the sight, but insipid, and perhaps dangerous. Here are found however kernels in a large red pod, which when roasted taste like chestnuts.

Of cotton, papaya, citron, and tamarind trees, there are but few in the island. All the palm trees and aloes are wild: so are the latan and banana trees. One meets also with the *squolante*, the capillaire, and *ananas*; besides many beautiful plants and flowers, worth the observation of botanists^a. This account of the natural productions of *Pulo Kondôr*, may in some measure serve for the natural history of *Kamboja*, with regard to which our authors afford very few materials: for although this island at present is subject to *Kochinchina*, yet it ought properly to be considered as part of the country to whose coast it lies opposite.

The village.

THERE is but one village in the whole island; and that only is the place which is inhabited. It stands at the bottom of the great bay before-mentioned, among several little rivers, in a plain. The habitations are no better than cabins. In one part of the village you see several oratories, called *Tlan*, ranged in a semicircle, with a great tree in the midst, on which they erect a flag on festival days. In this place, which is called *Tour*, that is *Lord*, they render honour to the souls of their heroes, princes, and Literati; the same they do to their ancestors, in the private oratories which every body has in his hut. To the north-east there is a temple where a priest resides. Toward the south-east part of the village between two rivulets there is a magazine, a bake-house, and the foundations of a fort (L), built by the *English*^b.

The port.

THE port between the great island and the smaller, before described, is little, but exceeding good. Vessels are sheltered from the winds by the hills which inclose it on the sides; but in the rainy season the place is frightful. The *French*, who began a sort of settlement on the east side of this port in 1721, suffered much there. The plain in which the village stands forms a kind of semicircle, whose semidiameter is about three quarters of a mile: it is very marshy, and the soil sandy, yet if cultivated might produce nourishment for men and other animals; but the inhabitants have neither fowl, cattle, rice, pulse, nor plants. Excepting this plain, all the rest of the isle is nothing but rocks, precipices, and steep mountains; covered indeed with beautiful trees, but cut with a thousand rapid torrents, and full of insects and serpents, without any fruits, flowers, or other useful vegetables; all which, especially in the rainy season, that is for near two thirds of the year, make *Pulo Kondôr* one of the worst places in the world. There is good water in some of the rivulets; but those of the village grow dry in *March* and *April*, when the people are forced to drink well-water, which is none of the best.

The inhabitants.

THE inhabitants are only poor fishermen, who have properly no fixed habitation, but go and come as their business obliges. They are sometimes two, three, or four hundred; at other times the island is quite deserted. Hence it is that scarce any of the necessaries of life are to be met with in *Pulo Kondôr*; which sometimes serves for a place of banishment to the Christians in *Kochinchina*, whose language, religion, and manners, the people of this island have received. They have all long black hair, believe the migration of souls, and understand the *Chinese* characters, although they speak a different language. The reason is, that those characters express or convey to the mind the images of things themselves, and not sounds of the voice, as ours do. The *English* were formerly possessed of this island till extirpated by the *Malays* and the inhabitants^c, which happened in the manner following:

English factory.

IN 1702, when the factory of *Cbusan* (*Chewshan*) on the coast of *China* was broken up, Mr. *Allan Ketchpole*, who was then director for the affairs of the *English East India* company, made choice of *Pulo Kondôr* for a colony; although, says our author, it produces nothing but wood, water, and fish. He hired some *Makassars* to serve for soldiers; contracting however to discharge them at the end of three years, in case they required it. When the time was expired, Mr. *Ketchpole* still detained them contrary to articles; yet still intrusted them with the guard both of his own person and the garrison. These eastern desperadoes (who are very faithful where covenants are observed with them, but, in case of failure, revengeful and cruel) took an opportunity in the night, when the *English*, who lodged in the fort, were in their beds, and murdered them all.

The garrison massacred.

THE noise made by some who were awake, giving the alarm to those who lodged without the fort, they ran to the sea-side; and were scarce put from shore in a boat, which they

^a GAUBIL, *ibid.* DAMPIER, *ibid.*
^y GAUBIL, *ibid.*

^x GAUBIL, *ubi supra*, also DAMPIER, *ubi supra*.

(L) According to an exact plan of *Pulo Kondôr*, inserted by *Souciot* before P. *Gaubil's* voyage, the village is above two miles from the bay; consequently Cap-

tain *Hamilton* must err in suggesting, if not expressly saying, vol. ii. p. 206, that the *English* fort was built on the side of this port.

a luckily found ready fitted with oars and sails, before the *Makassars* (M) came in quest of them. After sailing and rowing above 100 leagues, in which space they suffered much by hunger and thirst as well as fatigue, they reached some place in the king of *Jokôr's* dominions, where they were kindly treated (N). "Since a factory was thought necessary to be settled
 "on that coast, I wonder, says our author, why these islands were chosen rather than that
 "of *Quadrole* before-mentioned."

FROM *Pulo Kondôr* let us pass to the river of *Kamboja*; the west branch of which, as *River Mekon*, hath been observed, lies fifteen or twenty leagues almost due north of it. The name of this river, according to some authors, is *Menon* or *Menan*, but more properly *Mekon* (O); tho' it usually goes under the appellation of the river of *Kamboja*, and of the *Laos*. It is by many
 b reckoned the largest in all the *Indies*; carrying so much water in summer that it overflows the adjacent country, like the *Nile* in *Egypt*.

This river is so little known to *Europeans*, and they have given such different names to the *Branches little known* of it, that it is not easy to describe it. In its course through *Kamboja*, from north-west to south-east, it seems to divide or send out streams in several places. The most remarkable is that, which separating from it about thirty-six miles below the capital city *Loweck* (or *Loeck*), and 250 miles from the sea, runs parallel to it at a few miles distance; this is called by some *Matfiam* and *Oubequame*, by others the west chanel. About fifteen miles from the mouth it divides in two or three streams, the most western of which is named *Bassak* or *Bansak*. The main stream, which below the first division is called the river of *Japan*, about seven
 c miles from its mouth divides also into two branches; the two main chanel communicate with each other by several cross streams, and fall into the sea by different mouths about thirty miles asunder.

LET us hear what those relate of this river who have ascended it as high as the capital *The passage up city*. *Da Cruz* speaks as if he had sailed much farther up. This author says, from the report of the *Laos*, that it rises in *China*; and passing through their country from north to south enters *Kamboja* at a place called *Chudurmuck* (P), it receives a large river also which comes from a great lake (Q) in the utmost borders of *Kamboja* towards *Siam*; and passing by *Loeck* (or *Loweck*), the capital of the country, thirty-six miles lower meets the *Mekon* at the place above-mentioned. There it discharges most of its waters into the *Mekon*; and the
 d rest pass by another chanel to the sea (R), especially in the time of the winter floods, caused by the rains in other northern countries, for it does not rain then in *Kamboja*. At this place the river of *Laos* is called *Siflor*, and rushes with such fury into that of *Loeck*, as to force it back with a strong current, which runs upwards from *July* to *September*. All this while the country is overflowed, and the inhabitants go from place to place in boats. It is on account of these inundations that they build their houses on piles, raised many feet above the ground^b.

IN effect, in *August* the river sometimes is seen to swell in a few days eight, nine, and even twelve feet, and inundate the lands on each side; so that they may be sailed up in *June*, but not so easily in *July*, nor is it possible to ascend them in *August*^c. That we may give our readers as good an account as can be had of this river, we shall insert what is said of it in
 e the journal of *Hagenaar*, who in 1637 made the navigation up it as high as the capital of *Kamboja*.

He entered the branch of *Bassak*, which he calls a little river, with his four ships, and in *Hagenaar's* three or four days (S) passed into the river *Matfiam*, whose mouth is narrow, and banks *passage* adorned with trees. The same day, *May* 16, both wind and tide favouring them, they coasted some little isles, and saw the entrance of the river *Simmeding*, where one of the ships had been the year before. Here, while they lay at an anchor, waiting for the wind and tide, the ships were covered with such a multitude of muskittos, that the candle scarce gave any light. Next day they struck on a bank, and could hardly get off, having no more than four or five

^a HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 206.
 grim. vol. iii. p. 169.

^a ARGENSOL. ubi supra, p. 143.

^b DA CRUZ apud Purch. Pil-

^c HAGENNAAR, apud Recueil des Voyages Holland. vol. viii. p. 361.

(M) Captain *Hamilton* says, the *bloody willains*: not considering the provocation given them, and that what they did was to free themselves from the slavery which the perfidy of *Ketchpole* had reduced them to. A circumstance which renders their action not only excusable, but also lawful.

(N) The reverend and ingenious Dr. *Pound* and Mr. *Selemon Lloyd* (an old acquaintance of our author's), were among those who escaped.

(O) Or *Menam-kon*, as in some maps.

(P) We cannot absolutely determine whether the *ch* in this word is pronounced like the *English* or the *Latin*. *Argensola* calls it *Chordemuc*, which should incline us to be of the later opinion. It cannot be on the borders of *Kamboja*, as it is south of the capital.

(Q) Our author says, it is so large that no land can be seen from the middle of it. *Hagenaar* observes, that from a great lake or inland sea there proceed abundance of rivers and streams; which afford more waters than the river of *Kamboja*, and its branches, are able to contain.

(R) So we apprehend the *English* translation, which is very bad, is to be understood. This is by some called *Oubequama*, and the *Western Chanel*, of which *Bassak* is a branch.

(S) Thus we compute; for the journal is extremely defective.

fathom water. The 18th they towed along the east side of the river, which is best for navigation. At noon they came to the narrowest part of it, where they moved their yards, that they might not be embarrassed with the trees. Here a strong gale, accompanied with rain, springing up, they first were towed by the shallops, and then hauled along by means of a bambû cane, till the ebb. The 20th they continued to proceed the same way; were twice entangled with the trees, and twice run aground at low water, but were freed by the tide^c. The breadth of the river in those places was not over twice or thrice the length of a ship; and the muskittos plagued them all the way. The 23d they found the river somewhat broader, and in that place it begins to be called the river of *Japan*. They saw many vessels which sailed along the bank (where herds of buffalos were at pasture), but none would come near them.

River of
Japan.

THE 28th, the wind turning to the west, they set sail and made a great deal of way. At noon there came a Mandarin and an interpreter to welcome them from the king. They brought a present of ten great varnished cups with covers, filled with fruits and other things, according to the custom of the country: likewise koko nuts, ananas, sugar canes, and two pots of arrack. These refreshments were very acceptable; and after entertaining the person who brought them, and his companion, they presented him with a piece of ordinary silk. The 4th of *June* they arrived at the point of the *Japanese* quarter. The 7th two *Nipras* came to visit *Hagenaar* with a present from the king. All this while they advanced so slowly, that the factors at the *Dutch* lodge were uneasy at the delay, which yet could not be avoided^d.

River of Lau.

THE 10th they were towed along with extreme difficulty as far as the point of the river of *Japan*. Next day they towed to weather the point where the river of *Lau*, which is very rapid, divides into three arms; and sent to examine if they could pass along the bank in the river *Natsiam* to the north-west, beyond the shoals. Mean time a south-west wind rising, they hoisted all their sails; and having stemmed the currents, passed the banks and mouth of the *Matsum*, ascending as far as the town of *Buomping*, where there is a fair gilded tower. As the currents were then favourable, they advanced to the third elbow, where the wind being against them, they cast anchor. They proceeded again by moon-light, and at day-break arrived opposite to the company's lodge, at the capital of *Kamboja*, in five fathom water. From thence he passed along the quarters of the *Japaneses*, *Portugueses*, *Chineses*, *Kochinchinois*, and merchants of *Kamboja*: having thus sailed a league and a half, he landed in order to go to the king's palace^e. With regard to the river in general it is remarked, that the bottom of its chanel is a firm sand; that its stream is three fathom deep, but that the tide rises and falls two fathom^f.

Town of
Buomping.

Van Wust-
hof's passage

FOUR years after, the *Dutch* sent an ambassador, named *Van Wusthof*, from thence to the court of *Laos*, which furnisheth an account of this river so much higher: but the journal we meet with of this voyage is neither very particular nor exact (T). They embarked in little pirogues, or shallops, and spent eleven weeks in the navigation. In some places they found the stream very broad, in others very narrow and full of rocks (as in the former voyage); so that they were often obliged to unload their boats, and carry the goods for a time by land.

as high as
Laos.

THEY from time to time passed by towns and villages on the banks, pretty well built after that country fashion. The most remarkable places were *Loim*, *Gokkelok*, *Looim*, *Simpore*, *Sombok*, *Sombabour*, *Baatsiong*, a small city twenty-two days journey beyond the city of *Kamboja*, which formerly had a king of its own. *Namnoy*, where much gold is found, some days journey from the frontiers of *Laos*: *Bassak*, *Okmum*, *Næwein*, *Samfanc*, *Beenmoak*, *Saymoun*, *Tapanom*, and *Loshan*, another little city belonging to the king of *Kamboja*, who keeps a viceroy there (U); *Huysoun*, a town famous for the beauty of its silk manufactures; *Meunkok*, a city of pretty considerable commerce, whither the *Laos* carry all their merchandizes.

THE *Dutch* passed by several other places of less note; they met also with very high mountains, and some isles (X) formed by the river. At length they arrived at *Winkjan* (Y), capital of *Laos*, 250 miles from whence they set out^e. But here it must be observed, that no distinction is made with regard to the rivers which they navigated in this journey: for the

^c HAGENAAR, apud Recueil des Voyages Holland, vol. viii. p. 338, & seq.
^e Ibid. p. 342, & 344.

^f Ibid. p. 360.

^d Ibid. p. 340, & seq.

^e VAN WUSTHOF'S embassy, apud Hist. Gen. des

(T) It is in the *Hague* edition of the *Histoire Generale des Voyages*, tom. xii. p. 287. and was taken from *Valentine's* collection of voyages and travels in *Dutch*, consisting of three folio volumes.

(U) It does not appear from this journal where the kingdoms of *Kamboja* and *Laos* join; nor which is the last town of the one, or the first of the other.

(X) They named them *Saxenham*.

(Y) The capital of *Laos* is by other authors named *Lenjan* or *Lanchang*. But whether they are the same, or different cities, is uncertain.

a capital of *Kamboja* is not situated on the great river which passes through *Laos*, but on a branch of it, said before to have its source, with many other rivers or streams, in a great lake; which branch therefore must have a communication with that river.

In the year 1687, the king of *Siam* sent Captain *Howell* and Captain *Williams*, *English-Chinese* *men*, who commanded two frigates in his service, against some *Chinese* pirates, who nested ^{themselves} in an island up the river of *Kamboja*. These were some of those who, when the *Tartars* conquered *China*, fled in their own ships; and, turning freebooters, took many of the *Siamese* ships trading in those seas. They found this river very large, especially at its mouth; and to be navigable for very great vessels for the sixty or seventy leagues which they ascended; whence they concluded that its depth and wideness extended much farther upwards.

b The course of the river is generally from north to south, and the land low on each side, with many large creeks and branches; likewise considerable islands in some places. They steered ^{up that branch which seemed most capacious}; having the tide of flood with them, and the river commonly so wide as to give them room to turn and make angles, where the bending of the chanel was such as to receive a contrary east or south-east sea wind. But these reaches or bendings of the river east and west were very rare, at least so as to make their course to be against the sea wind, which commonly blew in their stern, and so fresh that with it they could stem the tide of ebb. In the night, when the land winds came, they anchored and lay-by till ten or eleven a clock next day, when the sea breezes usually sprang up again and enabled them to continue their course ^b.

c As soon as they came to the island they fired upon the pirates, and landing their men routed ^{Dislodged by the English} them, burnt their houses, ruined their fortifications, and took many prisoners. These people, on their flight from *China*, finding the river of *Kamboja* open before them, made bold to enter it, and settle on the island before mentioned. There they built a town, and fenced it round with a wall of trees, laid along four in a breast, and about as many in height. As the land was exceeding good, and they were provided with all sorts of instruments fit for planting, they might have lived happily enough had they made use of them instead of arms, to get wherewithal to subsist. The *English* captains having done their business, they returned out of the river; but the south-west monsoon being already set in, so that they could not proceed to *Siam*, they went to *Ma-kau* in *China*. There, to ingratiate themselves with the *Tartars*, they delivered up their prisoners to the governor, who entertained them handsomely; and were afterwards received at *Siam* with great applause ⁱ.

We learn from the report of a late navigator, that the west entrance (Z) of *Kamboja* river is very deep; the shallowest part of the chanel going in being four fathoms, and that within it deepens to twenty in some places: that the north entrance, ten leagues distant, is broader, but much shallower, and little frequented: that the river in some places is three leagues wide; and that the navigation above the capital city is performed in small rowing vessels, of which great numbers are employed ^k.

ALL the towns in *Kamboja* which are known to *Europeans* have been already mentioned ^{The capital and described}, excepting the principal city. This commonly is denominated from the country itself; but it has its proper name, which yet is variously written. *Da Cruz* calls it *Loech* (A); the author of *Van Wusthof's* voyage, *Eauwek*; perhaps this last is misprinted for *Lauwek* (B). It stands on a branch of the great river (C), thirty-six miles above *Chudurmuk*, where it falls into it ^l. It is fifty or sixty leagues from *Ponteamas*, a hundred from the bar of the great river (D), and forty from the borders of *Laos* ^m. Its situation is most agreeable, all the houses are contiguous and ranged along a bank (E). The king resides in a palace, whose fabric is very simple, and appears like a cloister, being inclosed with a palisade six feet high. However it is defended by a great number of cannon brought from *China*; and twenty-four ^{King's palace} pieces of artillery which were saved out of the wreck of two *Dutch* vessels on the coast of that kingdom. They are planted round the inclosure, with all the necessary implements in great order. Within the same are the stables of the elephants, ascended by two or three steps: in 1637 there were fifteen or sixteen large ones, each of which had his own stable.

^b DAMPIER'S voyages, vol. ii. p. 105.

ⁱ Ibid.

^k HAMILT. New account of the East Indies,

vol. ii. p. 204, & 206.

^l DA CRUZ, apud Purch. Pilgrim. vol. iii. p. 169.

^m HAMILT. ubi

supra, p. 197, & 206.

(Z) He says it is commonly called *Bocca de Carangra*. A name given doubtless by the *Portugueses* to the mouth of the *Bassak* chanel.

(A) From what follows, we judge that the *cb* in this word stands for *kh*, or simply *k*.

(B) In the maps of Mess. *De L'Isle* and *D'Anville*, it is written *Lauwek*, which is not very conformable to either of the names mentioned in the text.

(C) The relation of *Wusthof's* embassy placeth it on the *Ma-kau* itself. But all the accounts are so defective,

one scarce knows how to determine any thing relative either to the city or river.

(D) In the relation of *Hagenaar's* embassy, p. 360, it is said to be sixty *Dutch* leagues from the sea.

(E) According to the plan of it inserted in *Wusthof's* embassy, it is inclosed with double rows of trees, and walks between, instead of walls or fortifications; and must afford a beautiful prospect when viewed from some of the neighbouring eminences.

The inside of the palace, though built with wood, glitters with gold and silver; the whole finished with charming propriety. The second ornament of the city is a temple of a peculiar structure, the art and beauty of which was extremely admired by the *Dutch*. It is raised upon pillars of wood varnished (F), with foliage and reliefs gilded. The pavement itself is precious, and preserved with magnificent mats and carpets. In it there was a tomb built with brick in form of a pyramid, all gilded likewise; as were five great images and five small ones, which were on the south side of the temple^a. This possibly was the tomb of one of their principal priests; for when any of them dies, they build such a monument, which is square at the base, but goes rounding and terminates in a point, twenty or twenty-five feet in height: these are gilded and polished, but in a coarse manner^b.

Nations settled there. THE city is inhabited by *Japaneſes*, *Portugueſes*, *Kochinchin-ies*, and *Ma'ayans*. Some of these different nations are settled there, others not; but repair thither in one monsoon, and return in the other, staying so long as is necessary to carry on their commerce^c. There are of *Japaneſes* seventy or eighty families^d, and of *Topaſſes*, or *Indian Portugueſes*, about 200, with their wives of the country: some of them have pretty good posts in the government, and live great after the fashion of the place. But they are without priests, nor will any venture to go amongst them: for in 1710 a poor capuchin went thither to officiate; and finding that one of his principal parishioners, who had two wives, disregarded his admonition to put one of them away, proceeded to excommunication, for which the other knocked out his brains. Since that time they wrote both to *Siam* and *Ma-kau* in *China* for pastors, but none it seems would go amongst them.

Subtle poison. ALL the *Portugueſe* have pensions from the king of *Kamboja*; but as they are too small to maintain them, they repair to the woods, and shoot wild elephants for their teeth, which they sell to strangers. Their way of killing them is very singular. They form a piece of iron like a slug, and making one end sharp, drive it into the bark of a certain tree, which is of a violent poisonous quality. A little time after they draw the slug, and coming near the animal fire it into his body: the elephant being thus wounded flies, but before he has gotten out of sight, drops down dead. They kill cattle and buffaloes, for their tongues, after the same manner. What is no less strange, this poisonous juice has the property to preserve as well as destroy life; for if, while in the woods, either hunger or thirst seizes them, they squeeze a few drops of it on the leaf of a tree, and find immediate relief by licking the leaf; but if the skin should be broken, and the juice enter the flesh, it proves mortal without remedy^e.

Natives of Kamboja. THE kingdom of *Kamboja*, though very fertile, is but thinly peopled^f. The natives are of a light brown complexion, and very well shaped, their hair long and beards thin. The women very handsome, but not very modest (although our author gives no reasons or instances to support his censure). The men wear a vestment like our night-gowns, but nothing on either their head or feet. The womens dress is a petticoat reaching below the ankle, and a frock made tight to their bodies and arms: both sexes dress their hair.

Commerce and manufactures. THE *Kambojans* do not trade much themselves by sea; but foreigners resort to them for sake of the commodities which their country affords, and especially provisions, which are very plentiful and cheap, as hath been already remarked. Their chief native commodities are gold, raw silk, ivory, odoriferous woods, and drugs especially. *Kochinckina* likewise abounds with the same; which are brought to *Kamboja*, to be disposed of there^g. This country hath some manufactures: the people make divers sorts of cotton cloths, calicoes, muslins, buckrams, white and painted dimities, and the like, exceeding the finest made in *Holland*, when our author wrote. They have carpets also (though not like those which come from *Persia*), and a sort called *Bancales*, resembling *Scotch* plaids. They both weave and work with the needle rich silk hangings, and coverings for chairs, *palekis*, and other furniture^h.

Of what importance. WHEN *Hagenaar* was at *Kamboja* in 1637, the *Portugueſes* from *Malakka* brought thither cloth, and carried back with them benjamin, gum-lak, wax, rice, copper batons, and iron stoves made in *China*. He was of opinion, that if the *Dutch* could oblige the *Portugueſes* to quit the country, the company might carry on an advantageous trade; particularly in black lack, much in request, and in the skins of deer, buffaloes, and oxen, very proper for *Japan*; also in benjamin, part of which would yield a good price in *Persia*. In exchange for these they were to carry thither *India* cloths of several sorts, and cotton yarn, by which he computed they would be gainers from forty to seventy per cent. However the *Dutch* met with great opposition from the *Portugueſes*, and other obstacles to their settling there. Among

^a HAGEN. ubi supra, p. 361, 349. WUSTHOF, ibid. p. 290.

^b Ibid.

^c HAGEN p. 360.

WUSTHOF, p. 290.

^d HAGEN. ibid. p. 364.

^e HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 198.

^f WUSTHOF,

ubi supra, p. 290.

^g HAMILT. p. 197, 207.

^h ARGENSOL. apud Stephens voy. and trav. vol. 1

p. 143.

(F) So says the relation of *Hagenaar*; that of *Wusthof* says *black*.

a the rest, as they were obliged to have their lodge at the end of the *Japanese* quarter, neither the natives, nor the *Malayans*, much less the crafty *Chineses*, durst repair thither by day to buy any thing, for fear of these people. For this reason the ambassador desired leave to build a lodge on the other side of the river : but the king did not grant it ; because the *Dutch* general at *Batavia* had not mentioned any such thing in his letters.

In effect the *Dutch* had a factory in the capital city of *Kamboja* at different times : but the treacherous designs of those people, to which they saw themselves exposed, made them at length abandon the country. And the rather, as most of the merchandizes which come from *Kamboja* and *Laos*, are to be found in the neighbouring dominions, where they had factories already, especially in *Siam* ; to which the first of these kingdoms is at present (as it then was) tributary *. But it should seem, that the cause of their quitting *Kamboja* was owing to some fault of their own, rather than of the natives, in case what a late author reports be fact ; viz. that they will not suffer the *Dutch* to settle factories in their country, at the same time that they are very desirous of having a trade with the *English* †.

WHEN Captain *Hamilton* was at *Ponteamás*, an officer who could speak a little *Portuguese* ‡ came on board, and advised him to notify his arrival to the king, and desire permission to trade with his subjects. The captain did so ; and in twelve days received an answer, with liberty to trade : but was desired to send up some person with musters of his goods, that the king and his merchants might see them. Two *Portugueses* likewise were sent for interpreters ; one to remain on board his ship during his stay, and the other to accompany his second supercargo, whom he dispatched to court with the goods, accompanied by twenty-five men well-armed. When they arrived at the city they were well supplied with provisions, and visited by many persons of distinction. After some delay, the supercargo returned with a letter of compliment to the captain, in the *Portuguese* language, and another to the governor of *Bombay*, inviting the *English* to settle in his country ; with liberty to build factories or forts in any part of his dominions for the protection of trade. He would not enter into any correspondence with the *English*, without the knowledge and consent of his guardian the king of *Kochinchina*, who at last consented to allow them commerce both in *Kamboja* and his own dominions. This was all the advantage which Captain *Hamilton* reaped by sending to court : for the country had been laid so waste by the *Siamers* where-ever they marched, that the natives had nothing ready then to barter with his cargo ; but in a year or two they said they would be provided ‡. From this account of things the trade of *Kamboja* seems to be precarious enough, and not very considerable.

ACCORDING to *Da Cruz* the *Kambojans* worship several different gods. One they call *Probar Missur*, who they say made the earth and heavens. This power he received from another god named *Pra Lokussar*, with the permission of a third called *Pra Issur*. The frier tells us, that having convinced the priests that *Probar Missur*, far from having created the world, was a very wicked man, they promised to worship him no longer, having till then adored him in conjunction with *Pra Put Pra sur Metri* *. *Da Cruz* says no more concerning this last god ; and indeed the whole lame account seems to be brought in chiefly for sake of relating this passage, and how much ill-will he got of the king, as well as the priests, for speaking disrespectfully of their gods. However, *Pra Put* is probably the *Puti Sat* of the *Siameses* ; and this seems confirmed by Captain *Hamilton* †, who observes that the *Kambojans* worship the same gods who are worshipped in *Siam*. They adore the Supreme God under the name of *Tipedab*, giving him *Praw Prumb* and *Praw Pout* (G), for his sons ‡. It may be presumed from hence, that, as *Argensola* observes, they hold the transmigration of souls. Temples and pyramids are very numerous throughout the country ; some are built with wood, others with stone, and all well gilded within, as their idols are on the outside ‡.

THEY believe there are twenty-seven heavens or mansions one above the other, for the reception of souls after this life. Some of them are furnished with sensual pleasures, such as delicious food, with liquors of various kinds, and beautiful women. Hither all living creatures but priests do go, not excepting the flea, and smallest insects ; for they say, as they have souls, they must live in the other world. The next worlds above these are reserved for their holy priests who dwell in the deserts, whose felicity is to consist in sitting, and being refreshed with cooling winds. In the heavens beyond those again, the gods have bodies round like bowls ; and they who ascend thither have the privilege of assuming bodies shaped like those

* HAGEN. ubi supra, p. 363, & seq. WUSTHOF, ubi supra, p. 290.

† HAMILTON, ubi supra, p. 197.

‡ Ibid. p. 200, & seqq.

* DA CRUZ apud Purch. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 166.

† HAMILTON, ubi supra, p. 203.

‡ Ibid. ubi supra, p. 203.

‡ WUSTHOF, ubi supra, p. 291.

(G) *Pra*, or *Praw Pout*, is *Buddah*, as hath been observed before, supposed to be the same with *Fo*, or the god of *Tibet* : of which name *Tipedab* hath some

resemblance in sound ; but we will not presume to say in signification.

of the gods who reside there. As there are so many heavens, it is but fit that there should be several hells, which they limit to thirteen : these likewise are situated one above another ; and the wicked are doomed to the higher or the lower, according as the sins which they have committed are greater or lesser.

Their clergy THE clergy have among them a kind of hierarchy, consisting of five orders. The first or highest order are named *Maffankraches* ; these are as supreme over all others, and sit above the king. Those of the next order are called *Nassendeckes*, who are like our bishops, and sit equal with the king. The third order is that of the *Mitires*, or priests, who sit below the king. Besides these there are two orders still lower, named *Chaynizes* and *Sazes*.

very numerous. THE clergy, priests, and religious, were so numerous, that *Da Cruz* judged them to be one third of the people in the kingdom of *Kamboja*. This frier says, they are exceedingly proud and vain : nor is it to be wondered at, if, as he pretends, they are worshipped for gods by the laity ; and that the inferior priests worship their superiors in the same manner^a.

Their power and offices. ACCORDING to *Hagenaar*, they hold the first rank in the state, and sit before the *Oknias*, or lords of the court, very near the king, with whom they discourse very familiarly^b. Yet we are told by a late navigator into this country, that the priests are not much respected, as being generally chosen from the lower sort of the people, and are maintained by free-will offerings^c. However they have much the advantage of the other classes of natives, who are all slaves except themselves^d. They shave their beard, head, and eye-brows, like the *Talapoys* of *Siam*, but are not permitted to marry like those of the *Laos*. Their power extends even to civil affairs. They have a particular head or chief priest, who bears the title of *Rajah Pourson*, or king of the priests. This chief resides at *Sombrapour*, on the frontiers of the *Laos*, and has under him a *Tivinia*, with some inferior officers, in conjunction with whom he decides all the affairs of his district. The boats which in their passage arrive at this place, are obliged to give him an account of whatever they carry, which is always accompanied with some present^e.

Pope's mission. DA CRUZ, who calls the priests of *Kamboja* *Brammans*, says, in his time, the king was a *Bramman*, that is a priest ; and it was to this connection between the king and them that he imputes the bad success of his mission. He observes, that their influence over the people was so great, that if, whilst he was preaching to them, any of the priests passing by only stopped, and said, *This doctrine is good, but ours is better* ; they would all disperse at once. For this reason, and because the king shewed no inclination to favour his religion, after a whole year spent in the country, he neither found any fruit of his labour, nor the least encouragement for missionaries to repair thither. It must however be noted, that he places the disorderly behaviour of the *Portugueses* among the obstacles which rendered his attempt unsuccessful^f.

Government and nobles. THERE are two ranks of state officers, who may be called the nobles or great lords of the kingdom. The first have the appellation of *Oknias*, or *Okinas* ; and on them, as principal officers of the crown, is conferred the government of provinces, cities, and towns. Of these *Oknias* likewise the council of the king is composed ; and all causes or suits of whatever kind are tried by them. Hereof they make report to the king, and his judgment or sentence is decisive ; nor dare either party offer to complain of it^g. The *Oknias* are known by a gold box for containing their betel ; in which there are two or three lesser boxes of the same metal, filled with cardamum and other perfumes, wherewith they rub their lips ; and another full of lime, with scissars to prepare their pinang or betel. This box they either hold in their hand, or order to be carried before them. The officers of the second rank named *Tonimas* or *Tonimues*, are allowed only to have silver boxes for their pinang or betel. They are placed behind the *Oknias* or privy counsellors ; who, on all occasions which require ceremony, sit in a semicircle about the king, and persons of lesser rank behind them. The principal *Oknia* lays the affairs before his *Kambojan* majesty, but takes great care not to say any thing which may displease him^h. There is a third sort of nobles called *Nampra*, but this is purely a title of honourⁱ ; although the lords of this rank are often sent to meet ambassadors, and on other special messages or matters of ceremony, in which alone they seem to be employed.

When the king has a mind to confer an honour upon any of his minions, which however he never does without some considerable present, he delivers to such person two swords, which are always to be carried before him in public : one is the sword of state, the other of justice. Our author, who seems to speak of the Oknias, adds, that all people, as he passeth with these ensigns of grandeur, must give way, and salute him in a settled form of words : but in case he happens to meet with another vested with the same dignity, they must compare patents, and he who first received the marks of honour must be first saluted. In all places where-ever they go, they hold courts of justice both civil and criminal. They have

^a DA CRUZ, ubi supra, p. 166. & seq.

^b Ibid. p. 203.

^c Ibid. p. 167.

^d *Hagenaar*, ibid.

^e DA CRUZ, ubi supra.

^f HAGENAAR, ubi supra, p. 315, 352, 362, & seq.

^g Ibid. p. 341, 350, 363.

^h HAGENAAR, ubi supra, p. 363.

ⁱ WESTHOFF, ubi supra, p. 291.

^j DA CRUZ, ubi supra, p. 167.

^k HAGENAAR, ubi supra, p. 363.

^l WESTHOFF, ubi supra, p. 291.

^m DA CRUZ, ubi supra, p. 167.

a the power also to lay fines on people, which are paid into the king's treasury; but in capital cases their sentence is law, and execution immediately follows sentence°. The laws or sentences of these judges must be very severe, since we meet with an instance of a man being condemned to die for only breaking of a glass (H); and would have been executed but for the *Dutch*, who begged him off^p.

THE king of *Kamboja* is so despotic, that not only the lands but the effects of his subjects, *King despotic.* or rather slaves, fall to him upon their deaths; so that the wife and children have nothing to trust to, but what they can conceal or convey away by stealth. Nor is it very easy to do this, considering, that as the meanest person may have access to the king, every body is busy to pick up news, that he may get an opportunity of speaking to him; and by this means b scarce any thing is done but what comes to his knowledge^q.

THE country not being very populous, the king's forces cannot be supposed to be very *His forces.* great: according to *Hagenaar*, they amount to no more than 20 or 30,000 men^r. If so, his power must have greatly declined since the time of *Da Cruz*, who says, that the king was able to send 100,000 into the field^s. It is likely that their strength had been much exhausted by civil wars, and the invasions of their neighbours; especially the king of *Siam*, by whom *Kamboja* had often been reduced to a state of dependency.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, his *Kambojan* majesty takes some state upon him, and is not a *His state.* little jealous of his honour. When *Hagenaar* went ambassador to *Kamboja* in 1637, the king took offence that the letters to him and his son, whom he had associated in the throne, from c the *Dutch* general of *Batavia*, were directed wrong; the letter which was for each being directed for the other: he was likewise disgusted because they were not written on gilt paper. But there was a third matter which gave most cause of discontent, and that was a demand which he made, of four pieces of cannon, not being immediately complied with by the *Dutch*. Their hesitation upon this article occasioned much delay and slight towards their ambassador; of whom, at one audience, the king took no notice when he went away. However they found themselves obliged to do at last, what in prudence they should have done at first, and then things went on very well^t.

WHEN *Hagenaar* drew near the capital with his barks, the king sent *Nampras* two or *Hagenaar's* three times with presents to salute him. The 16th of *June* the same year he landed, with *embassy.* d a train of twenty musketeers and two trumpets. He found at the water-side a very big elephant, but without teeth, and three or four chariots. The letters for the two kings were received by a *Nampra*; and being carried under an umbrella, were placed upon the back of the elephant. The ambassador went into the first chariot, which was gilded a little; the chief factor in the second; and the *Tonimne*, who came to accompany *Hagenaar*, in the third; the captain of the vessel, with the presents, was carried in the fourth. Each chariot was drawn by two oxen, and the rest of his people followed on foot.

As soon as he alighted at the palace, he was conducted towards the hall of audience, where *Goes to court.* a great chair was placed for him to rest himself a while, as being much indisposed. The hall was full of people; and having first passed between two ranks of *Tonimnes*, with their e silver boxes in their hands; he then entered between two rows of *Okinas* or *Oknias*, holding their gold boxes great and small before them. When he came to the middle of these last, he bowed and made his reverence to the king, who appeared in one corner of the hall, supported by a wooden rail twenty or twenty-five paces from him, under which there were two horses fed with grass. On the floor were spread two red carpets, whereon the presents were placed; which consisted of two arquebusses with rests, ten fuses of *Spain*, two pistols, two sword-blades, and the remainder were in packets^u.

THE general's letter was presented in a piece of gold stuff on a gold cup, placed in a varnished basin. It contained many wishes for the prosperity of the king; which having first *His audience* been repeated by the interpreter, was afterward read aloud in *Malayan*, and then translated f into the language of *Kamboja*. As the king observed the ambassador to be much fatigued, he advised him to retire into the antichamber; where they brought him a quilted bed, with two cushions, after that country manner, for him to lie down upon. Mean time the people being withdrawn, the king sat and discoursed familiarly with the chief factor, the captain of the vessel, and one or two more who remained in the hall. Towards evening the musketeers were ordered to put out their matches, and the trumpets to give over sounding: after which several sorts of fruits, sweetmeats, and other delicacies, with arrack, were served up; of which the company eat, and then took leave. At this audience the king demanded the

° HAMILTON, ubi supra.
ubi supra, p. 167.

^r VAN NECK voyag. apud Rec. des Voy. vol. iii. p. 215.
^s HAGEN. ubi supra. p. 362.

^t DA CRUZ, ubi supra, p. 166.
^u HAGEN.
ubi supra, p. 343. 346. 356. 359.

^v Ibid. p. 344, & seq.

(H) Mr. *Woolston* might have brought this instance of truth; or perhaps he took the hint from this passage.

four cannon, and went away much disgusted at what was said on that occasion; however a he sent certain medicines called *oubat*, which he had promised to the ambassador, while he was at the *Shah Bander's*, where there was a great entertainment made for him^u.

of the young
king.

AFTER this he had an audience of the young king, sitting on a carpet between two curtains, as if it was a window. He was received very graciously, and presented with *arrack* and *betel*, which is one of the greatest honours done to any person. *Hagenaar* was desirous of having an audience of the old queen: but the *Shah Bander* brought word she was drunk; and that to make her presents would be throwing them away^x. To finish this account of *Kambojan* audiences, we shall only observe further, that in 1717, when Captain *Hamilton's* supercargo (sent to court as mentioned before), had audience of the king, his majesty, after ten days delay, received him in great state, sitting on a throne like a pulpit, with his face b veiled below his eyes^y.

History of
Kamboja.

THE reader is not to expect much relative to the history of a country so little known, and seldom visited by *Europeans*: all which is to be met with on that subject will be comprised in the few particulars following. The first account we find of it is about the year 1559, about which time we are told it was subject to *Siam*^z. Thus it continued for some time; how long we know not: for in 1592 *Laudara*, a *Mohammedan*, the then king of *Kamboja*, sent two ambassadors, one a *Portuguese*, the other a *Spaniard*, with a rich present, to *Gomez Perez*, the *Spanish* governor of the *Philippine* islands; to desire assistance against the king of *Siam*, who had marched with a numerous army to invade his dominions; offering in return to become subject to *Spain*, and embrace the *Romish* religion. This was the purport of the embassy; c which was closed with a compliment, wherein the king said, that he concluded so brave a man as *Perez* would not be diverted by any other affair, from performing an action which would so much redound to the glory both of god and his prince. But *Perez*, being then very busy to recover *Ternata*, and the rest of the *Molukko* islands which had revolted, excused himself, for not having it in his power at that juncture to send the king the desired aid: however promised that, as soon as his expedition against *Ternata* was over, he would employ his forces to the relief of *Kamboja*.

Breach of
faith punished.

THE governor set out immediately on the first expedition, but never lived to get to that island. For having by fair promises prevailed on a great number of *Chinese*s to go along with him; as soon as he got out to sea he treated them in a most audacious manner, obliging d them to row in the galleys, and inflicted stripes to make them work beyond their power. He even threatened to put them in irons, and cut off their hair. This last to a *Chinese* is an affront which deserves death, and which he never forgives. To prevent the infamy, they agreed to rise in the night, and destroy all the *Spaniards*. Pursuant to this resolution they mixed themselves with their task-masters when they went to sleep; and during the last watch, at the sound of a whistle, all rose, put on white frocks, that they might know one another, and lighted wax-candles: then, drawing their *katanas*, a kind of crooked swords, slew every man with so great expedition and little noise, that the very watch knew nothing of what had been done. The governor, awakening at the clamour which they made for that purpose, they called to him to come and pacify a quarrel among the *Spaniards*. *Perez* got up; but e as soon as he appeared with his breast above deck, they ran him through with their pikes. Thus arrogance and perfidy were deservedly punished^z.

The Spaniards
applied to.
A. D. 1594.

LOUIS DAS MARINAS, the son of *Perez*, succeeding him in the government of the *Philippine* islands. In the year 1594 *Langara* (I), king of *Kamboja*, sent to put him in mind of the promise made by his father, and to require the succours. This demand *Louis* thought fit to comply with; zealous to bring those nations into the bosom of his church; as well as their riches and kings under subjection to the crown of *Spain*. With this view he fitted out three ships, manned with 120 *Spaniards* and some natives of the *Philippine* islands, under the command of *John Xuarez Gallinato*, born in *Teneriffe*, one of the *Canary* islands. *Gallinato*, f by stress of weather, was driven to the city of *Malakka*; but the other two ships reached *Kamboja*. In their way up the river they were informed, that the king had been defeated by the *Siamese* army, and was fled with the poor remains of his forces into the kingdom of the *Laos*. The advice added, that, while he was begging aid of those inhuman neighbours, the king of *Siam* had set upon the throne *Prâ Neär*, nick-named, *Wrymouth the traitor*.

Assist the
Kambojans:

THIS accident did not hinder the *Spaniards* from proceeding forward: however, as the state of things was changed, their commanders *James Velloso* and *Blaze Ruyz* gave out, that

^u HAGEN. p. 346.
CRUZ, ubi supra, p. 166.

^x Ibid. ubi supra, p. 343, 356.
^y ARGENS. ubi supra, p. 135, & seq.

^z HAMILT. ubi supra, p. 200.

^z DA

(I) Before called *Laudara*, if it be not a mistake of the press. *Argensola* says this king was a *Mohammedan*, and his subjects *Banians* and *Guzerats*; which we know

not how to account for, unless it be that he fancied so, because they held the transmigration of souls.

they came as ambassadors to the new king. Being arrived at *Chordumulo* (K), fourscore leagues from the bar, they left forty *Spaniards* in the ships; and with forty others set out for the country where that prince then was. When they got thither, they demanded an immediate audience: but were told, that they could not have one till the third day after; and in the mean time had good quarters assigned them. The *Spanish* commanders looking on this delay as suspicious, either that they were before acquainted with the nature of the court, or that they perceived some motions which gave distrust, they went to visit a beautiful lady of the royal family. By her they were informed, that the king being fond of her, she was admitted into his secrets; and that she knew he intended to have them all slain: she added, that the reason for putting off their audience for three days, under pretence of resting after their journey, was only to gain time to put his design in execution ^b.

THE *Spaniards*, without being dismayed at the danger, returned the lady thanks for her *Kill the* intelligence, promising her a considerable reward; and came to a resolution to attack the *usurper*. king's palace the same night, notwithstanding he had his army about him. The better to succeed in their enterprize, they set fire to the house where the powder was kept, and during the confusion into which this accident had thrown the people, entered the palace. As they were acquainted with the royal apartments, they passed through them; and, after they had put the guards to the sword, forced open the chamber of the king, whom they ran through the body. The prince defended himself, and cried out for help; but before any could come to his assistance he bled to death. On the news of this action, the whole city, containing ^c more than 30,000 inhabitants, ran to their arms: presently 14,000 of them, with many elephants, came upon the *Spaniards*: but their two commanders, drawing up their little body, retired in good order, fighting and killing great numbers of their enemies in the retreat. The battle continued all the night; and next day they got to their ships, leaving the country involved in new divisions ^c.

Two days after this strange event, *Gallinato* came up with his ship. He had been informed *Gallinato* already of what had happened; and hastened forward, as thinking it his duty to succour the *Spaniards*. When he arrived, he found every thing in motion; while he heard the guard- ^{offered the} drums beating, and the bells ringing, he saw the streets and the port full of trading people all in arms. These were the militia of *Kamboja* (without which necessary and natural defence ^{crown;} no country can possibly be secure). Perceiving things in this threatening posture, he gave strict orders to those who accompanied him in the expedition, to behave with the greatest modesty; and neither offend the people by their words, nor by their looks shew any signs of fear. He was visited in a very peaceable manner by the principal men of *Kamboja*, whom he entertained with much courtesy. He might have performed some great exploit if his forces had been more considerable; but as his strength was too small, and affairs had taken another course, he thought it best to return. From this however those great men endeavoured to dissuade him, promising to confer the crown on him; as being well affected to the *Spaniards* and a foreign government. Hence came the report that *Gallinato* became king of *Kamboja*, ^{but prudently} which was by many believed in *Spain*, and acted on the stage with applause. But that report ^{refuses it.} had no other foundation than what hath been related: however, it was the opinion of persons well acquainted with those eastern countries, that if *Gallinato* had laid hold of the offer made him, he might have possessed himself of *Kamboja*, and united it to the crown of *Spain* ^d.

OUR author had seen letters from *Velofo* and *Blase Ruyz* to the council at *Manilla*, wherein *The king re-* they speak to the same purpose; and complain that *Gallinato* should blame them for what they ^{stored.} had done. These two commanders sailed from *Kamboja* to *Kochinchina*; where landing, they went alone to the kingdom of the *Laos*, which lies to the west of it, in order to seek out the deposed king *Langara*, and restore him to his throne. They found he was dead, but had a son living; who, as soon as he was informed that these *Spaniards* had killed the usurper, set forward with them for his kingdom, accompanied with 10,000 men, lent him by the king of ^f the *Laos*, contrary to all expectation. With these forces he attacked *Kamboja*, assisted by *Ruyz* and *Velofo*, who continued with him after the war was over. This prince sent an embassy to the *Philippine* islands, requiring supplies to quell the troubles which were then on foot; promising not only to become a convert to the *Romish* faith, with all his subjects, but also to yield a considerable part of his dominions to the *Spaniards* for their subsistence ^e.

DON LOUIS DE LAS MARINHAS, who was then out of the government of the *Philippines*, *The Spaniards* undertook the enterprize at his own cost. He set out from *Manilla* with Don *James For-* ^{destroyed} dano, an *Italian*, Don *Pedro de Figueroa*, *Pedro Villestil*, and *Ferdinand de los Rios Coronel*, *Spanish* commanders. The last of them had been in the first war of *Kamboja*, and was at this time a priest. But they had not been long at sea before they were surpris'd with a furious

^b ARGENS. p. 136.^c Ibid. p. 145.^d Ibid.^e Ibid.(K) Perhaps it should be *Chordumuko*, or *Chordemuk*, before-mentioned, p. 409.

storm which continued three days, and drove them toward the coast of *China*. There two ^a
by the natives. ships sunk to the bottom, men and all. Of the soldiers and seamen, on board the vice-
 admiral, only five got on shore by swimming; some soldiers likewise were saved out of the
 admiral, which foundered, and among the rest the military priest. The other ship, after
 many dangers ran, got to *Kamboja*, almost shattered to pieces. She found in the river eight
 junks of *Malayans*; and the *Spaniards*, perceiving that they designed to carry away certain
 slaves belonging to the prince whom they came to assist, inconsiderately boarded them: but
 the *Malayans*, by means of their fire-works, with which they were well provided, soon burnt
 their ship, and most of the *Spaniards* perished in the flames. Not long after *Blase Ruiz* and
Velofo, who still continued about the king, were betet in the house where they dwelt, and
 murdered by the natives. The few *Spaniards* who escaped got into the kingdom of *Siam*, ^b
 and from thence to *Manilla* ^c.

Kamboja
 conquered:
 A. D. 1600.

Involved in
 civil wars:

THE *Kambojans* being thus deprived of all further succour from the *Spaniards*, struggled
 with their war for some time; but at length, about the year 1600, were subdued by *Rajah*
Api, king of *Siam* ^b. But during the troubles which arose on the death of his brother the
 white king in 1610, *Kamboja* and *Lanjang*, or the lower *Laos*, revolted. In 1637, when
Hagenaar was there, we find it in rebellion against *Siam*; having, it may be presumed, newly
 thrown off the yoke ^b. Besides the misfortune of being so often subdued by its neighbours,
 the restless spirit or ambition of the princes of the blood frequently involved the country in
 civil wars, which rendered it a more easy prey to invaders. We are told that it was in this
 distracted state from the year 1628, or thereabouts, till 1630; when, on the death of *Nak* ^c
Shin the king, new troubles arose by one prince assassinating another. The murderer applied
 to the king of *Kochinchina* for his consent to reign; but that prince divided the dominions
 between him and the adopted son of the late king. The usurper, dissatisfied with this par-
 tition, put himself under the protection of the king of *Siam*; the other applied for succours
 to him of *Kochinchina*: but having been defeated by the usurper's son, who succeeded his
 father, fled thither for shelter. Three years after, he returned with forces and drove the
 former out. In 1685, this latter, being powerfully assisted both by sea and land from *Siam*,
 made another attempt to recover the kingdom, but did not prove successful ^d.

Tributary to
 Kochinchina.
 A. D. 1717.

HOWEVER, the war continued between the princes of the two contending branches, sup-
 ported by their neighbours, who at first espoused their quarrel. But we know little of what ^d
 occurred till the year 1717, when we are informed that the king of *Siam* invaded *Kamboja*
 with an army of 50,000 men by land, and 20,000 by sea. He gave the command to his
Barkalong (or first minister), a *Chinese*, who, being altogether unacquainted with war, could
 willingly have declined the charge: but the king would needs oblige him to undertake it. Yet
 the ill success of this expedition made it appear, that he was a better judge of his own abilities
 than his master ^k. On the news of this great power coming against his country, the king of
Kamboja, knowing himself unable to withstand it, first ordered his subjects who lived on the
 frontiers to withdraw with their effects towards the capital city, and to destroy whatever they
 could not bring away; by which means the country for fifty leagues tog ther was turned into
 a desert. He next applied for succours to the king of *Kochinchina*, who, on condition that ^e
 he should become tributary, agreed to protect him. He accordingly sent an army of 15,000
 men to his assistance by land, and 3000 more in nimble gallies, well-equipped, to defend the
 coasts.

The Siamese
 ill success.

THE army of *Siam*, though three times more numerous than that of *Kamboja*, finding all
 the country desolate before them, soon began to be in distress for want of provisions. This
 obliged them to kill their carriage beasts, elephants, and horses, for which they could get no
 sustenance; and the soldiers being obliged to eat their flesh, a diet which they had never
 been used to, an epidemic flux, as well as fever, seized the whole camp; so that in two
 months time the army was diminished above one half, and they who remained were obliged
 to retreat back to their own country as fast as they could, with the *Kambojan* troops conti- ^f
 nually at their heels.

By sea and
 land.

NOR had the *Siamese* navy better success, although more than four times the number of the
Kambojan fleet. As soon as they arrived at the port of *Ponteamas*, they sent their small
 gallies to plunder and burn the town. This indeed they did effectually; and of elephants
 teeth only they consumed more than 200 tons: but the *Kochinchineses*, laying hold of this
 opportunity, attacked the large junks and ships of burden, which lay in the road above four
 miles from the town, whilst the gallies of the enemy were in a very narrow river, and could
 not come to their assistance for want of high water to bring them out. The *Kochinchineses*,
 who did not care to engage such a superior force, having done what they came about,
 retired; and the *Siamese*, fearing a famine in their fleet, steered their course homewards with ^g
 disgrace ^m.

^f HAGEN, p. 147.
^g See before, p. 371, & seq.

^h FLORIS, apud Purchas Pilgrim. vol. i. p. 319.
ⁱ HAMILTON, ubi supra, p. 181.

^k See before, p. 362.
^m Ibid. p. 195, & seq.

C H A P. XIV.

Kingdom of Champa.

a **T**HE country of *Champa* (L) is so small, and perhaps inconsiderable in the way of com-^{Extent and}merce, that it is scarce minded by navigators. It is commonly supposed to begin at^{situation.} the mouth of *Kamboja* river, and to end at *Kochinchina*, although that coast is frequently ascribed to *Kamboja*; in effect they are often confounded together. Mr. *De L'Isle* gives *Champa* but a small extent of coast bending north-east from *Kamboja*: but makes it run northward at the back of *Kochinchina*, between it and the said riverⁿ. Mr. *D'anville* commences it in $10^{\circ} 30'$ north, and terminates it in $12^{\circ} 13'$, where it joins *Kochinchina* on the north-west, bounding both countries on that side by the same chain of mountains; so that their breadth from south-east to north-west is equal, about seventy *English* miles, or sixty minutes of latitude; and the length of *Champa* from south-west to north-east, either along the

b coast or the western borders, about 140 miles.
OFF this coast there are several islands and shoals: the most remarkable are *Pulo Sefir do* ^{Islands and}*Terra* and *Pulo Sefir do Mar*. The first lies near the shore at the north point of *Sefir bay*; ^{banks.} and the other far out at sea, about sixteen leagues to the south-by-east. There is a third called *Tiger island*, towards the south point of *Sefir bay*. The shoals are, the bank of *Brito*, at the entrance of *Sandy Bay*; the *Garden of Holland*, five leagues to the east of the former; with the *Rabo de Lakra*, or the *Scorpion's Tail*, which begins about the same distance more to the east, and runs in a ridge twenty leagues north-east. To these may be added the shoals adjoining to the *Sefirs*, besides those of *Pulo Sapata*, *Middleburgh*, *Pedro de Andrada*, and *Basse Isle*, at a great distance from shore, yet to be avoided by navigators.

c **C**HAMPA seems to be furnished with several good bays and harbours, into which fall many ^{Bays and} ^{harbours.} rivers: but these last are neither large, nor of any great length, as descending from the mountains which bound it on the north-west. The bays are the *Sandy Bay*, with those of the *Tiger*, *Sefir*, *Padaran*, and *Buil*, which has an island of the same name within it. The isle of *Vache*, or *Bache*, is inclosed within the bank of *Brito*, and lies at the point dividing *Sandy* from *Tiger Bay*; at the east point of which lies the island called *Tiger isle*. In the cod or bottom of the bay falls the river *Baria*, by some named *Peri*°.

THE state of *Champa* within land is very little known to *Europeans*. It seems to contain ^{Towns and} few considerable places; nor are they acquainted with the names of any except the capital ^{villages.} or chief town, named *Feneri*. The most that we can learn about it is, that there are vil-
d lages on the sides of the rivers near the coasts; some larger than others, which may pass for towns: and the kings or princes of the country seem to have no better places of residence. *Feneri* is the principal town of *Champa* (M), where the king keeps his court. His palace (N) *Feneri* ^{tho} hath nothing in its prospect which may be termed sumptuous; nor ^{capital.} doth magnificence appear about the prince himself.

THE natives of *Champa* are called *Loys*, and a very different people from the *Kochinchineses*, ^{Kochinchi-} who are at present their masters. These latter came from *China*, at the time when the *Tartars* ^{neses of} ^{Champa.} conquered it; and resemble the *Chineses* in their features, beard, and dress, excepting that they do not cut their hair. They wear on ceremonious occasions a large black gown, like the officers of justice in *France*. They value themselves much above other nations, and think themselves
e more learned and skilful, although they have but very narrow capacities, since they are entirely ignorant of commerce, or even agriculture.

THESE *Kochinchineses* are very poor. Their forces consist in some gallies, each having on board forty or fifty men, and mounting two small guns. Their arms are muskets, pikes, sabres, and sagays, which they handle with skill. Their officers wear a gown of black silk open on the sides, and on their head a hair bonnet of conic shape, with a tail hanging behind. The soldiers have the sleeve somewhat less; and the bonnet of buffalo's hair, like a collegian's cap, which is said to be sabre proof.

ⁿ See his map of Asia, 1723.

^o See DAPRES Neptune Orientale, p. 79, & seqq. D'ANVILLE's map of Asia. Second part English Pilot. DAMPIER, HAMILTON, &c.

(L) The *Portugueses* write, as the *English* do, *Champa*; the *Italians*, *Ciampa*. Hence possibly the *French*, and others, have made *Tsampa* and *Ysampa*, as wanting the *ch* in their alphabets.

(M) *Feneri* seems to lie to the west or south-west of the village from whence they set out, and not far from the coast: for in the way to it they were sometimes led

back a-while, and brought to the coast under pretence of sending orders on board the ship.

(N) This seems to be spoken of his palace, or place of residence in *Feneri*: but the palace where he usually resided stood about three quarters of a mile from the city; which the king invited the *French* officers to go to see; but they declined it, as will appear afterwards.

The Loys tributary.

THE *Loys*, or natives of *Champa*, after a long war carried on against them by the *Kochinchineses*; at length became their tributaries, by a treaty of peace, made in the beginning of the present century. The conditions were, that the king of *Champa* should remain in peaceable possession of his territories, but that he should render homage to him of *Kochinchina*; and that a Mandarin of this last kingdom should have the second place in the royal council of *Champa*, where nothing can be determined without his consent^a.

Persons and dress.

THE *Loys* are large brawny people, and better made than the *Kochinchineses*. Their complexion is ruddy (O), the nose a little flat; they have long black hair, small whiskers, and little beards. Their dress is a shirt and close breeches of calico. Their outer garment is a white paigne (P), in form of a petticoat, with a gold or silk fringe, according to the quality of the person. The king's guards and the Mandarins are clothed differently from the *Kochinchineses*; having, instead of a gown, a white vest with the turbân: the officers wear it somewhat longer than the common soldiers. b

Tribe of Moys.

THE people differ much also in character from their masters: they are more humane and affable to strangers, more laborious and rich; but not so strong by land as the *Kochinchineses*, as these latter are more numerous. However the *Loys* are superior at sea; their galleys are better built; and their boats, in form of tartans, serve them for catching fish, which they have in great plenty on their coast.

THERE is among them a tribe named *Moys* (Q), who inhabit the mountains, and are employed by them in all work of drudgery as slaves. A piece of cloth to cover their nakedness is all their dress. c

Laws severe.

THE two nations (*Loys* and *Kochinchineses*) have nearly the same laws. There is great subordination among them, from the king, the Mandarins, and the placemen, to the commonalty. But if policy and justice reign in *Champa*, it may be said that equity and uprightness are excluded from it. A person is punished for the smallest fault whatever. The lower class of people are not allowed to keep silver in their houses: he who is discovered to have any will be condemned by the Mandarin of the place either to pay a mulct, or receive a severe bastinado. Their money, called *kasb* (*), is of copper, the size of a *liard* (or *French* farthing), 100 go for an *amarad*, which is worth thirty *French* sols.

Employments sold.

POSTS are sold here as in other parts of the world. That of Mandarin is granted to him who bids the king most for it; and the greater dues he pays, the higher he is raised in dignity. But the *Loys* have one advantage above the *Kochinchineses*, which is, that when they are not rich enough to pay those dues, they have the privilege of borrowing money, at a high interest, of the king's women, who make the most they can of this usury; and indeed it is all their revenue. Hence it happens that these principal men draw all the money they can from their respective districts, which the subjects are never the better for^d.

Religions tolerated.

ALL religions are tolerated and freely exercised in *Champa*; but those most prevailing are the *Mohammedan* and doctrine of *Konfusius*. Nor is idolatry without its votaries also. Some adore animals; others the sun, the moon, and the stars, or the heavens. One thing extraordinary found here is, that the *Mohammedans* of this country eat swines flesh, and offer their wives to strangers, excepting their legal one; whom they cannot divorce without convicting her of incontinence. Their marriages are made without any ceremonies, and at small expence: the consent of the parties is sufficient, after which they chew betel, and all is over. Indeed for the general their diet is nothing but rice and dried fish, sometimes half-rotten; but to make themselves amends, they drink much arrack, and often get drunk. e

Produce and trade

THE south part of this kingdom produces a little cotton, some indigo, and bad silk: so that the inhabitants have no trade but what is carried on at home among themselves; and that of fish is the most considerable.

SHIPS come from *China* every year loaden with tea, ordinary silk, china-ware, and provisions: they in exchange take gold, which is finer than that of *China*; and a certain sweet-scented wood (R) which grows on this coast, in order to burn on the tombs of their parents, and in honour of their images (S). This commerce was interrupted for about twenty-five years by the bad treatment which these people gave to the *Chinese*; some of whose vessels f

^a DAPRES, ubi supra, p. 83, & seq.

^c Ibid.

(O) Yet elsewhere the women are represented so ugly, with complexions yellow and livid, as to give disgust, instead of inclination, to men even of the coarsest taste and keenest appetite. Perhaps this is to be understood of the *Kochinchinese* women.

(P) A kind of white calico cloth, so named by the *Portugueses*, and much used in the *Indies*.

(Q) These *Moys* seem to be the same with the *Kemay*, who inhabit the mountains, which run from *Champa* along the west borders of *Kochinchina* and *Tong-king*, between that country and the *Laos*.

(*) It is more likely our word *kasb* comes from hence, than from the *French* *caisse*, a chest.

(R) This is the *kalamba*, which is reckoned better than that of other countries.

(S) This is to be understood only of the idolatrous sect of *Fo* among the *Chinese*, who make use of images in their worship; and not of the *Konfusian* sect, who use none.

a they plundered and burned, without making them any satisfaction. Ever since that time *in bad condi-*
the *Chineſes* have traded here with great precaution : and the others, to be revenged, have *tion.*
invented new duties of anchorage to lay on the merchandizes, which they oblige them to pay
before they will allow them to traffick. The Mandarins, under pretence of meaſuring the
veſſels, viſit the cheſts of the people, and take what they think fit. Commerce cannot long
ſubſiſt where the exactions are ſo enormous : and if they uſe their neighbours ſo ill, no won-
der they ſhould abuſe *Europeans*, whom they know ſo little of, and ſee only by accident ^r.

THIS account of the inhabitants of *Champa* we have from the *French* ; who, putting in *Some French*
there ſome years ago, were detained, and obliged to ranſom themſelves. A ſuccinct rela-*ſurprized*
tion (T) of this affair will give our readers a farther inſight into the nature and diſpoſition of
b the people.

IN 1720 the *Galathée* frigate belonging to the *East India* company, commanded by M. *Le on ſhore.*
Gac, put into the river *Baria* in *Tiger Bay*, to ſeek reſreſhments. The inhabitants appeared
in great numbers, on ſeeing the boat approach the ſhore with two officers, ſent to require
liberty to take in water. Here they found many pirogues or boats, and little gallies. They
landed at the motion of the inhabitants ; who carried them to a village on the river ſide, con-
ſiſting of ſeveral huts or houſes of the country. There they were diſarmed and ſtripped. Next
day the natives attempted, with two armed pirogues, to ſurpriſe the boat which brought the
officers ; but the perſon left in charge with it made his eſcape.

Two days after arrived a miſſionary named *Gouge*, who went to *India* with Mr. *Chaumont*, *The aggreſſors*
c and had been in *Champa* ever ſince 1685. He was ſent by the king to know the occaſion of *puniſhed.*
the ſhip's arrival. Next day the king's ſon came to the village. They complained to the
prince of the ill uſage received ; and he promiſed redreſs as ſoon as he ſhould ſee the captain
or his ſecond. Accordingly M. *Gravé de la Belliere*, ſecond captain, going aſhore, was
honourably received, and carried to a Mandarin's, where he had a dinner, followed with a
comedy. From thence they were brought to the prince's lodging, to be witneſs of the
punishment inflicted on thoſe who had injured them. They were produced with the *ſep* (U)
about their necks, and their backs towards him, as unworthy to look on him. After a ſevere
reprimand for their breach of faith, he condemned them to pay 50,000 *kaſh* (X), and receive
fifty baſtinados each on their backs.

d AFTER this *Gravé* was permitted to take water and return, on promiſe to come again *The French*
next day ; in which caſe the prince declared he would releaſe the two officers, and let them *ſtill detained.*
have provisions. *Gravé* thought it beſt to comply ; and returning next day, was invited
with thoſe officers by the prince to dinner. The comedy, which ſucceeded, was interrupted
by a *Madoy*, or courier, with a letter from the king to the prince, ſignifying his pleaſure that
the ſhip ſhould repair to a great river in a better port, eight or nine leagues from thence ;
and that the officers ſhould be conducted to *Fenere*. They had leave to give notice of this
to the captain of the ſhip ; to whom the prince ſent two buffalos, ſome hogs, and other
reſreſhments ^r.

LE GAC, who ſaw the deſign was to ſeize his ſhip, excuſed himſelf from removing elſe-*Sent for to*
e where, under pretence of the wind being contrary, and other inconveniencies : but there was *court.*
no ſtaving off the journey of the officers to court, whither the prince accompanied them.
They underwent exceſſive fatigues ; the roads were almoſt impaſſable, and the heat into-
lerable : but the insolence of their conductors was ſtill leſs ſupportable, and made them com-
plain to the prince. They were nine days on the journey, carried round-about ways, ſeem-
ingly to make the diſtance appear greater. They alighted at the miſſionary's ; where ſeveral
chriſtians of the country came to viſit, and brought them provisions during their ſtay.

NEXT day, by the king's order, they went to court, croſſing a narrow river ten feet deep *The king de-*
on horſe-back. On the other ſide a multitude of people was gathered to ſee them. *Theſcribed.*
f hall of audience conſiſted of two great piles of building, all on a floor, ſupported by pillars
of red wood, very plain. The throne where he ſat was nothing more than a foot-ſtool,
raiſed and covered with a carpet : behind was a ſcreen of *China* varniſh. His dreſs was a
robe of black damask embroidered with gold, mixed with mother of pearl, and furniſhed
with claſps ; and over that a very fine piece of calico, adorned at the bottom with gold
fringe, and a narrow gold galloon above it. His crown was of red cloth, without any pre-

^r DAPRES, ubi ſupra.

^s Ibid. p. 79.

(T) The relation, of which this is an abſtract, was ſent to the company by Capt. *Gravé*, one of thoſe de-
tained, who therein inserted the preceding account of
the inhabitants. The ſubſtance of this relation was,
for its curioſity, inserted by Mr. *Dapres* in his great
Neptune Orientale ; containing the beſt charts and in-

ſtructions for navigators, as to the *East Indies*, hitherto
published.

(U) Called *kaughé* by the *Chineſes*. A ſort of pillory-
board, with a hole to incloſe the neck.

(X) Theſe make about 25 *French* crowns.

cious stones, and edged only with a narrow gold lace of *Japan*. He wore on his legs little a buskins or boots; nor is any body else permitted to go shod.

His guards and train.

His *Champa* majesty's guard consisted of twelve men clad in red silk, with turbans of the same colour; and armed with sabres, whose handles were garnished with gold. On his left were four *Loys* Mandarins, dressed in the same manner as the king, excepting the buskins. They had their guards also. On his right hand was a Mandarin of *Kochinchina*; then followed several other Mandarins, placed according to their respective ranks, and about 200 officers disposed in a proper manner. The strangers and missionary were posted at the entrance of the hall. The king, after surveying them for a while, ordered *betel* to be presented them; and expressed his joy to see the subjects of a prince whose fame had reached the *Indies*. Having in their answer acknowledged his favours; he testified his satisfaction by an inclination b of his head, and withdrew with his train'.

Entertains the French.

Soon after they were conducted into the hall to dinner, where the king and his court were already seated at another table laid for them. There were served up the four quarters of a hog, two roasted and two boiled, with some fowls, and other meats after the fashion of the country. After this first course came another, consisting of the white flesh of pullets hashed with some confections. The king ordered them some of his own drink, which was agreeable; and the entertainment was concluded with a comedy.

Demands a large duty.

WHEN the play was over, one of the principal Mandarins sent to demand of Mr. *Gravé* 30 *nekûns*, which make 420 *Spanish* piasters. He alleged that this sum was for supplying the ship with refreshments; and that it was the custom among them to pay it before-hand. As c that sum was represented exorbitant, he reduced it to one-fifth, or 70 piasters, and an officer was permitted to return on board to get the money. Mean time the king sent to ask, if he had a mind to see his palace, which was but three-quarters of a mile from thence? *Gravé* thanked him for the honour intended, and retired with the rest.

Design on the ship.

WHILE these pretended courtesies were going on, the Mandarins resolved to send to *Kamboja* for an officer experienced in war, and give him the command of several galleys to take the *French* ship. For this purpose they caused troops to march towards the place where they were to embark; of which certain converts gave notice to *Gouge*, who, being sent along with the officer for the 70 piasters, informed the captain. *Le Gac* was at a loss how to act. If he d staid, he ran a great risk; if he went away, he exposed both his officers and the missionary to popular fury. On the return of *Gouge*, *Gravé* and his companions made new efforts to obtain their liberty from the king; to whom they represented the injustice of their detention. That prince received them with much freedom, made them eat and drink with him, and carried his gallantry so far as to offer them women: to whom, it seems, they could have had no stomach, if they had been ever so much at ease¹.

Another demand.

THE same evening *Gouge* was ordered by the prime Mandarin to go aboard the vessel and fetch the 30 *nekûns*, or 420 piasters which he had at first demanded; and to urge the captain to bring his ship to a place a league above the mouth of the river *Baria*. The *French* captives, despairing of liberty, desired that *Le Gac* might depart as soon as he thought fit. The captain intreated *Gouge*, to propose the release of the prisoners for the sum demanded; and to tell e the Mandarin he would wait his answer four days only. On this the Mandarin repaired to the village where the ship lay, to consult the other Mandarins. *Gouge*, and the *French* officers, being also ordered thither; the latter were in hopes it was to send them on board: but some converts said, the Mandarins design was to attack the ship, and, on the least resistance, to sacrifice both the missionary and the officers. Alarmed at this, they implored the protection of the king's son, who promised to assist in council, and espouse their cause. *Gravé* made him a present of his sword, which he seemed to desire, but the prince bid him not speak of it to the Mandarins, because he had measures to observe with them.

The French answered.

NEXT morning early, a gun being fired from the ship, the council sent to *Gravé* to know the meaning of it. As soon as they heard it was the signal to set sail, the Mandarins f entered into composition; and at last it was agreed, that *Gouge* should accompany the three officers on board to receive the 420 piasters. Their boat was followed by another with ten or twelve armed men, under pretence of an escort; and thus the *French* were released after thirty days detention. Next morning the missionary returned from the Mandarins, desiring that the shallop might be sent ashore for buffalos, hogs, fowls, and other refreshments which they made an offer of. *Le Gac* said he was willing to receive them if the Mandarins would send a boat of the country: but that, for his part, he would not trust either his boats or his men in their hands a second time; and forthwith set sail².

¹ DAPRES, *ibid.* p. 80, & seq.

² *Ibid.* p. 81.

³ *Ibid.* p. 82.

C H A P. XV.

The history of the kingdom of Kochinchina.

a **I**T was called by that name, which signifies *Western China*, by the *Portuguese*, to distinguish Kochinchina it from the kingdom of *Cochin*, on the *Malabar* coast. This kingdom was once subject *described*; to that of *Tong-king*, tho' at present independent of it. By what means it shook off that yoke, *whence is cal-* and came to be governed by its own kings, will be related in the next chapter. Nevertheless, *led*. they have still continued as much tributary to the *Chinese* as they were before, when under the *Tong-kingese*.

COCHINCHINA is situate under the *Torrid Zone*, and extends, according to some authors ^b, *Its boundaries* from the 12th to the 18th, but according to others, from the 8th to the 17th degree of north latitude^c, or about 500 miles in length; but is much less extensive in its breadth from east to west. It is bounded by *Tong-king*, on the north; on the south, by the small kingdom of *Champa*, or *Cbiampa*; on the east, by the *Chinese* ocean; upon whose coasts it hath a good number of sea-ports, both safe and easy of access; and the bays so deep, even near to the shore, as to contain between 50 and 80 fathom water; besides several islands, of which we shall speak in the sequel; and on the west, by the kingdoms of *Laos* and *Camboja*; both which are tributary to it, as well as that of *Champa*, and some others; of which we shall speak in a more proper place.

THE whole country is divided into six provinces; the most considerable of which is that *Division* which is called *Sinuva*, or *Shanoa*, and borders upon *Tong-king*; the other five are *Quam-bin*, on the north, *Cham*, *Kangtia*, and *Kinbin*, along the coasts, and *Rau-van*, on the inland^d. They are all very well peopled, as well as the country, and have some large towns, tho' *Populousness* none of them considerable for any thing else, except that of *Kebue*, which is the residence of the *Chova*, or king, and is situate in the province of *Shanoa*, lately mentioned^e. And even this is nothing so remarkable for the beauty and elegance of its edifices, which are mostly of wood, and supported by painted pillars, to raise them above the land-floods, as for the numerousness and splendid appearance of its court, and the vast crouds of people which inhabit or resort to it^f.

THESE inundations, which happen regularly every year, as we have seen them in *Siam*, and *Fertility from* other neighbouring kingdoms^g, towards the middle of autumn, and continue two whole *its yearly inundations* months, render the country exceeding fertile, especially in rice, by the great quantity of mud they leave behind. But we shall say the less on the fruitfulness and product of this kingdom, it being much the same in most respects with those of *Pegu*, *Siam*, and others already described; the warmth of whose climate, and richness of the soil, occasioned by the mud with which the land-floods cover the low-grounds, naturally occasion a great plenty and variety of esculents; whilst their warmer sun gives them, especially the fruits, the most exquisite taste and flavour.

AMONG the fruit-trees which our author affirms to be peculiar to this country (A), there is *A peculiar tree* one which he tells us resembles a sackful of chesnuts, one single one being a sufficient load for *and fruit* a man; the weight of which, the branches not being strong enough to bear, the divine providence ordained to grow close to the root, in large bunches. The rind of it is very thick, and when opened, is found to contain some 500 chesnuts; and larger than those we have from *Spain*: but what the natives value most in them, is a white well-tasted skin, which covers them, and which they peel off before they roast them^h. Another, no less extraordinary for the *The incorruptible tree* excellent use of its wood, is that which they style the incorruptible tree, it not being liable to rot or corrupt under earth or water; and is of so tough and solid a nature, that they make anchors of it for their shipping. This tree grows chiefly, and in great plenty, on the mountains; is exceeding tall; and so thick, that two men can hardly fathom it; they have it of two colours, one black, the other red; the former much like that which the *Siamese* and *Chinese* call the iron-tree, and put to much the same useⁱ.

THE same mountains produce the aquiline or eagle-wood, aloes, calambac, and others of *Mountains* the same rare and odoriferous nature: they abound with quarries of several sorts of marble, gold, *Quarries* and iron mines. The natives have learned the art of fusing and working the latter into *Mines* several branches, from the *Chinese*; but are still ignorant in the art of casting it, especially into

^b F. ALEX. DE RHODES in collect. voy. F. BORRIS, & al. ^c DAMPIER, suppl. ch. i. Martini. ^d DE RHODES, ubi sup. ^e Ib. & al. sup. citat. ^f DE RHODES. ^g See before, p. 238, 314. & seq. ^h DE RHODES, ubi sup. ⁱ BORRIS, ubi sup. See also before, p. 314.

(A) This we would not, however, warrant upon his authority, it being likely he may be as much mistaken as he is when he affirms the same thing of the bird's

nest so famed all over *India* for its exquisite taste; but which, by the concurring testimony of writers, is found in many other countries besides this.

Large elephants.

A wild people called Kemois.

No walled cities, but large towns.

Travelling by water.

Silk, and other manufactures.

Commerce.

Emporium at Faifo.

Imports, exports, and customs.

Two inlets into the bay.

cannon, bombs, mortars, and other artillery. Those mountains abound likewise with vast quantities of wild beasts, particularly the rhinoceros and the elephant; the latter of which, if we may credit Father *Borri*, exceeds all the rest in *India* in bigness; the feet of the male being full half a yard in diameter, and their teeth between four and five yards in length^k.

THE most remarkable of all their mountains, is a long ridge of them, which extends itself along the western frontiers from north to south, and is inhabited by a wild lawless sort of people, called *Kemoy*, who pay neither tribute, nor subjection, to any government; being exempted from it by the inaccessibility of their rocky habitations; which afford no less safe an asylum to the runaway *Chinese*, *Tonquinese*, and other nations, that flee thither for refuge; and being once incorporated with the mountaineers, learn to live like them, by hunting, or making of inroads into the low-lands^l.

THE rest of the country being mostly low and flat, and, as was lately hinted, yielding plenty of all necessaries for life, is extraordinarily well peopled. Their open towns, they having no walled cities, are in great numbers, and very large. *Borri* mentions some of them four or five miles long; and most of them are said to swarm with inhabitants. The villages seem almost contiguous to one another. Their fairs are frequent, and well crowded both with men and wares for all uses. But the most considerable are those which are kept during the time of the inundation, when the whole country lies under water, and looks like a sea covered with variety of boats, barges, and other vessels, going from one province to another, with great ease and expedition, and all carrying on some useful branch of inland commerce. But what the natives esteem the most profitable manufacture, is that of silk, which they weave into great variety of stuffs; which, tho' not of so fine anature as those of *China*, and other parts of *India*; yet their silk is produced in such plenty, that the sails, cordage of their ships, fishermen's nets, and other such mean implements, are made of it; not but they have some of a much finer sort, which they manufacture amongst them in different ways, and which greatly exceed those which are wrought in the kingdom of *Tong-king*; but these are few in comparison of the rest. Pepper, sugar, honey, wax, and an oil which they make in great plenty from their numerous land-tortoises, are other branches of their commerce; great quantities of each of them being conveyed from their sea-ports into various countries of *India*, in foreign bottoms.

THE author of the *New Atlas* tells us, on what authority we know not, that the kings of this country formerly gave the *Chinese* and *Japanese* leave to build a city on a bay, not far distant from the town of *Faifo*, or *Farfo*, which he seems to intimate was his capital, and where the most considerable fairs were kept. The bay, which he places in 16 gr. lat. and 108 $\frac{1}{2}$ E. long. is very safe and commodious for all sorts of ships, and much frequented by the two nations above-mentioned, and other foreigners, who import wrought plate, silks, and other rich merchandizes, during the four months which the fair lasts; the duties and customs of which make a considerable branch of the king's revenue, and of the people's commerce. *Borri* adds, that the bay the town stands upon hath two inlets from the sea, about three or four leagues from each other; the one called *Pullo Campelo*, and the other *Turan*, or *Tauran*; but approaching nearer to each other, join at last into one stream, so that vessels inward-bound, after five or six leagues sailing, meet again at one point (B). The *Chinese* and *Japanese*, which inhabit the city, are each governed by their own laws, and chuse their own magistracy from among themselves; and are the chief factors and managers for all merchandises imported and exported between the natives and other *Indian* nations who trade thither. Their exports, however, are not considerable, consisting only of their silks above-mentioned, cottons, aloes, cassia, wax, sugar, and betel-root, all which are chiefly bought by the *Chinese*. They have no current coin, but that brass or copper sort which comes from *China*, and will be described in its proper place.

^k BORRI, ubi sup. CHEVRIER's hist. of Cochinchina, & al.

^l Ibid.

(B) Our author adds, that the *Dutch* having made some attempts to obtain the like liberty of commerce as the *Portuguese* had, these immediately sent an embassy from *Macao* to the king, to beg that he would not grant them any admittance into his dominions, as being professed enemies to their nation. But before his majesty could come to a resolution, the *Dutch* had found means to land, and convey such valuable presents as easily determined him in their favour; of which the ambassador was no sooner apprised, than he halted to court, and, in a haughty, insolent manner, accompanied with some indecent gestures, charged his majesty with breach of promise and friendship; the consequence of which was, that the *Dutch* were immediately ordered to come and land their goods, to be ready against the ensuing fair. They put them accordingly

on board their long-boats; but whilst they were sailing up the river, the king's gallies destroyed the greatest part of them, under pretence that the *Dutch* were notorious pirates; and presently after, an express order was sent from court, for them to depart, and never more to come into his dominions.

Our author adds, that as a farther mark of his friendship to the *Portuguese*, the king granted them a large convenient spot whereon to build a city for the security of their fleet, in their way to and from *China*, and for the annoying those of the *Dutch* in theirs to and from *Japan* (1). These facts, if fairly told, plainly show what an extraordinary ascendant the *Portuguese* had gained over that monarch, and what advantage they could make of it, in prejudice of other *European* traders.

(1) *Borri ubi sup. Atlas sup. citat. Syst. of geogr. vol. i. p. 279.*

a THE *Kochinckinese* are a stout, robust, and industrious nation, and differ not much from the *Chinese* in nature and complexion, except that the coasters are of a deep olive colour. *Character of the people.* Father *De Rhodes*, who lived amongst them, doth highly extol their affability, justice, good-nature, and hospitality: but the *Dutch*, who have been worse treated by them, as we shewed in the last note, represent them as proud, treacherous, faithless, thievish, lying, ungrateful extortioners, &c. Both characters are very probably exaggerated, the one thro' favour, the other thro' resentment; but in the main, they are generally allowed to be a sober, courteous people, temperate in their diet, dress, and way of living; of a calm and patient temper, not easily ruffled into an indecent or passionate behaviour.

THEIR chief food is rice and pulse, variously dressed, and seasoned, and fish, of which they *Their food,* likewise have such plenty and variety, that a man may make a good meal of two or three rich dishes for the value of three half pence or two pence. They observe great neatness in dressing and serving up their meats, each person sitting at his own little round table, with his victuals ready carved into little mouthfuls, and taking it up with their ivory sticks, as is done in *China*. But here they venture not to dress any thing within their houses, which being built of dried and painted wood, would be liable to be set on fire; but have their kitchens and stoves without doors. Their common drink is a sort of tea, which they cultivate among them, but which hath neither the fine taste or flavour of the *Chinese*; in lieu of which, we are told, that it hath such a special fattening quality, that the king forbids his soldiers the use of it, lest they should become too corpulent. They have scarcely any vines, and consequently no wine; *Drink.* instead of which, they make themselves some strong liquors of rice, either brewed or distilled; but are generally very abstemious of the latter, unless on their weddings, and other festivities. The better sort mix with their common drink a water distilled from their calambac, which gives it a fine flavour and taste, and is, besides, an excellent stomachic and carminative. They all chew their betel, and present it to their friends, like all other neighbouring kingdoms, as a compliment and token of friendship.

THEY all affect to wear their hair at full length, in token of liberty; though, like the *Ton-Long hair.* *quinese*, they are tributary to a foreign power, and in reality no better, like them, than subjects to a couple of despotic usurpers, who hardly allow them either liberty or property. In other respects, both sexes dress much after the *Chinese* manner. Their grandees and courtiers do not come behind them, either in the richness or brilliancy of their attire; only we are told, that they are much sonder of pearls than of diamonds. The women appear always veiled abroad, *Dress* but uncover their faces when they receive or return a salute. The garment which is next their body is always long enough to trail about a span behind them; the others are each half *of the women,* a span shorter than the other.

THEIR Literati affect to wear high caps, in the shape of a mitre: they never cut their nails *and learned.* or beards, nor slash their gowns so low as the rest. Their upper garment is commonly of black damask, with a stole about their necks, hanging down to their knees, and a blue handkerchief twisted a little above their wrist^m.

THEIR houses are neat and convenient; the pillars on which they stand, and other orna- *Houses neat* *and plain.* ments about them, are nicely painted and carved, and some of them gilt; but their furniture within is rather plain than sumptuous; yet the meanest of them have three sorts of seats, with *Threefold* which they accommodate their visitors; the one a mat, or cushion, laid on the floor, for those *seats.* of the lower rank; the second, a square or round tabour, about six or eight inches high, and more or less rich, according to their degree or circumstance, and designed for those of a middle rank; the last kind of chair, about 12 or 15 inches high, without back or arms, for those of the highest quality. Their treats to their visitors are usually the betel, a dish of tea, and some tobacco; to which those of the better rank add some perfume, and a good deal of formal ceremony at meeting and parting; tho' the visit, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, *Visiting.* seldom lasts above half an hour from first to lastⁿ.

THEIR marriages, burials, festivals for the *Customs re-* *ceived from* *the Chinese.* dead and living, arts, sciences, particularly physic and surgery (C), learning, language, writing, arithmetic, and other such subjects, being much the same with those which are used in *China*, as the greatest part was brought hither from thence, we shall not trouble our readers with an

^m BORRI, TAVERNIER, DE RHODES, BARON, HAMILTON, & al. sup. citat.

ⁿ Idem ibid.

(C) With regard to those two points, if we may believe Father *Borri*, who conversed so long among them, the practitioners, tho' equally boasting of their great skill in pulses, and other branches of their art, with the *Chinese* quacks and mountebanks, are, however, so far honest, that they will not undertake a patient, if, after mature enquiry, they think his distemper likely to elude the power of their medicines. If they take it in hand, it is always with the usual caution of no cure no pay;

and of naming the precise time it will take them in performing it. He adds, that tho' there are several *European* physicians of eminence in that kingdom, yet their own cure many stubborn distempers with their drugs and simples, which these cannot remove with their more elaborate medicines. Their way of bleeding is not unlike ours, except that instead of a lancet, they make use of a sharp piece of broken china, fastened into a goose's quill (1).

(1) *Borri, ubi sup.*

anticipation of them here. Nor must we suppose the sciences to have met with the same encouragement, or to have made as great a progress here as they have there, where every town of note hath its academies and professors, richly endowed, public exercises, examinations for bestowing of degrees, which are the only way to preferment, are yearly performed with a kind of impartial accuracy. Here are indeed some few schools and halls for that purpose, some maintained by the king and presumptive heir; but what is chiefly taught in them is astronomy, or rather astrology; and this merely for the sake of prying into future events.

Their progress small. *Astronomy very little known.* SOME of their head professors have so much of the former, as to be able to foretell eclipses, that is, to foresee that there will be some such defection in one or other of the luminaries, whenever the lunations happen to be near what we call the moon's nodes, which is no difficult matter to do; but as to calculating exact time, quantity, duration, and other such nice particulars, they are still so much in the dark, for want of proper tables, and such other helps, as the jesuits introduced in *China*, that they often mistake in one or other of those particulars, if not in all; though, in such case, they are sure to have their lands or appenage resumed by the king, in whose presence, as well as before numerous crouds of grandees, who are timely summoned to attend, the scrutiny is carefully made, how far the phenomenon doth or doth not answer to the astronomer's calculation, either in point of time, length, digits, &c.

Calculation of eclipses imperfect. IN these and the like phenomena, they not only follow, but outdo, the other *Indians*, in superstition; and as they have been taught to look upon them as portending some great and threatening event, so their superstitious fear makes them accumulate every extravagant expedient used not only by the *Chinese*, but by their other neighbours, to avert the omen.

Astrology in great vogue. THEIR religion is almost the same with that of the *Chinese*, and was doubtless introduced amongst them, whilst they were under their dominion. The chova, or king, and his court, the *Mandarins*, and generality of the grandees, and Literati, follow the sect and doctrine of

Religion, three sects; *Sect of Confucius,* *Confucius*, whilst the rest of the people follow those of *Fo* and *Lao-kiun*, and are wholly given up to the most profound ignorance, and the most stupid idolatries and superstitions. The former have neither temples, priests, nor settled worship, but as in *China*^p; so here they address the great *Tyen* in various ways, as their reason, education, or the example of their betters, direct them.

of Fo, &c. The latter, or idolaters, have their temples, and Bonzas, or priests, which, if we may believe Father *Borri*, are divided into various classes, or ranks, answering to our primates, bishops, abbots, and common priests. The latter, likewise, are divided into secular and

Bonzas. regular; the former of whom have either lands or fish-ponds for their maintenance; the other live wholly upon the alms of the superstitious people, and live in communities, under a superior, like the monks in the *Romish* church. They have some temples that excel the rest in beauty, largeness, and ornamental finery; but those are very few, in comparison of the rest, which are mostly built of wood and mud, thatched with straw, and many of them left to go to ruin; the idols, altars, and other idolatrous implements, displaying either the extreme poverty, or neglect of their priests and votaries^q.

Temples many and decayed. *Probably owing to the missionaries.* THIS may be probably owing to the success which the missionaries met with in this kingdom (D); where, according to their accounts, they had made some myriads of converts in the several provinces of it. Nothing, indeed, could be more easy to these good fathers, than the discovery of the many juggling tricks and knaveries of these idolatrous priests, and to convince their deluded votaries of the superior excellency of the religion they preached among them, and so dexterously accommodate it, as far as they dared, to their old notions and prejudices, especially whilst they were tolerated and encouraged by the men in power; who being of the sect of *Confucius*, might be pleased enough to see the whole tribe of juggling Bonzas, and their extravagant superstitions, fall into contempt among the people. So that tho' the govern-

Bonzas become contemptible. ment hath since thought fit, after the example of the *Chinese* and *Tonquinese*, to persecute and banish those missionaries, and to proscribe their religion; yet the laity, once convinced of the stupidity of their former superstitions, and the crafty artifices and impostures of their Bonzas, might not be easily induced to become their dupes again. This general decay of their temples shews at least how much of its pristine grandeur this idolatrous sect hath lost since the time

^p BORRI, TAVERNIER, DE RHODES, BARON, HAMILTON, & al. sup. citat. & al. sup. citat.

^q BORRI, ubi supr.

^p BARON, CHEVRIER,

(D) Besides this Father *Borri*, often quoted, two other *Italian* jesuits entered this kingdom about *Anno* 1615, and met with such success, that they sent for a fresh supply from the society. Five others, and among them Father *Alexander de Rhodes*, came accordingly to their assistance, about nine years after, and greatly augmented the number of converts, as did likewise their successors.

We shall not repeat here the various accounts they sent from thence into *Europe*, of their surprising pro-

gress (1), which may be liable to be exaggerated, and only add, that some *Hollanders*, who were since cast upon these coasts by a storm, about *Anno* 1714, had the same confirmed by several other missionaries, both *French* and *Portuguese*, one of them a bishop, from whom they met with an hospitable reception, and by whom they were told, that in one single province of that kingdom, which they called *Hec*, they had no less than 40 churches, and above 10,000 converts (2).

(1) *De his cild. litt. edij. & c. vicus. pas. Fat. De Rhodes relat. ubi supr.*

(2) *Dutch Travels.*

- a of Father *Borri*, one of the first Christian preachers among them ; who tells us, that, at his first coming thither, their temples, idols, and priests, appeared in the greatest splendor ; and that the latter, especially the dignitaries among them, never officiated or went abroad, without some kind of insignia of their rank either about, or carried before them¹.

- THEY believe the immortality of the soul, and its transmigration from one body to another : *Teach the immortality and transmigration of the soul.* and though they are, on that account, very averse to killing or hurting any living creatures, like the generality of the *Indians*, they make no scruple to offer great quantities of hogs in sacrifice to their gods, and to the manes of their ancestors and near relations, as we shall find it also practised in *Tonking*² ; that creature being, by what we can find, the only one that is used upon such occasions. They have likewise a notion, that some of the souls of men, not being permitted to pass into other bodies, become maleficent ghosts, and, in time, degenerate into evil spirits, or devils. *Apparitions and evil spirits.* Their juggling priests generally fill the common people with superstitious notions of these, and other such evil demons, as incubusses, succubusses, and other frightful apparitions ; by all which they never fail of drawing some considerable gain from their credulous votaries.

- THE government here is altogether despotic, the king having an absolute power over the lives and fortunes of his subjects, to make or abrogate the laws, to make peace or war, and to dispose of all dignities and offices, both civil and military, in the kingdom, without consulting any of his ministers. He governs his provinces by his Mandarins, appoints the several members of their respective tribunals ; and if any of them be found guilty of mal-administration, he immediately condemns them to some capital punishment, at his pleasure. The misfortune is, that the complaints of his subjects find always so very difficult a passage to the throne, that they seldom or never are able to reach it ; though he is often pleased to give public audience to them at the gates of his palace, the place where he commonly sits for the administration of justice. *Arbitrary government.*

- THERE he always appears, mounted on a stately elephant, and seated in a kind of tower, sumptuously adorned ; but which none, not even those who are admitted to prefer their suits or complaints, must approach nearer than at the distance of 80 paces, and convey their petitions to him by the hands of his eunuchs, either in writing, or by word of mouth. Whenever he appears in public, upon any other occasion, which happens but seldom, every one is obliged to fall flat with their faces on the ground. Whatever sentence he passes from his tribunal of justice, is immediately executed, whether it be death, amputation of a limb, imprisonment, slavery, or other punishment. High-treason and rebellion are not only punished with the most severe death, but often affects all the condemned person's relations with loss of life, as well as fortunes, though perhaps they may come off with a less severe death, or with banishment, or perpetual imprisonment. *The king's manner of giving audience, and appearing in public.*

THESE monarchs in general are very severe in the execution of their laws, whenever the delinquent's cause comes before them ; but in the more remote provinces, where presents operate as efficaciously, a capital punishment is as often committed for a lighter³. *Severe punishments.*

- FALSE witness is punished according to the nature of it ; and if the accusation be capital, the accuser is capitally punished. Adultery is also capital ; the woman is here condemned, as in *Tongking*, to be trodden to death by an elephant, and her paramour to some more gentle death⁴. Theft is punished with the loss of a finger, for the first and second fact ; of an ear, for the third ; and of the head, for the fourth. If a criminal flies to *Tongking* for shelter, he is not only protected, but caressed ; but if a *Tonquinese* come hither, on the same errand, he is condemned to perpetual slavery, unless he can obtain a pardon from the king of the former, and pay his ransom to the latter⁵. *False witness. Adultery. Fugitives how treated.*

- THE kings of *Kochinchina* are very rich and opulent, having several princes tributary to them, though they, like him, assume the royal title. That of *Thiem* pays him a certain number of elephants, and a certain quantity of calambac, wax, ivory, and other products. Those of *Camboja* and *Chiampa* pay him a certain tribute for his protection (E) ; and even the wild people, called *Ka-moy*, are forced to send him some wax, betel, and other produce of their high mountains. He hath a vast quantity of odoriferous wood, of various kinds, of gold-dust, and all the elephants teeth ; all which he sells to foreign traders. He claims one-third part of all the rice of his kingdom ; and the governors of his provinces are allowed a ninth part of all the rest. Some provinces, which, by reason of their high situation, and dryness, do not abound with that grain, are indeed exempted from this tribute ; but are obliged, in lieu of it, *King's opulence and revenue.*

¹ BORRI, ubi supr.

al. ubi supr.

xlix. p. 212.

² BORRI, ibid. & al. ub. supr.

³ See the hist. of that kingdom in the sequel.

⁴ TAVERNIER, BARON, DE RHODES, &

⁵ HAMILTON, ubi supr. vol. ii. ch.

(E) The latter in particular, who had been restored to all his dominions by the king of *Kochinchina*, doth pay him yearly, we are told (5), a tribute of 200 ele-

phants, 100 buffaloes, 100 beavers, 500 pieces of linen, and all the aquiline and ebony wood, and ivory, in his country.

(5) *Choisy journ. of the ambass. of Siam. De Rhodes. &c.*

to furnish him with a certain number of horses, slaves, odoriferous woods, or other products of a
of their land. And for these, and especially for the rice, he has large magazines in every
province.

*Tribute and
presents.*

*Inherits the
lands of his
nobles.*

*Troops well
disciplined.*

*Their navy
chiefly gallies.*

*Their wea-
pons, &c.*

Strict exercise.

*Why quickly
manned.*

How treated.

*The mille-
pedes.*

*The king's
court.*

*Gold and silver
scarce.*

OVER and above these yearly tributes, every man, from the age of 18 to 60, is obliged to pay him six crowns *per* year, and to work for him eight months in the year; the other four, which they call the harvest months, being all they can claim for themselves. The sale of the mandarinats, governments of sea-ports, and other places, are, in some measure, sold by him to the highest bidder; and the price of them commonly runs very high; besides which, he receives considerable presents from them at certain times of the year, as well as upon other occasions, especially when they have cause to fear his displeasure; all which amount to vast sums yearly; and being added to the imposts which he lays on the *Chinese*, *Japanese*, and b
other foreign traders, bring him in an immense yearly revenue. Over and above which, he is heir to all the princes and nobles of the kingdom; and at their deaths takes possession of all their land; leaving only their effects to be distributed among their children.

THIS kingdom having, as we shall have frequent occasion to hint in the sequel, been establish- ed at first by force of arms, the successors to it have not failed to maintain themselves in it by the same method: and to this it is chiefly owing, that their troops, though not quite so numerous, are so much better disciplined than those of any of their neighbours. Their standing land- forces, of which we shall speak under the next head, amount commonly to above 30,000. As to their naval, they have no men of war, but only gallies, of which the presumptive heir hath always the chief command. His whole naval force consisted in the year 1679 of 131 sail. c
Each galley hath 30 oars on each side, three officers, six gunners, two steersmen, and two drummers. The soldiers are placed at each oar, and the officers at the head and stern. Each vessel is finely varnished on the outside with black, and the inside with red, and the oars are commonly gilt. The men row standing, and without speaking, their eyes being fixed on the commander, who sits at the head, and receiving the signal from him by the motion of his wand, as if he was beating time to a band of musicians, which is as exactly kept by them. Every rower hath his arms by him, which are a musket, a dagger, a bow and arrows, and know when and how to make use of them by the motion of the wand; so that every thing is executed with the utmost silence, order, and harmony; and though these gallies are not d
usually exercised above three or four times a year, yet each captain has always one of them at his gate, where his company comes every day to be exercised by him. And this is the more carefully observed, because, if any of them should be found defective at the general review, either in the command, or execution, they are sure to be cashiered, or reduced to the rank of a common soldier.

THESE gallies are easily and speedily manned, every family in the kingdom being bound to furnish one man; and these are always ready and eager to be called to the service, because they are well used whilst they are on board, and their family maintained in their absence.

EACH galley hath a cannon fixed at its courses, and two small pieces on each side. There are a good number of expert gunners belonging to the navy, and the soldiery are said to be no less so at their fire-arms, though they have not as yet learned the art of casting the one, or e
fabricating the other, like the *Tonquinese*. Their mariners all wear the same garb, and of the same colour; viz. white silk trousers, and hair caps. But when they are going to engage, they put on a gilt head-peace, and a waistcoat, so contrived that their right arm, shoulder, and side are always bare. Besides these royal gallies, which are commonly built very long and narrow, and seldom amount to less than 100 or 150, all beautifully varnished and gilt, and otherwise embellished with sails and masts, after the *Indian* manner, they make use of a large sort of them, to which our *English* have given the name of *millepedes*, from the vast number of their oars: these are chiefly employed in transporting of forces, heavy artillery, and other military stores: to all which we may likewise add a number of others, belonging to the govern- f
ors of the maritime provinces; of which that of *Sinuva*, or *Sbanoa*, which borders upon *Tongking*, hath 30; that of the province *Kham* hath 17; and that of the province of *Niavouel* 15. This is all that we meet with concerning his naval force; to which we can only add, that, in cases of necessity, he can order all subjects to appear in arms, that are fit for service; and at such times, all the gallies belonging to his governors, and other subjects, are obliged to join themselves to the royal navy, as if they belonged to it.

HIS court, which usually resides at his capital or *Kebue*, is commonly very brilliant; and the officers and ministers belonging to it affect to make the finest figure they can, both in their apparel and retinue, but without the gaudy addition of silver or gold; which are so scarce there, that a man who should be found to have of either to the amount of 4 or 500 piasters,

^y DE RHODES, BARON, & al.

^z Idem, *ibid.*

^a See the hist. of that kingdom in the sequel.

^b DE RHODES, CHEVRIER, & al. *ubi supr.*

^a would be liable to be called to an account for it. And so little esteem do they shew for that *and not worn.* kind of finery, that if an embroidered suit, or a gold or silver tissue, should fall by chance into their hands, they immediately throw it into the fire, without regard for the workmanship, or any thing, but the metal. But whether this is owing to any royal prohibition, or to their natural indifferency for that kind of luxury, we are not told ^c. All the officers and ministers, *Ministers all eunuchs.* both civil and military, or at least the far greater part of them, are eunuchs, as they are at most *Indian* courts; and upon the same politic account ^d, namely, that they having no children, the king may inherit their effects, as well as their lands.

THE palace is a large, square pile of building, surrounded with a double wall, the first of *Palace described.* timber and earth, and the other of stone. It hath, besides, several distinct courts within its ^b cincture: so that one must pass through six or seven gates before one can come to the royal apartments; each gate being kept by a strong guard, and the outermost of all defended by three middling pieces of cannon, each covered over with a piece of yellow silk, richly embroidered. The structure is flanked on the right and left with sundry bulwarks, bordered with 400 pieces *Artillery.* of artillery of different sizes, some of brass, and others of iron, four of them cast at *Amsterdam,* Anno 1656, and the rest brought thither from *Portugal*. The king hath another palace or *House of pleasure.* pleasure-house, not far from this, to which he frequently retires. This last is surrounded only *sure, oddly built.* with a palisade, and the edifice is built in the form of a large *Chinese* ship, but with very spacious apartments, all commodious, and elegantly furnished after the *Indian* manner. All the lodgings and apartments are built of wood, but exquisitely painted, carved, and gilt, and supported ^c by stately columns, no less beautifully wrought ^e.

THE royal household, including the guards, is said to consist of 9000 men, that of his eldest *King's household.* son, of 5000; that of the next to him, of 3000; and a third, of 2000; we have already ^b hinted, that the land-forces amount to 30,000, of which the second son hath the command, *Army, by whom commanded.* as the eldest hath of the naval; but as they both reside most of their time at court, with the king, the chief management of each is committed to two favourite eunuchs, or lieutenants, who have nevertheless the title of generals.

NEXT them are the Tyametoos, which are the marshals of the kingdom, and commonly *Officers of it.* but three in number; and to these is committed the government of the chief provinces, under that of viceroys, when there; and under that of general when with the army. The Kayvats ^d answer to our brigadiers, the Kaydoi to our colonels, and the Kay-cins to our captains. These last never are absent from their companies, but are obliged to exercise them twice a day, like the naval forces. The king is not only present at their general musters and exercises, but gives audience to all the officers, both of the army and navy, twice a day, that is, early in the morning, and about five at night. So that every captain is obliged to be early with his colonel, this with his brigadier, he with the generals, and they with the two young princes, whence they march in a body to pay their duty to the king; after which each of them march off, at the head of their respective troops, before his majesty, according to their ranks: those of the soldiery, that behave well, are promoted to be his life-guards; whilst others, of a different character, are sent to the public works at all spare hours; and both officers and soldiers are ^e kept in full employ, to prevent revolts and rebellions from the one, and mutinies and disorders from the other.

BOTH army and navy are not only kept under a strict discipline, but are more severely *Dreadful punishment for high treason.* punished than other subjects for every misdemeanor; and if any of them are found guilty of revolting, or any other treasonable crime, they are condemned to be tied naked to a post, at the head of all the forces, and every soldier is obliged to come and cut off a piece of his flesh, as long as he hath any left ^f. And this is such a deterrent to them, that there are hardly any more loyal and obedient subjects any-where in *India* than they are ^g.

THEIR common pay is about 6 s. in money, a bushel of rice, a certain quantity of fish, *per Their pay.* month, which, together with their cloathing and accoutrements, is paid to them regularly by the king. Their chief weapons are the musket and sword; and the country furnishes them not *Weapons.* with powder and ball, but with the materials to make them, which they must afterwards fabri- *Dress, &c.* cate for themselves. They had no cavalry in their wars, till within these 50 or 60 years, when *No cavalry till of late.* one of their kings took it into his head to raise two companies of them, of 50 men each, by way of trial, and afterwards raised them into a regiment; since which, we hear that he gave orders to look out far and near for proper horses for that service; and hath men hired on purpose to break and fit them for it. As for the foot, their dress makes one of the gallantest appear- *The splendid appearance of the foot.* ances on their reviews; and against an engagement, every common soldier is cloathed in red, yellow, or green sattin, according to the colour of his regiment. The guards belonging to the king, and princes of the blood, appear in velvet, of divers colours, with their arms glistening ^g with silver and gold; and the generals, and other officers, are at such times allowed to have

^c See hist. of Tongking in the sequel.
^d De RHODES, CHEVRIER, & al.

^e De RHODES, & al. sup. citat.

^f Ibid. l. 2.

^g De RHODES,

Soldiers children educated.

their clothes embroidered with the same, more or less richly, according to their rank. The king takes likewise care to have the soldiers male children well brought up ; and according as they prove, either tractable, stubborn, or lazy, the officers to whom they belong order them to be cloathed in silk, or coarse linen ; and those who come home to their parents in this last garb, are sure to be well threshed by their parents ; and, if they do not mend their manners, are turned out to beg their bread for some time, in order to shame and spur them up to greater diligence and application ^a.

Manner of fighting very imperfect.

BUT the reader must not suppose, from all that we have hitherto said of their martial discipline, and sumptuous appearance, that they are such adepts in the art of war, or engage their enemies, whether in a siege or battle, with that conduct and regularity that our *European* forces do. Their fighting is little else than sudden occasional incursions, accompanied by some fierce, but hasty, skirmishes between opposite parties, whenever chance, more than design, brings them together ; in which the *Kochinchinese* have only this advantage, that being better trained up, and used to them, they are not so easily disconcerted, or put to the rout, as their enemies ; who commonly betake themselves to flight after the first onset, unless they see their antagonists flee before them : but as for any set or decisive battles, they are seldom or never heard of among them, notwithstanding their having been so many centuries at war with the *Tonquinese* ^b. This defect, however, is so common among the forces of all the neighbouring princes, that instead of affecting those of *Kochinchina*, or rendering them inferior to any, it hath gained them a great advantage over the rest ; inasmuch, that they have not only some considerable ones who pay homage and tribute to them ; but bear such sway among all the rest, that even their bare interposition hath often been sufficient to suppress any attempt or occasion they might take of encroaching upon one another. And if they have not hitherto aimed at enlarging their own dominions, by new conquests, it is no small credit and honour to them that they have never wanted either power or valour to preserve them entire, and to convey them unmaimed to their descendants until this day. ^c

Their sway over their neighbours.

Origin of their new monarchy from their own records.

WE shall in the sequel give an account how these monarchs came to shake of their subjection to those of *Tong-king*, at the same time that these rebelled against their lawful sovereigns ; and have ever since kept them in a state of inactive obscurity, and without any other mark than the bare shadow and name of royalty, according as we find this twofold revolution recorded in the *Tonquinese* annals ^d. But as those of the *Kochinchinese* relate that remarkable transaction somewhat differently, we shall, in justice to them, subjoin here the account which they themselves give of it, and of the foundation of their new monarchy.

The cause of their revolt from the Tonquinese.

IT happened, according to them, about four centuries ago, when one of the *Tonquinese* monarchs dying without issue, divided the kingdom between a brother and a sister, both highly in his favour for their excellent qualities ; ordering his brother to reside in *Kochinchina*, as the most remote from court, and to take care of that government, whilst the sister did the same at *Tong-king* ; enjoining them at the same time to have a meeting once a year to compare notes, and consult on the properest means for the good and preservation of both states. They had not gone long in this harmonious way, before the princess, who was young, and had perhaps taken some umbrage at her brother, thought fit to marry an ambitious nobleman, who quickly inspired her with a desire of engrossing both governments into her hands ; and whilst he outwardly shewed the greatest regard to the brother, he privately used all the art he was master of to persuade her, that she having the greater title to both crowns, it was her interest, as well as her safest way, to rid herself of him ; engaging himself to get him cut off without their being suspected of having a hand in it. ^e

Treachery of a nobleman.

Entrayed by his wife.

THE queens's brother was then, as usual, at the court of *Tong-king*, not dreaming of any such deep-laid treason against him. But, happily for him, his sister, young as she was, had prudence enough to conceal her abhorrence of it, under the outward show of acquiescing with and approving of it : but immediately apprised her brother of his danger, and easily persuaded him, under pretence of going a hunting for a few days, to hasten with all possible speed to *Kochinchina* : where he was no sooner safely arrived, than he assembled the states of that kingdom, and laid before them the treacherous designs which his unworthy brother-in-law had laid both against his life and their liberty. There needed no more to inspire the *Kochinchinese* with the utmost abhorrence against the ambition and treachery of the *Tonquinese* usurper and tyrant : they all took up arms in defence of their prince and his government ; and swore never more to submit to the *Tonquinese* yoke, and to acknowledge the worthy brother and successor of the late king, as their lawful and only sovereign. A bloody war immediately ensued between the two competitors, in which each brought an army of between 40 and 50,000 men, towards the banks of the river *Kam bin*, which is the frontier between the two kingdoms. What the success of it was we are not told ; only it appears not to have been of consequence enough to have given any great advantage to one side above the other, seeing both have since ^f

A war ensued.

^a DE RHODES, & al. for 1117.

^b Vid. CHÉRIER, BARON, & al.

^c See the next chapter.

a kept their own dominions to themselves ; though there scarcely passes a year in which they do not make some incursion into each other's territory, accompanied with fierce skirmishes whenever they meet, yet it doth not appear that one side hath gained a single province over the other. The mutual hatred of the monarchs quickly spread itself among all their subjects, who since that rupture have broke off all friendship and commerce with each other, and affect to display a singular contempt for each other ; and if the *Tonquinese* use the fugitives of *Kochinchina* with more seeming kindness than these do theirs, it is rather done out of resentment against their king, than out of any regard to their subjects ^f. *Mutual hatred of both nations.*

BEFORE we leave this kingdom, we must not omit to give a short account of some of the most considerable islands belonging to it : the natives give them the name of *Pullos*, and there are a good number of them along the coast. As 1. *Pullo Sicca*, which is barren and uninhabited, and looks like a group of parched rocks, without trees or one blade of grass. 2. *Pullo Secca de Mare*, a chain of other barren and rocky islands, stretching themselves from the dangerous shallows called *Paracel*. 3. *Pullo Cambir*, fifteen leagues off the shore, but near the shallows above-mentioned, and which, though large, is also uninhabited. 4. *Pullo Canton*, lying near the shore, and at a small distance from that of *Campello*, from both which the currents, which run to the southwards in the northern monsons, oblige the pilots to keep off as far as they can, and to sail close to the coasts. These we mention on account of their dangerous nature. *The isles along these coasts dangerous to the mariners.*

PULLO KONDOR, or *Condore*, is another close group, situate under the eighth degree of north latitude ; the most considerable of which is about five leagues in length from east to west, and about one in breadth where widest. The next to it is about two leagues long, and half of one broad ; and is so advantageously situated, that it forms a kind of haven in conjunction with the other, but which, as one advances more southward, grows so narrow that none but small vessels can sail through it. These two islands are reckoned very conveniently situate for those who sail to and from *China*, *Japan*, *Manilla*, *Tong-king*, and *Kochinchina* ; and are chiefly inhabited by original natives of the last of those kingdoms, though since somewhat dwindled in their size, and are still subject to it. They are very poor, their chief employment being drawing of pitch or turpentine from the trees called *damar*, and selling it to the strangers that come, or carrying it to *Kochinchina*, in baskets made for that purpose ; others get their living by catching of tortoises, and other shell-fish, of which there are a great quantity and variety. All these islanders, *Dampier* tells us, are so civil to strangers, that they bring their wives on board their ships, and prostitute them to any of them for a small trifle ^g. *Those of Pullo Kondor described. Their inhabitants ; Civility to strangers.*

ABOUT the latter end of the last century, our *East India* company attempted to make a settlement upon these islands, and built a fort of earth upon one of them ; which they surrounded with a palisade, and planted a small battery upon it. But some *Macassar* soldiers, whom they had taken into their pay, took an opportunity some years after to massacre the *English* that were in it, and to set fire to the fort, in the dead of the night, which put an end to that settlement ^h. *An English factory destroyed. A. D. 1705.*

To conclude this article, these islands are surrounded with such a number of shallows, rocks, and shelves, and shipwrecks happen so frequently within their neighbourhood, that the king of *Kochinchina* sends thither, at certain seasons of the year, a number of his gallies, together with some of the expertest divers in his kingdom, to go in search of them, and to save what merchandizes, and other things of value they can out of the water ⁱ. *Wrecks dived for by the king's ships.*

^f DE RHODES ubi supra. TAVERNIER, BARON, DAMPIER, CHEVRIER, HAMILTON, & al. supra citat.
^g DAMPIER VOY. vol. i. p. 194. & seq. ^h DAMPIER VOY. vol. i. p. 194. & seq. & Supplement.
 BARON, HAMILTON, in fin. vol. i. hist. Sincns. CHEVRIER, DE RHOD. & al. supra citat. See Lockier's voy. to Canton, 1704. Mr. CUNINGHAM's letter in SALMON's Mod. hist. vol. i. p. 59. ⁱ DAMPIER, & al. supra citat.

C H A P. XVI.

The history of the kingdom of Tong-king.

f THIS is the last country in the farther peninsula of *India*, which remains to be treated of : Tong-king ; it is tributary to the *Chinese* monarchs, like that of *Kochinchina*, and is commonly called *Tunkin*, and *Tunquin*, by the *Europeans*. It is bounded on the north and east by the *Chinese* provinces of *Quang-si* and *Yun-nan* ; on the west by the two small kingdoms of *Law-chiva*, which divide it from that of *Siam* on the south ; and south-east by *Kochinchina*, and the gulph of its name, called also the gulph of *Kochinchina*, because it runs between them both. The length

- Extent.** length of the *Tonquinese* dominions is variously computed, because it hath often varied; inso-
much that some pretend it once extended 1500 leagues into the inland: that is, from the con-
fines of the province of *Quang-ton* north-westward to the kingdom of *Chiampa*. *Tavernier*
affirms it to be almost as big as *France*; whilst *Baron* will have it to be longer than *Portugal*;
but adds, that it contains four times the number of inhabitants. According to the latest
accounts, it is supposed to stretch about 370 miles in length, and about 240 where broadest.^a
**Gulph de-
scribed.** The vast bay on which it is situate extends from the point of *Chiampa*, in north latitude 12°
14', to the province of *Tenan* in 27° ½'. Its breadth, where widest, that is from the conti-
nent to the island of *Ho-nan*, is reckoned twenty leagues by *Dampier*, and thirty by *Marini*.
It hath between forty and fifty fathoms water in the middle, and affords every-where a com-
modious and safe anchorage. Two large rivers, *viz.* the *Rockbo* and *Domea*; the last so
Two bays. called from a town situate upon it six leagues above its mouth; flow into the gulph; the one
two leagues farther north-east than the other, and open an entrance into the kingdom; but the
latter is that which is most frequented by the *Europeans*, its mouth being much the larger and
deeper of the two. But in approaching it, great care must be had to avoid the many dan-
gerous shoals that lie between the mouths of these two rivers, and stretch themselves in some
places several leagues into the gulph. It hath likewise a bar, near two miles broad, across the
mouth of it; and the chanel, which is about half a mile over, hath sands also on each side.
Bar. The mark by which one must enter it is a high ridge of mountains, called the *Elephant*, and
which must be brought to bear north-west and by north. Here the sailors make towards the
shore till they come to six fathom water, about two or three miles from the foot of the bar;
and when *Pear Island* bears north-west from them, they cast anchor and fire a gun, which
soon after brings a pilot to steer them in at spring tide.^b
Islands. THE farther end of the gulph hath likewise a number of small islands; the most consider-
able of which is situate in 20° 18' north latitude, and is called by the natives *Twonbene*, but
by the *Dutch*, *the isle of Robbers*, where the *Tonquinese* have settled a custom-house, which
brings in about a million of rix-dollars. Near the island, which is about two leagues long,
and half a league wide, are two small bays; the farthest of which hath a pearl fishery belong-
ing to the king.
**Domea the
first town.** THE town of *Domea* above-mentioned is situate on the right shore of the river of its name,
and is the first that offers itself to the sight. The *Dutch* chuse to anchor before it, but our
English ships sail up a little higher, where the current is more gentle. No sooner do the
Domeans, and villages about them, perceive an *European* ship coming up the river, than
they set all hands to work in building of booths, and filling them with all sorts of provisions
and conveniencies for their accommodation; not excepting, if we may believe our coun-ry-
man *Dampier*, a sufficient number of females, to attend their pleasure during their stay. The
Tonquinese, it seems, observing so little decency in that case, that they will even suffer their
own wives to hire themselves to them for a certain sum, for the space of two or three months;
and are so desirous to have some of the *English* breed amongst them, that those of the better
sort, even their nobles, will think it no disgrace to marry their daughters to an *English* or
Dutch sailor, and will make them handsome presents at their departure, especially those whose
wives are found pregnant.^c
**Accommoda-
tions to stran-
gers.** THE town of *Domea* above-mentioned is situate on the right shore of the river of its name,
and is the first that offers itself to the sight. The *Dutch* chuse to anchor before it, but our
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sort, even their nobles, will think it no disgrace to marry their daughters to an *English* or
Dutch sailor, and will make them handsome presents at their departure, especially those whose
wives are found pregnant.^d
Climate. THE climate of this kingdom, although it be just under the tropic, is yet reckoned so
mild and temperate, that the whole year appears like a continual spring, without any other
material change than that of rain and sun-shine, wet and dry season. They have likewise
only two winds that blow for a continuance; *viz.* the north and the south, which commonly
blow six whole months alternately; the former from *June* or *July* to *January*, and the latter
from *January* to *July*: but the most agreeable season in the whole year begins about *September*,
and ends in *March*; during which the north wind blows almost without intermission, and
renders the climate healthy and temperate, yet without producing either ice or snow. The
rainy season seldom begins before the month of *April*, and lasts only till *August*. This is
indeed the most unhealthy part of the whole year, not only on account of the south wind,
and the violent rains that fall in great plenty, but likewise of the thick mists and fogs; which
the sun, then in its zenith, draws up, and which oftentimes cause intolerable heats and acute
diseases. Yet all that while the country appears in its most elegant dress; the trees are covered
with fruit and verdure, and the plains, if not with vines and corn fields, which this climate
doth not yield, yet with plenty of rice, and variety of other products more natural to it.
**Notice nor
snow.** THE misfortune is, that the country, mostly low and flat, is frequently overflowed by
the violent rains, to such a degree as to destroy in some measure a whole harvest; and at
some times not coming down in sufficient plenty to nourish the rice, which can only grow
in water, a famine often ensues, that grain being the chief support of all these eastern coun-
tries.^e
**Weather;
temperature.** THE misfortune is, that the country, mostly low and flat, is frequently overflowed by
the violent rains, to such a degree as to destroy in some measure a whole harvest; and at
some times not coming down in sufficient plenty to nourish the rice, which can only grow
in water, a famine often ensues, that grain being the chief support of all these eastern coun-
tries.^f
**Subject to
great floods.** THE misfortune is, that the country, mostly low and flat, is frequently overflowed by
the violent rains, to such a degree as to destroy in some measure a whole harvest; and at
some times not coming down in sufficient plenty to nourish the rice, which can only grow
in water, a famine often ensues, that grain being the chief support of all these eastern coun-
tries.^g

^a MARINI relat. Tonquin. See also DAMPIER Supplem. p. 1. & seq. TAVERNIER, vol. III. BARON, & al. mult.
^b MARINI relat. Tonquin, & al. sup. citat.

a tries. So that whenever such years of scarcity happen, the parents among the poorer sort are forced to sell their very children for subsistence; although this is not so often the case in this kingdom as in other parts of *India*, particularly the coasts of *Malabar* and *Choromandel*.

THE country on the *Chinese* side is defended by an impenetrable ridge of mountains, which extends from the sea side above 150 leagues into the inland, along the frontiers of *Quang si* and *Quey-chew*. These mountains are covered with vast forests of variety of trees, and filled with elephants, deer, tigers, and other wild creatures; whilst the rest of the country is beautifully variegated with fertile hills and vallies, and intersected with a great number of rivers; among which Father *Tissanier*, a Jesuit missionary, reckons twenty-eight principal ones which empty themselves into the sea. From these, and other inferior rivers which fall into them, b the inhabitants cut a vast number of canals, not so much for the sake of commerce, as they do in *China*, as to irrigate and fertilize their numerous plains and pasture grounds.

THE country is divided into eight provinces or chief cantons. The first of which, called the *Eastern*, is bounded on the south by the *Tonquinese* gulph, on which are a number of islands under its jurisdiction. The ground is mostly flat and fertile, and abounds with rice; but the inhabitants are chiefly employed in the fishery. The chief town of this province is called *Heaw*, but is very inconsiderable, though the largest of the whole canton, and the residence of its governor^d.

2. THE second, styled the *Western*, is mostly flat, and abounds with rich pasture grounds and fields of rice, but is thinly furnished with fruit and other trees.

c 3. THE third, called the *Southern*, is formed into a kind of triangular island, partly by the sea, and partly by the two great branches of the *Song-koy*, or large river (A). It is very fruitful in rice, by reason of its flat and low situation, but is likewise subject to frequent inundations.

4. THE fourth, styled the *Northern*, is by far the largest of all, and comprehends the greatest part of the kingdom on that side, reaching quite to the *Chinese* frontiers on the east. It is partly flat and partly mountainous; the flat yields plenty of rice, and the other abounds with woods, forests, and wild beasts; and, among other trees, produces that of which they make their fine varnish, or japan.

d 5. THE fifth, called *Tenan*, is but small in comparison of the rest, and its chief product is rice.

6. THE sixth, called *Ten-hoa*, or *Ten-hie*, is bounded on the east by an arm of the *Song-koy*, and on the south by the gulph of *Tong-king*; its inhabitants are chiefly employed in the fishery, and drive a considerable commerce with their salt fish.

7. THE seventh, which is called *No-ghean*, borders on *Kochinchina* on the west; it extends a vast way northwards, and breeds vast numbers of cattle on its fat pasture grounds, as well as great plenty of rice. Its bordering upon *Kochinchina* makes it necessary for the government to entertain a good number of troops, which lie cantoned along the frontiers.

e 8. THE eighth, called *Cachao*, *Chaco*, and *Checo*, is situated in the heart of the kingdom, and is surrounded by the other seven^e. Its soil is fertile, and in some parts mountainous, and abounding with variety of trees, and particularly that of the varnish. Most of these provinces carry on some branch of the silk manufacture more or less, but this last most of all. It takes its name from its capital, which is also the metropolis of the whole kingdom; though in other respects hardly comparable to a *Chinese* one of the third rank.

f CACHAO is situate under the 20th degree of north latitude, at about eighty leagues distance from the sea. Some authors make no scruple to rank it amongst the most considerable cities of *Asia*, both on account of its extent and the vast number of its inhabitants; but it will be found, on stricter enquiry, that the vast crouds of people which swarm in it are rather neighbouring villagers, that flock thither at times, but more especially on market-days, with their various commodities, and who so croud the streets that they are hardly passable. Upon which account several of the most considerable villages about it have been allowed to have their halls in particular parts of the city, where they bring and dispose of their wares. The magistracy likewise takes care to preserve such good order among all the goers and comers, as to prevent as much as possible all confusion and stoppage among them.

^d DAMPIER, & al. ubi supra.

^e Ibid. p. 20, & seq. BARON, & al.

(A) This is by far the most considerable river in this kingdom. It is said to have its rise among some of the *Chinese* mountains lately mentioned. and, after a long and winding course, to discharge itself by eight or nine branches into the gulph of *Hay-nan* (1). *Dampier* in-

deed, in the supplement to his voyages (2), mentions no more than the two branches of the *Rokbo* and *Domea*; it is possible however that it may have a greater number, which he did not know of, seeing he says nothing of the place where it falls into the sea.

(1) See *Baron* in collect. v. y

(2) *Supplement*, p. 19.

Streets, &c.

As for the town itself, if we except the palace royal and the arsenal, it hath little else worth a notice; the streets are neither regular nor handsome; the houses are low and mean, mostly built of wood and clay, and not above one story high. The magazines and warehouses belonging to foreigners are the only edifices which are built of brick; and which, though plain, yet, by reason of their height and more elegant fabricature, make a considerable show among those rows of wooden huts.

Royal palaces.

THE chief palace of the Chowa, or king, is more a vast than a superb structure. It is situate in the center of the city, and surrounded with a stout wall, within whose cincture are seen a great number of apartments two stories high, whose fronts and portals have something of the grand taste; those of the Chowa and his wives are embellished with variety of carving and gilding after the *Indian* manner, and all finely varnished. In the outward or foremost court are a vast number of sumptuous stables for the king's elephants and horses; the inner courts can only be supposed to be answerable to that, for the avenues are forbid not only to all strangers but even to his subjects, except those of the privy council and the chief ministers of state: yet we are told, that there are stair-cases by which the people may mount up to the

Wall.

top of the walls, which are about eighteen or twenty feet high, and walk about them, from which they may have a distant view of the royal apartments, and of the fine parterres and

Ponds, &c.

fish-ponds which are between the cincture and them. The front wall hath a large gate well ornamented, which is never opened but when the king goes in and out; but at some distance from it on each side there are two posterns, at which the courtiers and servants may go in and out. This cincture, which is of a vast circumference, is faced with brick within and without, and the whole structure is terminated by wide spacious gardens; which, though stored with variety of proper ornaments, yet are destitute of that grandeur and elegance which we behold in the palaces of our *European* princes.

The ruins of an old palace.

BESIDES that vast spacious palace, one sees in this metropolis the stately ruins of a more splendid and magnificent one, said to have been formerly built by one of their monarchs, named *Li-bat-via*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel, and to have been since destroyed during their civil wars. Its circumference is said to have been between six and seven miles; some arches, porticoes, and other ornaments, are still remaining; from which, and some of its courts paved with marble, one may conclude it to have been as magnificent a structure as any of the eastern parts can shew.

Arsenal.

THE arsenal is likewise a large and noble building, and well-stored with warlike ammunition and artillery. It stands on the banks of the river *Song-koy* lately mentioned, and on that branch which *Dampier* calls *Domea*, which he says is much the deeper and wider of the two, and is that by which the *European* vessels come up to the town of its name: though, as we hinted a little higher, not without the assistance of a pilot of that country to steer them through its sandy and dangerous meanders, who always chuses calm weather and the benefit of the tide for that purpose^f.

A curious observation on the tides of those coasts.

AND here it will not be amiss to mention some curious observations, communicated to our Royal Society, concerning some considerable variations between the tides of these seas and those of *Europe*, viz. that on the *Tonquinese* coasts ebbs and flows but once in twenty-four hours; that is, that the tide is rising during the space of twelve hours, and can be easily perceived during two of the moon's quarters, but can hardly be observed during the other two quarters. In the spring-tides, which last 14 days, the waters begin to rise at the rising of the moon; whereas in the low tides, which continue the same number of days, the tide begins not till that planet is got below the horizon. Whilst it is passing thro' the six northern signs, the tides are observed to vary very greatly, and to rise sometimes very high, and sometimes to be very low; but when it is got once into the southern part of the zodiac, they are found to be more even and regular^g.

No walls or fortifications.

TO return to the metropolis of this kingdom, all that we need observe further concerning it is, that it hath neither walls nor fortifications, tho' it be the constant residence of the *Tonquinese* monarchs, who have two other palaces, such as they are, in it, besides that already spoken of. The principal streets are airy and wide, but the rest narrow, all of them paved, tho' few of them otherwise than with small stones, clumsily put together; which makes it very unpleasant to walk thro' them, especially in wet weather, when they are extremely dirty, for want of a proper current for the water. Even in dry weather there are here and there some ditches of stagnated water and stinking mud, which are very offensive to strangers; yet upon the whole, its open situation, and serene air, renders it healthy, and to the natives pleasant enough; so that it is seldom, if ever, visited with such pestilential diseases, as are common in large cities of these eastern climes.

Subject to fire.

ONE sad disaster it is liable to, from the combustibility of its edifices, and the thatching of their houses, that it frequently suffers dreadful conflagrations; which spread themselves far

^f DAMPIER, p. 20, & seq.^g De his variat. vide Philosoph. Transact. DAMPIER, HAMILTON, &c.

a and wide, with such surprising velocity, that some thousands of houses are laid in ashes before the fire can be extinguished. To prevent the sad consequences of which, every house hath, *Precaution against them,* either in its yard, or even in its center, some low building of brick, in form of an oven, in which the inhabitants, on the least intimation of a fire, convey their most valuable effects. Besides this precaution, which every family takes to secure their goods, the government obliges them to keep a cistern, or some other capacious vessel, always full of water, on the top of their house, to be ready on all occasions of this nature; as likewise a long pole and bucket, to throw water from the kennel upon the houses. If these two expedients fail of suppressing the flames, they immediately cut the straps which fasten the thatch to the walls, and let it fall in, and waste itself on the ground (B). By this means also the neighbouring houses are b soon uncovered, and the flames prevented from catching at them; or if they do, they may be the more easily quenched by the water kept in reserve, and by the supply which they get by their poles and buckets from the kennels; for so strict are they to oblige every house to be provided with those two expedients, that if any are found without them, they are very severely punished for their neglect: notwithstanding all which cautions, this city is frequently damaged by such conflagrations^a.

THE house belonging to the *English* is situate on the north side of the city, fronting the *English* river. It is a handsome, low-built house, with a spacious dining-room in the center, and *factory houses* on each side are the apartments of the merchants, factors, and servants. At each end of the building are smaller houses, for other uses, as store-houses, kitchen, &c. which form two c wings, with the square in the middle, and parallel with the river, near the bank of which stands a long flag-staff, on which they commonly display the *English* colours on *Sundays*, and all other remarkable days. Adjoining to it, on the south side, is the *Danish* factory, which is neither so large nor so handsome; tho' the *Danes* were settled in it long before the *English*, who were but lately removed thither from *Heau*, in our author's time. On the same side of the river runs a long stout dike, whose timber and stone are so strongly fastened together, *A stout dike on the river.* that no part of it can be stirred, without moving the whole. This work was raised on those banks, to prevent the river, in the time of their vast rains, from overflowing the city, and carrying all before it; and has hitherto answered its end; for tho' the town stands high enough to be in no danger from the land-floods, it might yet have been otherwise frequently d damaged, if not totally laid under water by the overflowing of that river^b.

CACHAW is the only city, if it may be dignified with that title, in the whole kingdom. *No cities in the kingdom.* That of *Domea*, formerly mentioned, tho' the next in rank, is hardly worth notice, being a large scattered town, or rather village; and so we may say of all the rest, even of those which are styled the metropolis of a province, and residence of a governor. The town of *Heau* *Heau town.* above-mentioned hath nothing remarkable but a palace belonging to a popish bishop, who is *Popish bishop's palace.* a *Frenchman*, in which are also lodged some missionaries, of the same nation. It is a low, but handsome building, encompassed with a high and spacious wall, and hath a large gate to enter in at, which is open all the day, and shut up at night; near it is a neat, but small apartment, separate from the rest of the building, which is designed for the entertainment of e strangers. The bishop, who is interdicted from settling at, or even coming to, the city of *Cachao*, commonly resides in this town, which lies in the road to that metropolis, and hath several wherries constantly going up to it with the tide, and containing some 10, some 20, passengers, besides the rowers, and other lading^c.

WE have already hinted, that the greatest part of this country is well watered by rivers, and canals cut from them; and the warmth of the climate is no less assisting to the fecundity of their ground. It were indeed needless to enumerate the various products of this kingdom, *Variety of trees.* they being much the same that we have mentioned in our history of *China*, and other parts of *India*. And we shall only add, that the greatest part of their fruit-trees are affirmed to exceed all the rest of *Asia* in the flavour, beauty, and excellency of their fruit, but especially the f palm and orange-tree, of the large kind. But those of the small kind, as well as their citrons, are reckoned very unwholesome; especially the latter, the juice of which, in some cases, is used instead of *aqua fortis*, for dying of callicoes. They are likewise careful to furnish *Garden stuff.* their gardens with plenty of potatoes, yams, onions, &c. and their orchards with plantans, bananas, mangos, limes, coco-nuts, pine-apples, and other such esculent fruits. Their woods

^a DAMPIER, *ubi sup.* p. 45, & seq.^b Idem, *ibid.* p. 49.^c Idem, *ibid.* p. 99, & seq.

(B) This is the more easily done, as the thatching is not fastened to the rafters in small parcels, as it is in other parts of the *E. I.* and *W. I.* but in large pans, about seven or eight feet square; so that five or six of them will cover one side of a house of a moderate bigness. These pans may the more speedily

be loosed from the rafters, or ratans, by cutting their bands; upon which they immediately fall on the ground; and in case they should alight too near the oven where the goods are secured, may be the more easily removed farther (1.).

do likewise abound with timber-trees, for building of either ships or houses, and with stately a pines, to make masts of ^d.

The betel much in vogue.

THE betel, in such vogue all over *India*, in the leaf of which a slice of areck-nut being wrapped up, is chewed with so much delight, is here found in great plenty, and offered as a great compliment, even to strangers. Every man carries his box full of those leaves, ready for use; and it would be looked upon as a high affront to refuse it when offered, as it would be likewise to take it with the left, instead of the right hand. They commonly send it as a proper present, when they dispatch their servants on any complimenting errand; for which the person sent to seldom fails of making some gratification to the messenger. They esteem it as a pleasant opiate; but value it still more, as a preserver and cleaner of the teeth, and adding to the redness of the gums and lips.

Their diet.

THESE woods abound with the same variety of wild beasts, as other parts of *India* and *China*; and their elephants are reckoned the largest and nimblest in all *Asia*. They have plenty, and great variety, of fowl, both wild and tame, which are their usual food (C) at all their feasting, tho' at other times they eat sparingly of any flesh, and content themselves with their boiled rice, herbs, roots, dried fish, and pickled eggs.

A strange kind of mice.

THEY have here a strange kind of mice, the hunting of which yields them a pleasant diversion, and their flesh a dainty dish. They are about the bigness of a pullet, and have wings about a foot and an half long, and commonly make their nests on filbert, pistachio, and other nut-trees, whose fruit is their chief fare, and gives their flesh a fine relish. It is not the cats that here make war against them, but a particular breed of small dogs, which hunt and drive them up to the next tree they meet with, which they climb with great swiftness; and fastening their claws on the branches, hang all the day long upon them, with their heads downwards: they have, moreover, seven claws on each wing, by which they cling so fast, that when shot dead, they continue still fixed to the bough. These creatures are preferred to any fowl, even by the *Portuguese* ^e.

Liquors.

THEIR common drink is a peculiar kind of tea, which they call *Chia-bang*, or *Chaw-bang*; the leaves of which, boiled in water, yield a liquor of a reddish-brown, not unlike the ordinary *Chinese* bohea. There is hardly any village in which one doth not see, especially on

Two sorts of tea.

market-days, women with an earthen pipkin before them, set over some coals, with this kind of tea, which they sell to passengers. This sort is not only strong and coarse, but very d distasteful to strangers, because they drink it without sugar: but in their merry meetings they

Arrak, and other wine.

commonly mix a quantity of arrak with it, more or less; and when they design to make a fuddling bout of it, they drink the arrak by itself, and frequently burn it over the fire, as they do in *China*, especially before they go to sleep ^f. They have another sort of tea much pleasanter than the former, which is made not of the leaf, but the flower of the plant; which being dried and torrified, hath a very grateful flavour and taste, when infused or boiled in water; and this they call *Chaw way*. They make several sorts of wines, and other liquors, of rice, and other ingredients, like those used in *China*; on which we need not expatiate ^g.

^d DAMPIER, BARON, HAMILTON, & al. Hist. of China.

^e Idem infra.

^e DAMPIER'S Supplem. p. 64.

^f See hereafter,

(C) On solemn occasions, whether they be festivals, weddings, burials, or anniversaries, they commonly indulge themselves, as far as their circumstances will allow, in great variety of flesh and fowl; among which buffaloes, horses, goats, dogs, rabbits, rats, locusts, geese, ducks, wild and tame, frogs, tortoises, crabs, and other fish, small and great, make up the most considerable part of the feast; and fruit in great plenty and variety, the conclusion of it. They are likewise fond of pork cut into slices, and roasted all together; but oftener choose to eat it raw, only minced and seasoned, much after the same manner as our sausages are.

They singe their oxen as we do our hogs; and esteem a raw beef stake, soaked three or four hours in vinegar, a dainty morsel. If an elephant die a natural death, the flesh of it is commonly given to the poor; but the snout, or proboscis, is esteemed a piece fit to be presented to some great person.

Among a variety of sauces, which they use with their meat, one of the most common and admired is their ballachawn, which is made of small fish, shrimps, prawns, &c. soaked in salt water till reduced to a pulp. The liquor, which is afterwards drawn from it, is called

newchmum, and both these are used as a sauce as well by natives as *Europeans*; and even the poor people will mix the ballachawn with their boiled rice, to give it a hautgout, rank and disagreeable enough to those who are not accustomed to it, but which becomes pleasant by use (3).

Whatever is brought to their table is dressed and served with the greatest niceness; even their tables and vessels, as well as victuals, are perfumed. They use neither knives, forks, nor table linen, but eat after the *Chinese* manner, each person at a separate table, and handle their sticks with the same dexterity (4); but observe, especially among the better sort, a great decorum, and deep silence, all the time; tho', if we may believe their countryman *Baron*, this last is rather owing to their voracious attention to their victuals, which doth not permit them to lose so much time as even to answer a civil question; insomuch, that it is looked upon as an affront, or at the best a breach of good manners, to speak a word till the repast is over (5). Their custom is to eat four times a day, as every-where else in *India*.

(3) Dampier's suppl. p. 27, & p. 30, & seq. Baron, Tavernier, & al. China.

(5) Baron. Collect. Trav. & al. uti sup.

(4) See hereafter, Hist. of

- a** THE *Tonquinese* are generally of a tawny colour, yet not so deep as other *Indians*. Their *Inhabitants* faces are oval, and mostly flattish, yet graceful. Their hair is black, long and lank. They *described.* affect, both men and women, to have their teeth as black as art can make them, and are *Black teeth.* four or five days a dying of them, but seldom go about it till they are 13 or 14 years old. Whilst the operation lasteth, they take no other nourishment than some *chaw*, or other such liquid, and that but sparingly, lest some of the dye, which is of a poisonous nature, should mix with their food, and indanger their health; but this abstinence they all readily comply with, to avoid resembling the elephants and dogs in the whiteness of their teeth, which they look upon as the most odious disfigurement. They are naturally healthy and robust, nimble *Manufactures.* and active, dexterous and ingenious in their several manufactures, such as those of silk, cotton, lacquering; great quantities of all which are yearly exported. Notwithstanding which, their *Populosity* country is so populous, that vast numbers of its inhabitants labour under the extremest *and poverty.* poverty, for want of employment; the handicraftsmen being unable, for want of money, to set them to work, except when foreign ships, especially *English* and *Dutch*, arrive, and give a new life to business, by advancing money to them, to at least one-third part of the goods they bespeak; and this frequently obliges the merchants to stay there five or six months before *Use of it* they can get them finished. But what causes the greatest obstruction to labour and industry, *gaming.* and contributes most to their indigence, is the universal itch of gaming which reigns among them all, rich and poor, masters and servants, whilst they have any thing left to hazard; and when once money, goods, and their very cloaths, are lost, they will stake even their
- c** wives and children; after which, they will not leave one trick untried, whether honest or bale, to retrieve their families and fortunes; tho' it most frequently ends in their total ruin ^h.

It is not improbable that the *Tonquinese* have received this infection of gaming from the *Chinese*, who are very numerous among them; and amongst whom that vice reigns, as we shall see in the sequel ⁱ, if possible, in a higher degree. They have likewise contracted, like them, such a shameful habit of indolence and idleness, that they will spend part of the morning in visiting one another, and the evenings and nights either in gaming, or smoking, drinking, singing, and other such idle pastime; and leave the care of their manufactures and trades to their women and slaves; insomuch, that it is a doubt whether there is any, even among the richest sort of dealers, take his whole stock together, that hath the value of 2000

d crowns in all his warehouses. To all this we may add, the heavy taxes which the government *Harassment.* imposes upon them; and which, tho' rated according to the circumstances of every individual, commonly run as high as they can possibly pay, and sometimes higher, thro' the artifice and knavery of the king's officers.

THEIR dress is not much different from the *Chinese*, and consists of a long robe, reaching *The men's* down to the heels, and tied about the middle with a girdle or sash, commonly embroidered, *dress.* among those of the better sort, with gold and silver; but the habit of the soldiers, and common people, reaches no lower than the knees, as the breeches and drawers do to the mid-leg, and are commonly of cotton. But the nobility, and persons of rank, affect to go in rich silks, or fine *English* broad-cloths, mostly either red or green, and reaching to their heels;

e neither dare they appear at court, especially before the king, but in such a stately garb. Their heads are covered with a long cap, of the same stuff with their gowns; but those of the lower rank go commonly bare-headed, except the fishermen and labourers, whose business obliges them to wear broad-brim'd hats made of rushes, straw, or palmetto leaves, starched as stiff as a deal-board, and tied by a string under their chin.

THEIR antient laws obliged all but the king to go bare-foot, which, as Father *Marini* *Go barefoot.* observes ^k, might the more easily be complied with, as their land is mostly of the soft and sandy kind, and little of it hard and stony; tho' one would be rather apt to wonder how they could bear the excessive heat of the ground. But we shall see in the sequel in many kingdoms under a hotter sun, and in more rocky countries, as in the empire of *Abissinia*,

f *Lower Ethiopia*, and other parts of *Afric*, the very same custom is observed, without the least inconvenience to the natives; tho' very painful to strangers uninured to it. However, the *Literati*, and since them the *grande*s, claim a privilege of wearing sandals; but the greatest ornament of both, is that of their long nails ^l.

THE dress of the women differs little from that of the men, saving that it is rather more *That of the* grave than theirs, excepting only on grand festivals, when they strive to adorn themselves *women.* with the richest habits and ornaments. On other occasions, if we except that they do not cover their hands and faces, as the *Chinese* women do ^m, they affect a degree of gravity in their dress, actions, and gait, even superior to theirs. Their long robes come quite close about their necks, and hang down to their heels. They wear large hats, like those of the

^h DAMPIER, ubi supr. p. 41, & seq.

ⁱ See hereafter, Hist. of China.

^k HAMILTON, BARRON, & al. See hereafter, Hist. of China.

^l DAMPIER, p. 42.

^m Relat. du Royaume

Why they
wear long
hair.

fishermen lately described, but made of some richer stuff, and more curiously embroidered, which they also tie under their chin, and use as a kind of umbrella. Whilst this kingdom was under the dominion of the *Chinese* monarchs, and governed by their viceroys, both men and women were obliged to tuck up their hair in some form or other, in token of subjection. But after they had recovered their liberty, and began to have their own kings, both sexes agreed to wear it hanging about their shoulders, in token of their freedom. Their Bonzas, or priests, who have their heads shaved all over, make a kind of jest of their long hair, pretending that it is of no other use than to help their deities to draw men, or little or no merit for their good deeds, up to heaven; but which, for that reason, they had no occasion for, seeing their own virtue and good actions are sufficient to carry them thither; and therefore take care to shave it off as fast as it grows^a. This doth not hinder the *Tonquinese* from keeping up to their old custom of wearing their hair hanging down, tho' very troublesome to the working part; which they chiefly do, to distinguish themselves from the *Chinese*. For the same reason, their noblemen, and persons of distinction, affect to wrap up their long gowns differently from them, that is, by fastening the left lappet over the right; whereas the *Chinese* wrap the right lappet over the left, and fasten it on their left hip by a ribbon to their girdle.

The dress of
the Bonzas.

end of their
curves.

THE dress of the male Bonzas differs only from that of the gentlemen in the fineness of the stuff, and its hanging more full and loose about them. They wear on their head a round cap, about three inches high; behind which hangs a piece of the same cloth, and colour, which comes down over their shoulders. The colours they affect most are the purple, chesnut, the carnation, or flesh-colour, and the glossy black; tho' others will prefer the yellow, and dark-red. Some of them wear a kind of doublet, striped or flowered, with glass beads of various colours, artfully strung and sown upon it. The female Bonzas appear much in the same kind of dress; except that, instead of a round cap, they adorn their heads with a kind of tiara, bespangled with variety of beads of various colours, and of the bigness of a musket-ball^c.

Their lan-
guage, &c.
writing, arts,
&c.

THE *Tonquinese* appear, by the court records of the *Chinese*, and their own, to have been a quite different people from them, and to have received their principal arts, sciences, and politeness, from them. Writing was wholly unknown to them, till they brought it amongst them; and even their language, if we may believe *Dampier*^d, hath a very great affinity with the vulgar *Chinese*, or *Fokyan* dialect, consisting, like that, of a vast multitude of monosyllables, whose significations are distinguished by the variety of tones and accents with which they are pronounced^e, only the *Tonquinese*, we are told, abounds more with gutturals, and hath as great a number of those called dentals, which the *Europeans* find no less difficulty to pronounce. The courtiers, nobles, and Literati, however, affect the more polite *Chinese*, which is less rough and uncouth: but as to their making use of the *Malayan*, as *Tavernier* affirms, it is not likely that they even understand it; tho' the mercantile people may use it in their commerce with other nations. For tho' the remarkable smoothness of that language may appear more suitable for a polite court, the *Tonquinese* do not seem curious enough to adopt it, in preference of their own, merely upon that account.

Writing and
characters.

No public
schools for
learning.

Sciences, how
taught.

THEY have the same way of writing that is used in *China*, and in all probability did at first learn it from them. The characters to all appearance seem to be the same, and are written in the same way by columns, and with the same instruments. Their paper is of the same make, either of silk or the bark of trees, all of their own manufacture; and their writing and printing appear in all respects as neat and beautiful as that of the *Chinese*. They have schools in every village, where children are taught to read and write, but no superior colleges for the arts and sciences. They are not indeed so expert in the mathematics as the *Chinese*, nor do they seem to have the same genius and liking to them, but have a particular fondness for music and poetry. But their most admired Literati are those who are best versed in morality, and in their laws: these apply themselves mostly to the writings of *Confucius* and other *Chinese* philosophers; for we do not find that they have any eminent writers of their own in that way, though many distinguished professors and proficients, and these are held in the highest esteem, who, for want of public established schools, do teach their students in houses of their own, or at their own homes, as their parents and they agree. The same method is followed by the teachers of rhetoric, poetry, and music; and it is by those professors that the youth are examined and advanced from one degree or class to a higher^f.

Three degrees
of Literati.
1. Syn-de.

THERE are three of these classes, through which these students must pass before they can be qualified for any great posts in the government. The first is called *Syn-de*; the second, *Dow-cum*; and the third, *Tan-si*. To become a graduate of the first, they must have learned rhetoric, in order to be fit for the offices of notaries, proctors, advocates. If they go well through their examination, they are immediately registered and presented to the g

^a MARINI, ubi supr. c. 2. ubi supr. p. 59, & seq. & al. sup. citat.

See hereafter, Hist. of China.

^c M. RINI, ubi supr. c. 2.

^d DAMPIER,

^e DAMPIER, TAVERNIER, MARINI,

a king, who gives them leave to assume the title of *Syn-de*; but, if found defective, are dismissed as unfit for it.

To acquire that of *Dow-cum*, they must study five years, till they have learned music, 2. *Dow-cum*, poetry, and mathematics; which last chiefly consists in some skill in astronomy and astrology; and these last are obliged to make their own instruments; and, when they have gone thro' their examen with approbation, are dubbed *Dow-cum*.

FROM the *Dow-cum* they may rise in your years more to the third or uppermost degree, 3. *Tan-si*, called *Tan-si*, by bestowing that time on the study of the laws, politics, and customs of the *Chinese* (D); at the end of which they are examined in the presence of the king, by a great number of nobles and gentlemen of that class, who come thither on purpose, and a certain number of Mandarin and counsellors, to whom the names of the candidates are signified before-hand. Their examination is commonly more strict than any of the two former; and, if discharged with their approbation, they are immediately conveyed to a scaffold erected for the purpose, and cloathed with a rich vest of purple sattin, given to them by the king; and their names are written in large characters on tablets, which are hung up at his palace-gate. After which they are inrolled in the rest of the *Tan-sies*, and have a certain appenage assigned to them according to their quality, merit, or the king's favour, till they are raised to the mandrinate, or some other post in the government. It is also out of this last class that he chuses his counsellors, ministers, and ambassadors, especially those who are sent on an embassy to the imperial court of *China* with the usual homage and tribute, or upon any other occasion. Whilst those who have miscarried in their examination are disgraced, and registered, as incapable of ever rising to that dignity^a.

PHYSIC will hardly be expected to be in any tolerable degree of perfection, if our readers recollect in what a low state it is still in most parts of *India*, and even in *China* (of which we shall speak in a subsequent chapter), notwithstanding the many useful improvements they might have made both in the theory and the practice, by their converse with *Europeans*^b. The whole of both doth indeed chiefly consist in the knowledge of the virtues of a good number of herbs, roots, gums, and other medicinal vegetables, the use and preparation of which is copiously treated in some of their books; but is more commonly attained by experience and specific receipts, which the practitioners, who are at once doctors, apothecaries, and surgeons, pretend to be masters of, together with a more than ordinary skill in pulses. Fevers, especially of the purple kind, dysenteries, cholics, jaundice, and the small-pox, are the chief and most dangerous distempers the *Tonquinese* are liable to; as to gout, stone, and gravel, they are scarcely amongst them; and the others they commonly cure by diet-drinks joined to good regimen: when these prove ineffectual, they have recourse to topical applications, as cupping, cauterizing, either with *Indian* moxa, or even with hot irons (E); and sometimes, though rarely, bleeding as near as can to the part affected, either with a sharp bone, not unlike our farriers fleams, struck into the vein by a flap of the finger, or

^a DAMPIER, TAVERNIER, MARINI, & al. sup. citat.

^b See hereafter, Hist. of China.

(D) This high regard of the *Tonquinese* for the *Chinese* learning, and particularly for that branch of it, will appear less strange to our readers, if they consider what we shall have frequent occasion to hint in a subsequent chapter, that not only they, but all the other neighbouring kingdoms, looked upon the *Chinese* as the most, if not the only, learned and polite nation in the world, held in the highest esteem all their philosophic and other writings; and look upon their system of politics as the most complete that human reason could excogitate; insomuch that not only the writings, but the persons of *Confucius*, *Mencius*, and others of their great men, are held in as high veneration amongst them as they are in *China* (1). Even the *Japanners*, who hardly come behind them in any of those excellencies, as we shall shew in the next chapter, make no difficulty to own the great advantages they have received from these valuable *Chinese* volumes, which are still taught in their schools, and as highly valued as ever amongst them, notwithstanding their prejudice to their whole nation in general, of which we shall give an account in the sequel (2).

(E) This last is chiefly used in epilepsies, as in *China* (3). But they have another distemper of much the same nature, with which they are often seized on a sudden, viz. a total deprivation of speech, which, if

not quickly remedied, seldom fails of ending in the patient's death. This distemper is said to be occasioned by damps or blasts in some of their unwholesome seasons; and the first remedy they try against it is, to make the patient drink a large quantity of arrack, aqua vitæ, or other distilled liquor, made as hot as he can swallow it, and with the addition of some powdered ginger.

If that doth not bring him to his speech, they chafe his whole body with a cloth dipped in the same hot spirituous liquors; if all these fail, they proceed to burning, and that sometimes to the very bone; but they frequently defer this last expedient so long, that the patient is either quite dead, or past all sensation, or possibility of recovery. It sometimes happens also, that the circulation of the stagnated blood, forced by the violent friction above-mentioned, as well as by the quantity of the hot spirituous liquor administered to the patient, is attended with violent and excruciating pains in the limbs; in which case they lay him down on a bedstead, whose girts stand at some distance from one another, and having covered him up with warm cloaths, sweat him night and morning from underneath, by the help of a chafing-dish filled with coals, and a large quantity of frankincense, or other like gums, till the pain is assuaged (4).

(1) See hereafter, History of China.

(2) See hereafter, Hist. of Japan.

(3) De his, vide infra.

(4) Tavernier, Marini, & al. sup. citat.

Care for the
purple fever.

die by a puncture with a kind of fine needle^c; a topical operation likewise, said to have been invented by the *Japanese*, and of which we shall give a further account in the history of that nation in a subsequent chapter^d. The *Tonquinese* frequently cure the purple or spotted fever by raising a small blister on some of the spots with a lighted match or rush, until they break and go off with a whiff; which they look upon as a sure sign that the malignity of the distemper is thereby evaporated. This operation is usually performed by candle-light, because the pustules appear more plainly than by day-light. It is however looked upon as so hazardous to the performers, that they commonly undertake it with no small reluctance and great precaution; because, as it is pretended, if they should catch any of the effluvia at the nose or mouth, it would infallibly infect them with the distemper; and, what is still worse, without any possibility of a cure. But whether this last circumstance be true, or only pretended, in order to extort a greater reward from the patient, we will not pretend to determine.

Doctors very
ignorant and
great boasters,
and astrologers.

UPON the whole, we shall only add, that the people are timorous and superstitious to a high degree, and the physicians very ignorant, and very great boasters and cheats. Astrology is always consulted, not only in sickness, but in all other the most trivial emergencies; and they will suffer their patients to run the hazard of their lives, rather than administer any thing to them on an unlucky day, or under what they deem an inauspicious aspect of the planet.

Mechanic arts
improved,

THE *Tonquinese* are indeed more ready and expert in manual arts, which they have much improved by the help of the *Chinese* families, who refuged themselves amongst them during the former troubles and civil wars of that kingdom, and having settled themselves ever since, and introduced some of their principal trades and curious handicrafts amongst them. We have already hinted something concerning their silk and cotton manufactures, and that of their japan-work, or lacquer-varnish, in all which they are little inferior to their masters; to which they may add that of their porcelane, and other earthen work, in which they would be no less successful, had they the same encouragement and flourishing trade for them that the *Chinese* have. But it is too much the interest of that politic nation to cramp, rather than promote, the commerce of their vassals, or suffer any of their tributaries to vie with them in any useful branches of trade; and this, together with the heavy taxes with which they are laden, their scarcity of money, diffidence of strangers, apprehension of distant or perhaps imaginary losses, all these, we say, contribute to dispirit and discourage them from improving those advantages, which, from their excellent situation for commerce, and genius for mechanic arts, might otherwise render them a flourishing and opulent people. So that they now content themselves with spending a great part of their time, the men especially, either in sloth, indolence, and poverty; or, if their circumstances will permit it, their morning is spent in idle visits, the middle of the day in eating and sleeping, and the remainder of it in drinking, smoking, gaming, singing, dancing, and other diversions.

but languish
for want of
encouragement.

The people
made idle by it.
How they
spend their
time.

Artillery cast
by them.

THEY have acquired some skill in metals, and can even cast guns and other artillery, can fabricate fire and other arms, with variety of other ingenious tools and utensils in metals; and have an excellent way of preparing and mixing the earth in which they cast their metals, and even cannon of an extraordinary size. *Dampier* tells us of a large brass one which was cast by them, supposed to be eight or nine thousand pounds weight. Its bore is of a taper form, a foot diameter at the mouth, but narrower at the breech, and in other respects ill-shaped; though much esteemed, because cast by them about twelve or thirteen years before, and the largest that ever they made. But they were forced to have recourse to the *English* to mount it upon its carriage, and now only keep it for shew^e. All this shews that the small advantage they make of their genius and dexterity, is rather owing to the want of encouragement and industry.

Gross abuse in
trade.

WE cannot forbear mentioning another abuse which contributes to keep the industrious working part still poorer, and turns no less to the advantage of the foreigners, who carry it on under-hand. This is done by contracting an intimacy with some notable female, either by a love intrigue, or by an extemporaneous marriage, and appointing her one's factress at parting, who will be sure to take the advantage of the deadness of trade, during the foreign merchants absence, to employ people at the lowest wages, and to buy silks and other commodities at the lowest prices, against their return; by which means some *Dutchmen*, who are said to deal most in this clandestine way, have gained immense riches; and their factresses, by their shares of the profit, have raised such fortunes, as to become matches for some indigent grandees, after their *Dutch* husbands have left off trading^f.

Goods imported
and exported
on foreign bot-
toms.

TO all these disadvantages we may still add another, that the *Tonquinese* do not trade for themselves, nor export any of their merchandizes on their own bottoms; nor have they indeed

^c KÆMPFER hist. of Japan, ubi supra. DAMPIER, BARON, & aliis.
^e DAMPIER, ubi supra, p. 70.

^f TAVERNIER, MARINI, & al.

^d See hereafter, Hist. of Japan.

a any vessels fit for these rough seas, theirs being chiefly fisher-boats or long galleys, so that most of their wares are imported and exported by strangers. Those imported are saltpetre, sulphur, broad-cloths, and other woollen stuffs, spices, lead, guns, and cash: we do not find that they have any coin of their own, but make use of that which is brought thither by strangers, together with the small copper coin which they have from *China*^c, and which they exchange with them at a great disadvantage for foreign silver^f. The *Tonquinese* women are said to be such dexterous money-changers, that they can raise and fall the value of their cash as dexterously and effectually as our stockjobbers do their stocks.

THEIR inland commerce is mostly carried on by water, and by the help of their numerous rivers and canals, and of the many markets and fairs which are stated by the government; the most considerable of which are those which are held every new and full moon at their metropolis of *Ca chao*, or, as father *Marini* writes, *Ke-cio*; which word he tells us signifies a fair or market: he adds, that these fairs are kept in seventy-two quarters of the town, every one as big as a little town, and filled with merchants, traders, and artificers, whole several wares and merchandizes are indicated in a sign hung over the entrance of their warehouses or shops. These fairs are the more crowded with strangers, as the king permits none of their ships to anchor at any port but this^g; to which we may add another inducement besides this vast concourse of people, *viz.* the beautiful prospect which its river yields, all the way up to it, of fertile plains and verdant pastures, and of a great number of villages large and populous on each side, elegantly shaded and adorned with high trees planted on each side of a large moat or canal, which surrounds each of them, and defends them from inundations, whilst the plains about them display only a spacious flat land covered with fields of rice or meadow grounds. Other towns have likewise their fairs and markets, and the villages likewise; but with this difference, that six of these are joined together in one charter, and hold their own each in their turn^h.

THE *Tonquinese* have adopted the two chief religions which reign in *China*; *viz.* that of their great philosopher *Confucius*, [whom they call *Ong-cogne*] which is that of the Literati, and of those of superior rank, and that of *Fo*, which was brought from *India* into *China*; a full account of both which will be more properly seen in the *Chinese* historyⁱ, to prevent needless repetitions. Only thus much may be said here concerning the former, or philosophic sect and doctrine, that the *Tonquinese* doctors value themselves not a little for having purged it, as they say, from a great number of superfluous niceties, with which the Literati of *China* had clogged the reading and interpretation of that great philosopher's writings, as well as from a great variety of superstitious customs and observances, which they had introduced from them, and which continue still in full force among the learned of that empire. So that the whole of their religion, so far as respects this famed sect, consists in a deep inward veneration of the god or king of heaven, in paying some private honours to their ancestors, and in the practice of all moral virtues.

THEY have neither temples nor priests, nor any settled form of outward worship, but every one pays his adoration to the supreme being in the manner he thinketh best. They also believe a lower rank of subaltern spirits, to whom they pay an inferior kind of worship, such as they think is most acceptable to them, and most likely to procure their favour. Most of this philosophic sect hold the world to be eternal, and all the souls of men to be immortal; but some of them believe that immortality, and the bliss attending it in another life, to belong only to those of the just, whilst those of the wicked perish with the body. This we may properly style the religion of the court and of the learned, of which their monarchs, whilst they were absolute and independent, were the chiefs or heads, and claimed alone the privilege of sacrificing to the great *Tyen*, as the *Chinese* emperors do in their own dominions, whether on certain state festivals, or in times of public calamities. At present the *Tonquinese* Chovas, or kings, though tributary to those emperors, still retain that privilege, and perform that office in their own palaces, where they offer up their victims upon particular occasions, but especially in calamitous times^k.

THE other, or the sect of *Fo*, which hath spread itself through the greatest part of *India*, as far as *Siam*, *China*, and *Japan*, is chiefly professed here by the common people, and is subdivided into a variety of branches, the principal of which is that of *Lanzo*, or *Lan-thu* (F);

whose

^c See hereafter, Hist. of China.

^g MARINI relat. ubi supra, &c.
Hist. of China.

^h Idem infra.

^f TAVERNIER, MARINI, DAMPIER, HAMILTON, BARON, &c.

ⁱ Id. ibid. TAVERNIER, DAMPIER, &c.

^j See hereafter,

(F) His disciples pretend, that his mother, a virgin, carried him seventy years in her womb before she was delivered of him; together with other such absurd stories of his life, calculated only to raise his fame above all the other branches of that sect. As for his

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doctrine, it was much the same with that of the *Ka-chabout*, or hermit, who spread his idolatries through this and other parts of *India*, but died in this kingdom. He had however an art of recommending himself among the superstitious great and rich, by his pretend-

whose founder, a *Chinese*, is pretended to have been one of the greatest magicians in all the east. They are all however agreed in worshipping a great number of deities, to whom they erect statues and temples; not indeed so stately and magnificent as they are in other parts of *India*, where we have seen those structures rear up their lofty tops with the most superb grandeur, and adorned with all that is costly and brilliant, as well as the statues of the deities to which they were dedicated¹. Here, on the contrary, they are low and mean, and destitute of every ornament except their statues; which, instead of being placed on a sumptuous altar, are either set upon some bench, or hang down from some of the cross-beams to which they are fastened. These are commonly of an oblong form, open on all the four sides, and their floors, mostly of plain boards, are raised some feet above the ground; not so much for grandeur, as to keep them above water during the time of their land-floods, and are ascended by a flight of steps which run around on the outside.

their mean
temples.

Poor priests.

Living.

Often sent to
the wars.

Ceremonies to
their idols.

The sect of
Tay-bou-to-
ni.

Manner of
curing their
patients.

All of them
great cheats.

Funeral rites
brought li-
ther from Chi-
na.

THEY are served by two sorts of priests, called *Bonzas* and *Says*, each a set of lazy drones and horrid cheats, who live chiefly on the ignorance and superstition of the populace. Their houses, or rather huts, are built in the neighbourhood of their pagodes, where they ply the laity, who resort thither to their idols, and offer their petitions to them; which is done by making long prostrations and burning some incense before them; and for this their votaries pay them with two or three handfuls of rice, some a small quantity of betel, and other such inconsiderable trifles, which is in some measure all that those idle drones have to subsist on; and it sometimes happens that the *Tonquinese* kings are under a kind of necessity to thin the number of them, by sending part of them to the wars. What seems to contribute most to their extreme poverty, is the contempt which the quality and richer sort of people have for them; and who, rather than encourage them in that idle way, by resorting to their pagodes to offer up their petitions, will cause that ceremony to be performed in some of the open courts about their own houses, and by one of their own domestics; who lying prostrate before the idol, reads his master's petition, and afterwards flings it into the fire on which the incense is burning, together with three or four pieces more of gilt paper, to be consumed with it. This ceremony, when thus performed at home, is commonly followed with a plentiful feast, in which the officiating servant, and the rest of his fellow domestics, are nobly regaled^m.

To these two sects, we may add that called *Tay-bou-to-ni*, which is rather a sort of pretended conjurers, who set up to cure distempers by charms, and other magical tricks, and are in great vogue among the *Tonquinese*, they being, according to their countryman *Baron*, the only persons who are consulted upon such occasions; and persuade the people that the distemper is inflicted by some earthly or watery demon, and cannot be cured but by proper charms, of which they alone pretend to have the true secret. And as they are seldom sent for till the last extremity, the supposed conjurer, disguised in an odd fantastic dress, begins his pretended charms with the sound of some sort of trumpets, kettle-drums, basons, brass pans, and other rough music, to prevent the words, which he speaks on the occasion, from being heard by the by-standers, ringing himself a hand-bell, to add still more to the horrid din; he continues dancing, leaping, turning and winding to the same tune, till he perceives some prognostics in his patient, either of life or death; and if the latter, he is never destitute of some plausible cloak for his pretended disappointment; either he was not sent for soon enough, or the spirit or demon which inflicted the disease was too exasperated against the patient to be intreated or appeased by any charm: and this last doth more readily pass for current, as the prevailing notion amongst them is, that the souls of the deceased are turned either into beneficent or maleficent demons; the latter of which are the more outrageously so in proportion to the torments they are doomed to, if they are not timely relieved from them by the living, in some way suitable to their condition; and of this these jugglers, who pretend to be the only judges, are commonly made the chief directorsⁿ.

BESIDES the class above-mentioned, there is another called *Taydelis*, whose province is to direct the living to the choice of the properest and most favourable places for depositing the bodies of their deceased friends. The funeral obsequies are reckoned amongst them so essential a part of their religion, that however one sect may differ from another in other points, this of making a proper choice of a burying-place is looked upon by them all as an indis-

¹ See hereafter, Hist. of China.
voyages. TAVERNIER, & al. See the various histories of those kingdoms in the preceding and subsequent volumes. M. BARON, ubi supra. TAVERNIER, & al. supra citat.
^m DAMPIER, vol. i. p. 396, & seq. BARON collect. of
ⁿ DAMPIER, BARON, & al.

ed converse with subaltern spirits, from whom he had gained, as he pretended, a most extensive insight into futurity; and whenever he was consulted by any great personages about any momentous matters, he used to exhort them to some popular and charitable deeds, such

as building of hospitals for the sick, lame, and needy; by which means he not only ingratiated himself into their esteem, but became the idol of the common people to such a degree, that his sect quickly eclipsed all the others of the *Indian* F² (1).

(1) Tavernier, Marini, Baron, & al. supra citat. See also hereafter, Hist. of China.

a penfible duty ; and next to that, the vifiting of thofe places at proper feafons, and furnifhing them with variety of eatables, and other conveniences, which their fouls may ftand in need of. This cuftom was probably introduced hither by the *Chinefe*, who, as we fhew hereafter, are fo fcrupulous in the performance of this duty, that their very emperors are not exempt from it^c. The only difference is, that the *Chinefe*, efpecially thofe of any rank above the vulgar, have their fixed burying-grounds, where every family depofite their dead relations without any farther enquiry. Whereas the *Tonquinefe* are fo fuperftitiously fcrupulous in this refpect, that any material circumftances which happen at a parent's or near relation's death, makes them look upon this confultation about the choice of a grave as fuch an indifpenfible duty, that the neglect of it would be attended with fome great difafter to the furvivors. In fuch cafes, as when a perfon dies on the fame day or hour in which his father, or fome other near relation did, they will keep the deceased in his coffin above ground fome months, or even years ; that is, till thofe *Taydelis*, or pretended diviners, have agreed upon a proper fpot to depofit it in : though this cannot be done without great expence and trouble, in proportion to the time the corpf remains unburied ; becaufe, in fuch a cafe, the neareft relations are obliged to depofit feveral forts of eatables upon the deceased's coffin three times a day, to keep candles or flambeaux continually burning, together with a constant fire on which to burn incenfe and other perfumes, as well as a variety of papers cut out in the fhape of horfes, elephants, and other creatures, which they foolifhly imagine his foul may ftand in need of. Besides all thefe, they are obliged to repair feveral times in the day to that place, to prostrate themfelves, with their foreheads to the ground, before the coffin, and make the ufual lamentations, with all the geftures and tokens of the deepeft forrow, whilft the corpf continued in the houfe. But it will be hardly neceffary to acquaint our readers, that this fingular fcrupuloufnefs about the choice of a burying place, extends no farther than among the rich and wealthy, who can pay thofe jugglers well for their pretended confultations, and whose intereft it is to procrastinate their agreement about it. But when the fame difficulties happen among thofe of the poorer fort, they feldom make them wait long for their determination ; and in a week or fortnight, at the moft, direct them to the defired fpot.

WHEN the diviners are once come to an agreement about the important point, the funeral pomp immediately follows : and much in the fame mournful manner as it is commonly practifed in thofe parts ; and more efpecially, as we fhall fee more fully in the fequel in the empire of *China*, from which they had it. The mourners appear in coarfe habits, and tattered fhoes, or even barefoot. They follow the corpf in a kind of reclined or ftooping pofture, and leaning upon a ftaff, as if weakened with exceffive grief, and unable to fupport themfelves without fome fuch prop. The women have their heads and faces covered with a veil of the fame coarfe ftuff, and join in the doleful chorus with the men, in loud and bitter lamentations. The neareft of kin to the deceased often prostrate themfelves before the bier during the march, and fuffer even the bearers to ftap on and tread over them : at other times they will attempt to push or pull the coffin back with their heads and hands, as if to ftap its progrefs towards the burying-place, or as if they wanted to recall the dead to life.

THE ref of the funeral ceremony being much the fame with thofe of the *Chinefe*, we fhall forbear foreftalling it, and only add, that they are, like them, extremely follicitous to procure to themfelves, whether poor or rich, the beft coffins that their circumftances will allow ; and will, at any rate, make fure of them ten, twenty, or more years before-hand, and preferve them in their houfes as the moft valuable part of their furniture. Thefe are commonly made of the beft and moft durable wood, very thick and ftong, nicely pointed, and glued with the ftongeft cement, but without nails, which would be looked upon as an indignity offered to the deceased. Their countryman *Baron* tells us that the cement or glue above-mentioned is made of feveral valuable gums, but doth not tell us what they are^a. As to the corpf of the deceased, it is commonly attired with the beft garments they wore when alive ; thofe of the men have feven, and thofe of the women nine fuits of them one upon the other. They put befides fome fmall pieces of gold or filver, or even fome fmall pearls, or pearl-feed, in the mouths of the rich ; and, in thofe of the poorer fort, fome bits of copper, brafs, bugles, or other trinkets, which they think will be of fervice to them in the other world, and prevent them from troubling the living with their complaints. It is likewise with the fame view that they have ftated times to vifit their graves, and offer variety of victuals, perfumes, pieces of gilt paper, and other fuch prefents, of which the fouls, they think, come and take as much as they want ; after which the ref is given to the poor.

^c DANTIER, BARON, TAVERNIER, MARINI, TISSANIER, & al fup. citat. See alfo hereafter, Hift. of China.
^a Vid. TAVERNIER, MARINI, TISSANIER, & al fup. citat. See alfo hereafter, Hift. of China.

Tonquinese
festivals.

New year.

The festivity
of it.

General licen-
tiousness.

THE *Tonquinese* have a singular fondness for festivals, though their religion hath little or no share in the greater part of those which are observed amongst them. The two principal ones, and which are observed with the greatest solemnity, are that of the entrance of the new year, and at the beginning of the sixth moon, which commonly happens soon after the gathering-in of their harvest. The first usually falls some days before or after the first day of *January*, and lasts twelve days, according to some, but a whole month, according to other writers, particularly their countryman *Baron* *. The first day of it is spent in a kind of gloomy retirement, the houses and windows are kept closely shut, not a soul stirs in or out, and the people within scarcely dare to speak to or see one another; all this not out of any devotion, but out of a superstitious fear lest they should see or meet some person, or other creature or object, of ill omen, which might bring some ill luck on them, and trouble all the joy and alacrity of the whole festival, or prove the forerunner of some great misfortune in that year. The day being once happily over, all the rest of the festival is spent in visitings and entertainments, and in public and private diversions; the streets are adorned with sundry decorations, particularly stages, at proper distances, on which are acted some plays, or other representations are exhibited to the people, by male and female actors, brought up to that kind of licentious life. These usually appear well dressed, and are very expert, some at dancing, others at singing, leaping, swinging, and other kind of diverting exercises. Citizens and country people crowd the streets all in their best apparel; the air is filled with the sounds of various instruments, and vocal music, and with the applauses of the spectators. The women are allowed to appear abroad adorned with all their jewels, and other finery; some in chaises, others in sedans, or other carriages according to their rank, and always attended with some kind of escorte to keep them from insult; these times being mostly remarkable for a general licentiousness which is suffered to reign every-where.

DURING the whole festival, there is a total stop put not only to all labour and commerce, but to all public affairs; the great seals of the kingdom are kept locked up in a strong box, the tribunals and inferior courts of justice are shut up, no debts can be demanded, nor wrongs or violence be rectified or punished, till the conclusion of the festivity permits every thing to resume its usual course.

OTHER kinds of diversions, such as gaming, drinking, smoaking, riding, going on the water, and others still of a worse nature, are no less in vogue, and countenanced; so that those who have but wherewithal to purchase, need not be at a loss, amidst such a variety of pleasures, how to spend the whole festival in all the mirth and jollity that their hearts can wish. Not only their metropolis, but every town and village, enjoy the same or some equivalent diversions; amongst which, that of treating not only their friends alternately, but also strangers, is not one of the least; and one cannot oblige them more than in accepting of their invitations, and appearing satisfied with their entertainment †.

The sixth
moon.

New and full
moons.

Two others.
Public ones,
wherein and
how kept.

THE second festival, which begins with the sixth moon, and usually falls some days before or after the first of *June*, is kept with the same general gaiety, though not with equal sumptuousness, and hath nothing particular worth our notice. Besides those two, they observe the new and full moons, that is, the first and fifteenth day of every moon, as days of feasting and mirth; for we read of nothing like any religious rites being peculiarly adapted to any of them. The most magnificent of all are those which the kings and grandes observe at the respective anniversaries of their nativity, inauguration, marriages, &c. These are always accompanied with the most splendid entertainments of music, plays, dancing, and other the like diversions. To these their countryman, often quoted, adds two others not mentioned by any other author; the one named *Kan-ja*, and the other *Tek-kida*. On the first the Bova, or king, appears abroad, attended with his whole court, and great multitudes of soldiers and people, and blesses the fruits of the earth; and, after the example of the *Chinese* monarchs, from whom this laudable custom probably came ‡, repairs to a particular spot of ground, where, for the greater encouragement of agriculture, which is nothing so well cultivated as in *China*, he puts his hand to a plough ready prepared for that purpose, and drives it over a furrow or two; after which he gives his courtiers a kind of rural treat. This solemnity, which is commonly closed with general rejoicing, is likewise preceded with general fasting and prayers, by way of preparation.

Two other
great festivals

THE other, called *Tek-kida* is kept with the same, or even greater, solemnity and concourse; and is a kind of exorcism, by which they pretend to drive away all the malevolent spirits out of the kingdom. The whole militia, or forces of it, hath a right to assist at the ceremony: but for that very reason the Bova, or natural prince, is not suffered, by his Chova, or usurper of his crown, to be present at it, lest he should take the opportunity of so vast a

* Collect. of travels, MARINI, DAMPIER, & al. ubi sup.
† See hereafter, Hist. of China. BARON Collect. ubi sup.

‡ DAMPIER, BARON, & al. sup. citat.

a num of his military subjects appearing in arms to suppress his tyrannic power, and recover his liberty and regal prerogative^u.

The last kind of festivals worth notice, are those which are observed at the tombs of their ancestors, on the anniversary of their decease; in which they are no less punctual and costly than the Chinese, and seem to outvie them in the profusion of meat, which they bring on those occasions to their sepulchres. We shall subjoin the description of one of them from *Dampier*^v, which was like to have cost him dear, for want of knowing the design and nature of it. He saw, at some distance from him, a kind of square tower, about eight feet broad, and twenty-six in height, surrounded with a great multitude of people, mostly men and boys. The structure was slight, and covered with thin boards, closely joined together, and painted all over of a dark reddish colour, and had no door on any side to enter into it. Upon his approaching it, and pressing through the crowd, he perceived a great number of stalls reared around the tower, with sheds over them, and separate from each other. Some of them were covered with fruit, particularly fine oranges, nicely packed up in baskets; others with meat, especially pork, cut only into flitches, or into quarters; from all which he concluded it to be a market-place. Being at that time very hungry and faint, and observing the joints to be too large for his use (for he reckoned, that the whole might amount to the quantity of 50 or 60 hogs) he came near one of the stalls, and, not understanding their tongue, made signs to one of the persons belonging to it to cut him off a piece of two or three pounds. Upon which he saw himself surrounded by a croud of people, who assaulted and beat him at an unmerciful rate; and it was with great difficulty that his guide, who was a native, got him off, by apprising them of his mistake; after which he was informed, that it was a funeral feast, the tower was the burying-place, and the apparatus of flesh and fruit designed for the entertainment of the dead and living, which he did not stay to partake of, nor to see how it was disposed of.

THEIR other private or domestic festivals, as birth or wedding-days, &c. are accompanied with other diversions, besides those of eating, drinking, dancing, and music; and are commonly concluded, like those of the new and full moons, with some plays, or theatrical representations of sea or land fights, but have seldom above four or five performers of either sex. Their action is just, and their dress splendid. The actresses appear with a kind of mitre, or diadem on their heads, from which flow two large ribbons down to their waist. The dancing and music are regulated by one of the guests, who is complimented with that office, and is not a little proud of it. He beats the time to the actors upon a drum, or brass bason, and is seated on one corner of the stage; and on the opposite side stands an empty arm-chair, or throne, for the king. On all kinds of public festivals the nobles are very fond of cock-fightings; a diversion much in vogue at court, and in which they commonly bett very high; and great sums are won and lost. They usually conclude with a royal battle, in which the Chova's cocks always come off victorious; or perhaps, rather, the victorious cocks gain the title of Chova's, or royal cocks^x.

THE weddings are not celebrated, among the people of rank, without some of those theatrical diversions; nor among the meaner sort, without something of that nature, though of the inferior kind. Youth of either sex cannot marry without the consent of their parents; nor of the female sort before the age of 16 or 17. The courtship here, as in China, is to the parents, and not to the damsels, who never see their spouse till they are led to his house, and delivered up to him; which is not done without great pomp and ceremony, she being accompanied thither by her relations; and those of her husband being likewise invited to partake of the festivity, the men with the men, and the women with the women, in distinct apartments: but we do not find that the priests have any hand in the ceremony, or share in the marriage feasting, as *Tavernier* affirms.

A MAN may have several wives, but one only is governess over the rest. He hath like wife power to divorce them upon any dislike; but they cannot be divorced from him without his consent. The divorced wife is intitled to carry off all she brought with her, and all that her husband had given her at her marriage; but if she hath had any children by him, she leaves them with him: and this privilege, in favour of the wife, is one main cause why divorces are less frequent here than in other parts of India. The divorcial ceremony is performed by breaking one of the two sticks which he and she did use at table, and sewing the pieces up into two several bags, the one of which he keeps, and gives her the other. He gives her moreover a kind of bill of divorce, in which the particulars of what she is intitled to carry off with her, are mentioned.

ADULTERY is severely punished on the wives, though we do not find it so on the husband. The woman, who is fairly convicted of it, is immediately condemned to the elephants;

^u DAMPIER, BACON, & al. BARON collect. & al.

^v DAMPIER, ub. sup. p. 91, & seq.

^x Ibid. p. 100, & seq.

that is, one of those creatures, bred up to that exercise, gives her a toss with his snout, which a
lays her breathless on the ground; after which he tramples her to death with his feet. Her
paramour is likewise capitally punished, though not with so severe a death. As for the inher-
ritance of children, the eldest son commonly carries off the largest share, as being now the
master of the family, and endowed with a fatherly authority. The rest he distributes at his
pleasure among his brothers and sisters, who are not married, or provided for; and is obliged
to maintain and breed them up at home till they are; and commonly the daughters come off
with the scantiest share. And thus much may suffice for their religious customs.

Christianity
introduced into
the kingdom.

HITHERTO we have said nothing of christianity, which was planted here ever since the
year 1626, by the Jesuit *Baldinoty*, and met with such swift success, that the government
thought fit to banish him and his colleagues four years after, and to have them conducted b
to *Ma-kau*. This did not deter the society there from sending three new ones on the very
next year, who made such progress amongst those idolaters, that they had made above
80,000 converts among them by the year 1639. A prodigious number, if we may credit
their own accounts, considering the small one of the preachers. But this encouraged fresh
supplies to come yearly to their assistance, by whose means their converts increased to such a
prodigious degree, that they had already built above 200 churches at their own charge, in
the several provinces of the kingdom.

Proscribed,
persecuted,
and abolished
out of it.

THIS surprising success proved, at length, their ruin; and after several dreadful persecu-
tions raised against them, by the government, wherein the intrepidity of their preachers and
Neophytes amidst the grievous sufferings, still alarmed it the more; an edict was at length c
issued out from the king and council *anno* 1721, by which the christian religion was utterly
proscribed; the missionaries, and their catechists, and the most considerable of their converts,
were imprisoned and put to sundry tortures and death; others condemned to attend the ele-
phants; a slavery worse than that of the galleys; their churches were all demolished, or
turned to profane uses; the profession of christianity was forbidden under the severest penalti-
ties; and all the frontiers and avenues ordered to be diligently guarded by the soldiery, to
prevent any more *European* preachers ever entering into the *Tonquinese* dominions. All which
was so punctually executed, and such care hath been since taken to examine all strangers, and
to seize on all suspicious persons, and to convey them, under a strong guard, to the Man-
darins of the provinces, and thence to the court, that no jesuit, or other missionary, can d
attempt, under any disguise or pretence, to get admittance into that kingdom, without the
utmost hazard of his life.

NOT but some of that zealous society, in spite of all these difficulties and dangers, have
since ventured, by the assistance of some of their old staunch proselytes, or some other indirect
means, to slide into some distant provinces unperceived. We shall have occasion, in the
sequel, to give an instance of no less than six of them, who found means, soon after the
above-mentioned edict, to penetrate into some of the frontiers in disguise; four of whom
were apprehended, and put to death; and the other two have not been heard of since.

Their govern-
ment

THE *Tonquinese*, after many revolutions and changes in their government, of which we
shall speak more fully in its proper place, regained their ancient form, under that of their e
own native natural princes, who were become likewise kings of *Kochinchina*, as well as of
this kingdom. They were absolute and independent in both, and committed the administra-
tion of both to two prime ministers or generals, with an almost as unlimited authority as
their own. A dangerous snare this proved to them, and ended, at length, in an open
revolt against their common sovereign. The *Kochinchinese* general, as being at a greater
distance from his court, first ventured to lead the way, and his colleague of *Tong-king*
soon after followed his example; and having made himself master of the royal revenue, as
he was already of the forces, seized on his prince's person, and confined him prisoner in his
own palace; and, without making any farther attempt upon his life, assumed the whole
royal authority into his own hands. From that time the *Bovas*, or rightful sovereigns, have f
had little else than the name and shadow of royalty; whilst his general, or prime-minister,
hath engrossed all the power and wealth of the kingdom, excepting only the royal title of
Bova, which neither he, nor any of his successors have dared to assume, for fear of the people,
who still retain an unalterable regard for their natural sovereigns. Upon which account they
have thought it more expedient to content themselves with their old title of *Chova*, or gene-
ralissimo; though they are not displeased at being complimented with that of king, not only
by neighbouring princes, but by the *Europeans* who trade there; though even these, for
form sake, have thought fit to fix a kind of difference between them, and to style the real
sovereign emperor, while they give that of king to his usurping subject.

The king stript
of his power
by the *Chova*.

THIS is the true state now of that government; the *Bovas*, stript of all their authority, are g
obliged to lead an indolent life within the circumscription of their palace, surrounded continually
with a great number of spies, set about them by the *Chovas*, and never stir out of it but once
a year, on the grand festival of *Can-ja*, lately mentioned; when they go to bless the fruits
of

a of the earth, and plough some small piece of ground; an office which the Chovas have not yet dared to wrest out of their hands, as being held sacred, and the peculiar privilege of the natural monarchs. Another faint branch of the royal prerogative they are still permitted to exercise; *viz.* the ratifying and confirming all the decrees and ordinances of the Chova, and putting their seal to them; all which they are obliged to submit to, be they ever so irregular, or contrary to their inclination; seeing their non-compliance would only endanger the loss of that remaining shadow of royalty, if not of their own lives. This form of government hath now subsisted above 200 years, without any sensible alteration. The Bovas still retain the form of royalty, whilst the Chovas engross all the revenues, homage, and obedience, of the subjects.

b BOTH dignities are hereditary in each of the respective families; but with this difference, that that of the Chova descends in a direct line to his eldest son; whereas he can, upon the demise of the Bova, not only name which of his children he pleases to succeed him, but can appoint any collateral branch, as a brother, or a nephew, of the deceased monarch, or even a more distant branch, to be his successor, provided he be of the antient royal family of *Li*.

THE Bova's court seems a mere desert, in comparison of his Chova's. He is not allowed any guards, nor retinue, except that of a parcel of spies, which the latter appoints to be about his person; so that the chief diversion and amusement of his life is confined to the company of his wives and children. He is not suffered to be visited by any nobles, or officers of the kingdom, except on the new and full moons, when they are admitted to pay a kind of homage to him, to wish him a prosperous and long life, and a numerous male issue; the failing of which is still looked upon by his subjects as the greatest calamity that can befall them. The Chova often accompanies them on these public occasions; and, to all outward appearance, seems to join in the general good wishes, and pays him the most profound respect, pretending to take the administration of the public affairs of his dominion, merely to ease him of a heavy burden, unbecoming his royal dignity; all which is looked upon as mere grimace by the wiser part of the people; who, nevertheless, are extremely careful to conceal their sentiments, for fear of alarming the jealousy of the pretended minister against their real sovereign.

d ON the other hand, the Chova's palace is perpetually crowded, not only with his own creatures, but with variety of strangers, *Indians* as well as *Europeans*, who pay their court to him. He hath likewise a numerous guard about him, both of horse and foot, besides 300 elephants, always in readiness to attend him. To this we may add an army of 30,000 foot, which keep constant garrison in his metropolis; and another of between 70 or 80,000 more, which are dispersed in other parts of the kingdom; and whose chief officers are obliged to reside, by turns, some part of the year, at court. Besides these, he is attended by all the governors of the several provinces, the Mandarins, and other officers of the kingdom; for he alone hath the power of bestowing those great posts; so that, from the highest to the lowest, they are all his creatures, and wholly devoted to his service, and very assiduous in paying their court to him, as often as they are permitted to be absent from their respective posts.

EVERY one of the six provinces hath a governor, who hath under him a Mandarin, who acts as chief judge over it, in all causes, civil and criminal; and takes care that the laws of the kingdom be strictly observed. He hath several tribunals under and depending upon him, but there is one superior to them all in every province, which is independent both of him and of the governor, and depends wholly on the council of the Chova. The governor judges in chief in all criminal causes, but cannot inflict a capital punishment, till the sentence hath been confirmed by the council above-mentioned.

f THE far greater part of their laws are those which they formerly received from the *Chinese*, when they were conquered by them about the middle of the twelfth century. Some few of their ancient ones they retain; and in particular one laudable one, which forbids, under severe penalties, the exposing or drowning of their infants; an inhuman custom which has been with impunity practised in *China* from time immemorial. But upon the whole, we do not find the courts of judicature in *Tong-king* are less liable to corruption than those of their neighbours; and provided a man has but money enough to bribe his judge, he needs not fear going off unpunished let, his crime be what it will.

g THE Chova hath commonly a vast number of concubines, but is in no haste to marry a wife left, he should have children by her, and for that reason defers his marriage till the latter end of his life: the reason of which strange policy is, that he is obliged to marry a princess of the royal blood, but is unwilling that the succession to his dignity should return to any

^a DAMPIER, TAVERNIER, MARINI, HAMILTON, & al. See Recueil de lettre edifiant, vol. xviii. p. 122. vol. xxiv. p. 96, & seq.

Queen and
children's ti-
tles.

of that family, though by a female line, lest it should prove in time a means of excluding his own; and therefore is always succeeded by the first-born son of his concubines. However, for decency's sake, he sets that prince's above them all, and gives her the title of *mother of the kingdom*, and shews her the greatest regard as to his lawful wife. The concubine who brings him the first son, is the next in rank, and hath the title of *Dua-ba*, or *excellency*, and her son, as presumptive heir, hath that of *Chu-wa*, or *young general*; and the rest of his male children are stiled *Du-kong*, or *excellent men*, and the females *Batuas*, which answers to our title of prince's^a.

Numerous ar-
my.

His army seldom consists of less than 150,000 men, amongst which are 8 or 10,000 horse; but he can upon any occasion augment it to twice that number. The misfortune is, that they are generally but indifferent soldiers; they march indeed with surprising boldness and speed to the place of rendezvous, and encamp with an elegant regularity, but shew no less reluctance against sieges and engagements; and when obliged to either, betray as great an aversion to come out of their intrenchments, as they appeared curious and careful in drawing them, and performing their exercises within them. Any sinister omen, or slight sickness that gets in among them, is sufficient to make the rest abandon their camp and officers, with as much speed as if they had suffered a total defeat. All which is owing, partly to the effeminate character of their generals, who are mostly chosen from among the eunuchs of his court, and partly to the neglect of rewarding and promoting the most deserving, and encouraging military discipline. Bribery and favour commonly carry the highest posts, in prejudice of courage and experience; and it is seldom seen that a man is raised to a high post merely by his merit, than which nothing can be more discouraging and prejudicial to the soldiery; so that we need not wonder at their being degenerated into such arrant undisciplined cowards, that the Chovas, not daring to put any confidence either in their numbers, or in the conduct and valour of their officers, have been glad sometimes to beg the assistance of the *Europeans*, against an enemy inferior to them both in number and strength (G).

Poor soldiery.

Shipping de-
scribed.

As to their naval force, it chiefly consists in a vast number of flat-bottom barks and vessels of various sizes; fit only to sail along these coasts, but altogether unfit to venture far on those boisterous seas, or on any long voyages. The largest of these vessels have no other artillery than a single four-pounder mounted on the fore-part: they have no masts, or at the best but one, which they are obliged to take down as often as the wind is against them, or proves a little more boisterous than usual, and have recourse to their oars, which are commonly from 16 to 24. The soldiers are they which row the vessels, and are quite naked, except a piece of black cloth which goes round their middle, and is brought up between their thighs. To be short, those vessels seem rather designed for state than service, except those which transport the soldiers from place to place. These are indeed commonly from 50 to 70 feet in length, and from 10 or 12 in breadth, and their head and stern about the same height, that is, some yards above water; whereas the middle is hardly above two feet and a half above it. They want for neither ornaments of lacquer, carving, or painting, and appear very graceful as they move on they water. The rowers work standing, and keep an exact time with each other; there being always one placed on the deck, who strikes upon a small gong or bell, or on a wooden instrument, before every stroke of the oar.

Manner of
rowing.

How laid up.

THE soldiers who are transported in these vessels, are usually armed with bows, swords, and lances; and when they go upon any considerable expedition, are divided into squadrons, each distinguished by their respective colours (H). When they have ended their expedition, the vessels are immediately dragged on shore, and put up in houses built for that purpose, where they are kept clean and dry. These houses stand about 50 or 60 paces from the river-side; and when the galleys are brought into them, they have a strong rope twisted round the stern

^a DAMPIER, & al. sup. citat.

(G) As a pregnant proof of what we said, concerning the small confidence these Chova's place in their numerous soldiery, and other like martial advantages; we shall here insert part of a letter, which one of them wrote to the governor of the *Dutch East-India* company, Anno 1647, at which time he was at war with the inhabitants of *Kuwinam*, a nation not far distant from their kingdom. It was ushered in with this pompous preamble, *I have under my command 300,000 foot, 10,000 horse, 2000 elephants, 30,000 fire-locks, and 1000 pieces of ordnance*. But, after all, this vain boasting concluded with begging of that illustrious company the assistance of 200 of their men, and three of their ships, to enable him to make head against his powerful enemy (13).

(H) *Dampier* describes one of these *Tonginese* fleets which he saw on the river *Cackao*, and consisted of sixty galleys, each carrying from 16 to 40 soldiers well armed. Their general, named *Ungee Comei*, was a Mandarin, appointed by a Chova protector of the *English* factory, and inspector of their traffick. He bore the character of a generous man, and had two other officers under him, each in a separate vessel. They had all their separate flags of distinction, the first yellow, the second blue, the third red or green. They were sent upon some notable expedition up the river, towards the mountains; which proving unsuccessful, occasioned the disgrace of that general (14).

(13) *Relat. of the Dutch East-India comp. Collect. voy. & al. sup. citat*

(14) *Dampier's supplic. p. 76.*

a of the vessel, and both ends stretched along on each side. Three or four hundred soldiers stand ready with it in their hand; and no sooner hear the signal given by the gong, than they drag it with all their might, and quickly get it into his place; after which they return to their land service^b.

THE soldiery is dispersed, not only through all the sea-ports, but into inland towns and villages, where they keep a constant watch over all that passes in them, in order to keep all quiet under their inspection. The same they do on all the roads, so that no stranger can pass without strict examination, and being sent to the governor under a strong guard, unless they can give a very good account of themselves^c. This vigilance hath been more strictly observed, since the extirpation of the jesuits and their religion, throughout the *Tonquinese* dominions, about the year 1721. It had been at first planted in this kingdom near 100 years before, as we have lately shewn; and propagated, if we may credit these missionaries, with such surprising success, that the government became on many accounts jealous of its progress, and thought it expedient to banish them to *Ma-kau*, anno 1610; and to forbid them, and all others of that society, ever to return into the kingdom under pain of death. This severe edict did not deter that zealous fraternity from sending a fresh supply thither, under several disguises, who met with a joyful welcome from their converts, but a most severe one from the Chova, who caused a strict search to be made after them; and of those who were discovered, some of them were put to death, and others left to rot in loathsome goals, loaden with irons, and destitute of all help. At the same time orders were sent to have all the roads and avenues strictly guarded, and every stranger to be carefully examined; and, upon the least suspicious appearance of their being christian missionaries, to be immediately sent under a strong guard to the governor of the province, and by him to the king, if found guilty, in order to be there sentenced to death, and publicly executed. These orders were so exactly observed, accordingly, that of six of these missionaries, who ventured again into the kingdom, by several ways and in disguises, four of them were apprehended by the guards of the roads before they had penetrated far into the country, and after nine severe imprisonments, were all four beheaded on the same day and place, on the 12th of *January*, anno 1737^d. What befel the other two we do not learn, nor whether any fresh ones have been sent thither since that time; but it is likely that their ill success, through the extraordinary vigilance of the government, hath cooled their zeal for a while from any further attempt of that nature, unless some commotions or civil wars have happened during that interval, which, by occasioning a slackness in the guards, have given them a fresh invitation.

BUT to return to the soldiery, they are the chief watchmen in towns and villages, and more especially in the metropolis, and belong either to the governor or some magistrate; which makes them commonly insolent, and abusive to the people, under pretence of keeping the peace. Their night-weapons are long staves; which they handle with such dexterity, aiming still either at the thigh or leg of their opposers, that they break the bones at one stroke, if they attempt either to resist, or run away. Every street hath a thick rope fastened across, and about breast-high, and a pair of stocks, to which they fasten all refractory persons who walk through them at undue hours, and on the next morning carry them before a magistrate, who, right or wrong, will acquit the soldier, and condemn the prisoner to some small fine, or a bastonade if he cannot pay the fine, which commonly sinks into the judge's pocket. To complain of injustice would only bring on a severer punishment; so that patience in such cases, is the only safe remedy^e.

If any difference or quarrel happens to rise so high as to be brought before a magistrate, they have a singular way of terminating it, by condemning the offender to treat the injured person with a quantity of arrack and a fowl, or a small porker, that their feasting merrily together may drown all animosity in the good liquor, and make them good friends again. But if the dispute be about a debt, they often condemn the poor insolvent to a severer punishment, by delivering him up to the creditor's mercy, who detains him under the greatest hardships, of labour, hunger, beating, &c. till the debt is paid. In cases of misdemeanour, the offender is condemned either to wear a heavy clog chained to his leg, or the wooden kanghe^f, or collar about his neck, for a certain time, or undergo a bastonade according to the nature of the crime (I). The bastonade here is given on the bare buttocks, the offender lying flat upon his

^b D'Anville, & al. sup. citat. & critical. vol. 18. p. 122. & seq. vol. 24. p. 101. & seq. & al. ubi sup.

^c Ibid. supplem. p. 77. BARON, & al.

^d Vid. lettr. edifiant.

^e DAMPIER, ubi sup. p. 78, & seq. BARON,

^f De hoc. vid. infra, Hist. of China.

(I) They have still another kind of kanghe, or as they call it gongo, besides that which we shall describe in our history of *China* (15); which is a kind of ladder made of bamboes about ten or twelve feet long,

in the center of which the head of the delinquent is fixed; so that he looks like a man that carries a ladder over his shoulder, with his head looking through the rounds.

his face on the ground, with his breeches drawn down over his hams. The number of strokes is more or less according to the nature of the offence, or the discretion of the magistrate, but the violence of it is often mitigated by a bribe timely applied, either to him or to the executioner. Theft is not deemed capital among them, but, according to the nature of it, is punished with the amputation of a joint, if a small one, or of a whole limb if considerable, or attended with any aggravation. The last corporal punishment worth mentioning, is that of those who are suspected to have set fire to houses, either wilfully or through negligence; and as it is very difficult for the master of the house where the fire happens, to clear himself of being guilty of it in one sense or the other; he is condemned to be exalted in a chair 12 or 14 feet high, reared up before the place where the burned house stood, with his head bare in the scorching sun three or more days, as the offence is thought to be owing to wilfulness or neglect^e.

WE have already observed, that sentence on a capital delinquent cannot be executed, till it hath been ratified by the Chova. Murder is punished with beheading; and as they have here no set places of execution, as soon as the criminal's condemnation is confirmed, he is led either to the place where the fact was committed, or else before his own house, and seated upon the ground with his face towards it, and his legs stretched out at full length. The executioner comes behind him with a naked scymetar, and with a back stroke severs his head at one blow from his body, with such dexterity that it falls plumb into his lap, whilst his body falls backwards on the ground. If there are more criminals than one, each hath his own executioner, who go first to the prison, and view the person whom they are to behead. When they are come to the place appointed, each of them stands behind his criminal, whilst the Chova's ratification is read to them; soon after which the signal being made by the presiding Mandarin, the strokes are given all at once; and the bodies are left exposed to the public view, till some charitable person thinks fit to bury them. This was at least the manner in which the four jesuits, lately mentioned, were beheaded before a numerous concourse of converts and others^b.

How adultery is punished among them we have already shewnⁱ; we do not find that they have any of those cruel punishments which are practised in some parts of *India*, and especially among the *Chinese*^k; and are so far from obliging criminals to dispatch themselves, that a good round bribe, properly applied, often procures the greatest offender either an indemnity, or a mitigation of punishment; so that few, except the poorer sort, are ever condemned to a capital one^l. The truth is, that all those civil officers, as well as those of the military kind, are chosen from among the eunuchs of the Chova's court, and are all so greedy of gain, that there is no extortion nor corruption they will not stoop to, for the sake of it. And there is hardly a governor, judge, or magistrate, but what must be of that class, to attain any post, either in the army or government. Insomuch that many an ambitious man hath been forced to submit to the loss of his virility, in order to raise himself in the one or the other, though they had wives and children of their own; and were so far advanced in years, as to make such an operation appear of the utmost hazard, both to their own lives, and the welfare of their family (K). From which one may reasonably infer, that nothing less than an unconquerable ambition or avarice would induce them to procure preferment at so dear a rate. So that we need not to marvel at the horrid extortions or injustice they exercise on the people, when they have once obtained it^m.

THERE is still a more crying abuse in vogue among the mandarin and magistracy, by which they screen themselves from being called to an account for their ill practices. It hath been an old custom in this kingdom to adopt children of either sex into rich families; and

^e DAMPIER, ubi supr. p. 79. BARON, & al. ubi supr. Vid. & DAMPIER, & al. sup. citat. ⁱ Before, p. 440. ubi sup. p. 81. & seq. ^m Ibid. p. 81. & seq.

^b See lettres edifiant. vol. 24. p. 156, & seq. ^k See hereafter, Hist. of China. ^l DAMPIER,

These two kinds of collars are indeed but a slight punishment, if worn only some few hours, or a whole day; but becomes almost intolerable, when the offender is condemned to wear them a month or two, or even longer; especially if, instead of being permitted to go abroad where they will, as some are permitted to do, they are confined in a goal, kept to short allowance, and often cruelly bastonaded, as is frequently the case (16).

(K) But here we must observe to our readers by-the-by, that however dangerous and dreadful castration at such an advanced age may appear to us in this cold climate, it hath been so long in vogue amongst them, as being the only way to preferment, that the operators are become very dextrous in it, and can perform it on persons of all ages and constitutions, without such ill consequences to them. They are indeed extremely care-

ful to conceal their method from the rest of the world, and especially from strangers; but one caution used by them our author hath discovered (17), which we may justly wonder was never introduced amongst us, in the practice of surgery, especially in cases of amputations, cutting for the stone, and such-like. Which is, that they never attempt to perform theirs, till they have laid their patient into a profound sleep by a proper dose of opium; which freeing him at once both from the dread and anguish which otherwise attends the operation, and allowing nature a good many hours repose after it, prevents those fevers, inflammations, and other ill consequences, which commonly follow those that are practised among us, and by that means procures him an easier and more speedy cure.

(16) Dampier, Baron, Tavernier, & al.

(17) Dampier, *suppl.* p. 81, & seq.

- a these, when once adopted, have a right to inherit equal to that of natural children. But this hath been so far abused in time, that these griping magistrates make it their first business, when raised to an office, to get themselves adopted at any rate, by some favourite grandee of the kingdom, by whom they are sure to be so well protected, that no one hardly dares to prefer any complaint against them, let their conduct give ever so much occasion for it. And this it is that enables them to live splendidly, as well as securely, on the plunder of the people. The only danger is lest their protector die, or should be disgraced at court, for then they commonly follow his fate; all their misconduct is brought to light, and their punishment is sure to fall the heavier upon them for having been so long suppressed^a. *Baron* tells us, that he obtained, by a considerable sum, the favour of being adopted by the eldest son of the Chova;
- b which however proved of no service to him, that young prince being soon after deprived of his reason by a malignant fever^b.

- ONE mean motive why all the court preferments are chiefly bestowed on eunuchs, is because the king becomes heir of all their ill-gotten wealth after their death; there being but little money in the kingdom, but falls into the claws of those harpies; so that they are in some sense no better than sponges to him, by whose means he gets it all in time into his own coffers, leaving only such small part, as he thinks fit to be distributed among their relations^c. On this account it is, that they are suffered to bear such an extraordinary sway at court, that the palace gates are open at all hours to them. They are the persons who present all the requests and petitions from the inferior ministers to the Chova, and answer them in his name; after they have represented the case more or less favourably to him, according as they have been, or expected to be, well paid for their good offices. They are the persons who are usually sent upon public embassies, or employed in private negotiations; and in a word, who ingross the king's confidence, and all the means of amassing wealth by the oppression of the people, and are the most hated and dreaded by them^d. Yet in spite of this general depravity, their history furnishes us with instances of some of them, who have possessed the highest posts both civil and military; and in both have given the greatest marks of consummate bravery, wisdom, and integrity, and whose virtues are revered to this day. But these have been so few and scarce, in comparison to those of the opposite character, that their memory seems only to be preserved to render the vices and oppressions of these more hateful and detested; especially considering
- d with what heavy taxes the common people are already laden by their arbitrary prince, and how cruelly those are treated who have it not in their power to pay him.

- EVERY subject above the age of 18, is obliged to pay the Chova a kind of land-tax, greater or less according to his circumstances, and the fertility of his lands; from which, however, all the princes of the royal blood, all the civil and military officers, and the Literati are exempt; so that the whole burden falls upon the labouring part. This tax is commonly paid in kind twice a year, or soon after the two harvests; and even where the land chances to be naturally barren, the unhappy inhabitants are not exempt from furnishing a certain quantity of grass or herbage for the nourishment of the king's elephants and horses, as well as those of his cavalry; all which his subjects are obliged to convey to the royal magazines at *Chacaw*, let their dwelling be at ever so great distance from that capital. Over and above this, they are bound to a yearly *veckan* or average, which consists in mending the highways, repairing the ramparts of towns and fortresses, the royal palaces, and other public structures; even the tradesmen and artificer are obliged to bear their share in these public works, which lasts six months in the year, either in person, or by hiring a substitute; and all this without any other salary than their bare maintenance, and sometimes even without that; it being wholly in the Chova's option either to grant or refuse it to them. Such is the excessive power of those usurpers, and such the miserable thralldom of their vassals; whilst their Bova's or natural princes are condemned to an obscure and inactive confinement, with the bare shadow of the royal dignity^e. Every governor of a province, and every Mandarin, magistrate, and officer of the kingdom, is obliged once a year to renew their oath of allegiance to the Chova, in a most public manner. This ceremony is performed by cutting the throat of a fowl, and receiving the blood in a basin that is filled with arrack. This done, every one in their turn having repeated aloud his profession of loyalty, drinks a small glass full of the arrack; and this, among them, is esteemed one of the most solemn and obligatory ceremonies, by which they can bind themselves; and is for that reason frequently used upon divers other occasions, either of a public or private nature; and even the females must submit to it, whenever their fidelity becomes suspected by their husbands: but whether with the same efficacy that the waters of jealousy had among the Jews, we will not affirm^f.

^a CHEVRIER, Tunkin. p. 27, & seq.^b Ibid. & al. sup. citat.^c DAMPIER, ubi sup. p. 83.^d Collect. of voy. ubi sup.^e DAMPIER, ubi sup. p. 85.^f De his, vide Ancient Hist. vol. i. part 2. p. 676. & seq. and not (H)

Inauguration
of the new
king.

UPON the demise of the Chova, all the chief officers and ministers of state repair to the royal palace, where they array his successor in a *Chinse* habit, mount him upon an elephant richly caparisoned, and bring him into one of the public courts, where they have erected a throne under a stately pavilion, and having placed him upon it, fall prostrate upon their faces, and pay their first homage to him; which done, they stand up, and, with their uplifted hands and arms, promise to be faithful to him, till death. In return to which, the new king causes a certain number of wedges of gold and silver to be distributed to them, according to their respective ranks; upon which he is solemnly proclaimed by the fire of the artillery, the found of the drums, and other acclamations. Thirty thousand horse and foot are drawn up in the neighbouring plain, to which he is conveyed in a rich palanquin, carried by eight military Mandarins, and eight lords of the council; the grand chancellor riding before him in state, attended by the general and other officers richly mounted; and after having received the usual acclamations, is thence conducted to his predecessor's apartment. Here every one retires for a while, to make way for the princesses of the blood and other ladies, who come to congratulate him and kiss his hands. As soon as they are retired, the nobility returns, and the rest of the day is spent in banqueting, music, and dancing. On the next day the soldiery is drawn up as before in the same plain, to which the king is carried by the same noble officers, and with the same retinue; and as soon as he is arrived, he mounts one of his large elephants of war, and rides to the center of the army, where all the officers come to take the oaths to him, and are likewise presented with some ingots of gold and silver, and other largesses, according to their rank; the meanest soldiers having a month's pay given to them, and the subalterns in proportion. After the usual shouts and firing of the musquetry, the king retires to a wooden palace reared for the purpose, finely gilt and painted, where the rest of the day is spent in feasting, fire-works, and other diversions, himself beholding them from the balcony on the top. On the following day, the same retinue carry him, with the same state, to his throne in the center of the camp; soon after which the soldiers set fire to the wooden structure, whilst he is rewarding those who have assisted or borne a part in the rejoicings. Two commissioners appointed, the one by the merchants, and the other by the handicrafts of the kingdom, address him with a loyal congratulatory speech; who are also presented with 50 wedges of gold and 100 of silver. The rest of the festivity, which lasts in all about a week, is adjourned to his capital, to which he is re-conducted as before. Hither the deputies of the provinces repair in their turns, and with the usual homages; to whom, among other royal favours, he notifies a free remission of all taxes for one year; excepting only to such, as have been formerly guilty of rebelling against any of his predecessors, to whom he remits only one half year. He likewise engages to pay one half of his subjects debts, provided the creditors will compound with his president of the council for the other half; which is generally complied with^a.

Largesses to his
nobles and
subjects.

Funeral obsequies.

Religious
honours.

WE omit, for the sake of brevity, several other superstitious customs, the hecatombs of various kinds of victims, and other delicious esculents, which are daily offered during the festivity; one half of which is given to the hungry priests, and the rest to the indigent laity; the juggling tricks and auguries by which they flatter him with a long and prosperous reign, and many more of the like heathenish nature, which are observed on these occasions by those new monarchs, to give our readers a brief account of the funeral honours they pay to the deceased one. And in this respect, one shall hardly find a nation in the world that equals them in profusion and magnificence. It would take up more pages, than in a work like this we can allow it lines, to describe one half of the length, variety, and grandeur which are observed, not only by the new king and his whole court, but by all his subjects without exception, in every part of the kingdom. We shall therefore content ourselves with mentioning some of the most remarkable, striking, and proper to give them a general idea of the rest; as the embalming the body with the most costly gums, arraying it in the most sumptuous attire, and exposing it to view in a rich room of state, during the space of 65 days, to receive the funeral homages of his whole court, officers of provinces both civil and military; and lastly of the rest of his subjects, to whom access is equally permitted during the space of 100 days more; and the serving him every day with variety of meats, in the same manner as when he was alive, during the whole time; which, when taken away, are given to the priests and the poor; and the suspending all rejoicings during the whole time, excepting only those of the new king's inauguration. These are some of the mournful ceremonies preceding his interment; all which are performed with the utmost decency and splendor; the generalissimo having from the first day after the king's demise settled the whole ceremonial, and prescribed to every Mandarin and officer their several mournings, and times of waiting and respective duties.

^a DAMPIER, MARINI, TAVERNIER, BARON, & al. sup. citat.

a THREE large bells, hung in one of the towers of the palace, keep toiling incessantly night and day; and all the regal insignia of the deepest mourning are every-where displayed. The king himself, and all his nobles, after his inauguration is over, appearing in a coarse cotton habit of a purple colour, and with straw bonnets on their heads, attended with the royal family of both sexes; the ladies in white silks, and the lords much in the same dress with the king, repair often in a day to the room of state to pay their mournful devoirs to the corps, by deep prostrations, burning of perfumes, and other tokens of respectful grief. All this while the roads and lanes, through which the funeral procession is to pass, are preparing, from the palace to the dock where the royal galley rides, which is to receive his body, which is about two days journey, and are lined on both sides with purple calico, which, when the ceremony is over, is given to the *Ponzas*. *Mourning.*

b THE king, the princes, and princesses of the blood, and all the nobles, Mandarins, and officers civil and military, in the dress above-mentioned, attend the funeral procession on foot all the way, which lasts 17 days, in the following order. Two ushers of the bed-chamber proceed with their maces, and proclaim the king's titles all the way. Next follow 12 chief officers of the galley which is to receive the corpse. Then come the officers of the court, each according to their rank, preceded by the master of the horse. Next to them come twelve of the king's horses, their bridles, saddles, and other furniture, adorned with the richest embroidery of gold and silver, each led by two court pages. These are followed by twelve elephants, the four first carrying each a standard-bearer, with their colours displayed; the four next have towers on their backs; on each of them are placed a number of musketeers, armed with their fire-locks and accoutrements; the four last, which are those which the deceased king used to ride on when he went to war, carry each a different cage, such as he used to sit in, one with glass windows, another like a lattice, and all of them with different roofs exquisitely wrought. Then came the eight stags which draw the royal hearse, each led by an officer of the king's guards. The new king marches next with his brother, if he hath one, surrounded by a band of musicians; and followed by six princesses, carrying various meats and drinks for the deceased, and attended each by two ladies, and another band of music. Next follow the four governors of the provinces, with staves on their shoulders, to which hangs a bag of gold, and another with rich perfumes, which are the presents of these provinces to their deceased king, and are to serve him in the next world. Next come two large chariots drawn by eight horses, and led by eight men, in which are coffers full of gold and silver, and other valuables for the same end. The whole is closed up with the rest of the king's officers, and multitudes of his subjects. *Procession.*

c WE omit the many superstitions and other ceremonies, that are performed every day, and at every station of their march. When the procession is arrived at the dock, it is conveyed with a mournful pomp into the galley, attended by the twelve officers above-mentioned. Immediately after which the whole procession returns back, whilst the vessel is drawn up the river a considerable way, till it comes to a desert country, where the body is taken out, and conveyed into some place by only six faithful eunuchs, who have the care of interring it, and are sworn never to discover the place where it is deposited. We are told farther, that besides the gold and other supposed necessities above-mentioned, some nobles and courtiers of both sexes used to be interred with him, in order to attend him in the other world. Which inhuman custom, though still practised in other parts, hath been a long while set aside in this kingdom. *Grave in a desert unknown.*

d FATHER *Marini*, who hath given the public a long description of the funeral obsequies of king *Ta-tha-ty-tuong*, who died *anno* 1675, adds many other curious circumstances which attended his interment, besides those we have mentioned above^w; particularly some stately pageants which preceded the procession, a sketch of which the reader may see in the margin (M). He describes the royal galley as most sumptuously gilt, the sails and streamers of cloth

^w *MALINI relat. de Tonquin, cap. 15.*

(M) The first thing, he says, that was seen coming out of the royal palace, was a square column 60 spans high, and six in diameter, seated on a pedestal, and drawn by men, upon wheels, so artfully disposed that the machine kept still upright, as if it had been fixed on the ground, never leaning either on the one side or other all the way it went. The body of the column was covered with a rich silk, on which were read, in gold and silver characters, the names, age, actions, &c. of the deceased.

This was followed by another machine or large car, upon which was carved in relief a city, with all the walls, bulwarks, and other fortifications; the greatest part of it finely gilt.

The third was another car, equally sumptuous, on which stood a magnificent throne, the chief materials of which were of gold and ivory, and on it were reposed the regalia of the dead king. These were attended by bands of musicians, who played a mournful march upon a great variety of instruments, and instead of songs filled the air with cries and sighs: after whom followed the funeral procession above-mentioned. He adds, that only three of the chief eunuchs were intrusted with the place of his interment, and that they bound themselves by the most solemn oaths that no one besides should ever know it (20). But as it is almost incredible, that three, or even six of these noble eunuchs, should be able to transport the corpse, with all its other riches,

(20) *Marini relat. de Tonquin, cap. 15. vid. É la Martinière. dict. sup. cc.*

cloth of gold; and adds, that when the corpse was conveyed into it, by the sound of all the musical instruments, and fire of the artillery and small arms which attended it, the new king and all the royal family stood with their feet in the river above their ancles, and did not retire till the galley was got out of sight; upon which account the rowers were ordered by the captain to row with all their might, till they had lost sight of them: after which they slackened their oars, and proceeded more leisurely up the river.

*Attended with
a magnificent
instance of filial
piety.*

THESE obsequies, magnificent as they were, being little more than what was performed by his predecessors, appeared too inconsiderable to the new king to shew the filial respect he bore to his father, unless he erected some trophy to his memory, which should outdo all those that had gone before him. To this purpose he chose a small island on the river, about three miles long, and six or seven in compass, on which he caused the representation of a new city, and two stately palaces, to be reared upon the sand, adorned with variety of trophies, and four superb gates, pointing to the four points. An innumerable multitude of volunteers were employed in the work, till the end of *December* following, that is, near six months. The gates, walls, towers, trophies, statues, and other ornaments, were made of the richest materials, and adorned with the representation of the actions of the late king. The palaces, thrones, beds, and other furniture, were still more stately and superb. Other embellishments, which are too numerous to be particularly mentioned, though all of them answerable to the grand design (N), we willingly omit to come at the catastrophe of it, which was answerable to, and plainly shews, the reigning superstitious notion of these people concerning the state of the dead in the other world.

*A city built for
his deceased
father.*

*Ceremony of
consecrating it
for him in the
other world.*

On the 29th of the month, accordingly, when every thing was ready for the grand ceremony, and the new city every-where filled with a sufficient number of men, to perform their stated part within it, 30,000 armed men marched towards it in the dead of night, clad in mourning, and invested the place on the four sides; and on the next morning, the king, queen, and royal family, attended by a numerous court, appeared at the head of a guard of 4000 men, with silver hilted swords, and approached towards the principal tower, and knocked at the gates; upon which a youth began in a mournful tune to sing a song, as if directed to the master of the tower, supposed to be in it, and within the hearing of him, to the following purport. There is a report that a certain mighty monarch, who had lately left this world to go and enjoy the immortality of the other, was become a mere solitary and forlorn person in a strange country, without guards, soldiers, horses, or elephants to defend him, without a palace to live in, or equipage to support his royalty: that the renown of this magnificent edifice had brought them thither, and that if he would agree to part with it to him, they were ready to grant whatever he should ask.

THE song being ended, the supposed master within the tower made answer, that the city having been built for the great king he spoke of, he consented that it should be sold to him, provided the other three that dwelt with him in it, did agree to it. Upon which the king's three brothers went to the other three gates, and performed the same ceremony; which being ended, the town was delivered up to the king, who marched immediately to the royal palace, and was saluted by a discharge of the whole artillery, and attended thither by his whole court. Being arrived at the great hall of obsequies, he heard upon his bended knees the acts of his deceased father read to him, as did also his brothers, and others of the royal blood; 4000 Mandarins of his retinue remaining prostrate all the while upon their faces. The ceremony was closed by the sound of a great variety of instruments; during which the ambassadors of three of his tributaries, came to pay their compliments of condolence, and to offer the usual presents of gold, silver, perfumes, &c. to the deceased.

from the galley into the desert, in order to convey it thus privately into the ground; it is most likely that they take a sufficient number of slaves to perform that office, whom they quickly after cause to be put to death.

(N) To give our reader a notion of these structures, which on the inside were only supported by beams and rafters, but without were covered with variety of the richest silks and stuffs, and adorned with the most curious representations of armies, horses, elephants, battles, &c. of most exquisite workmanship, and gold, silver, and other rich materials, we shall only instance in one of the principal columns, which adorned this mock city, on the south side of it. It was of an extraordinary height and bigness, and stood upon a stately pedestal, of a proportionable size, covered with plated gold, finely wrought. On the top of the column were fixed three

large globes of the same metal, placed one over the other, and curiously burnished and wrought: the column itself was covered all over with cloth of gold, adorned with great variety of figures, and other embellishments of massive gold and silver, and characters pierced through, which recorded the most glorious actions of the deceased. On the sides of it, stood the figures of two giants of a large size, each holding a bow and arrows in his hand. About the middle of the city were placed 21 towers, made much in the same manner as the columns, and of the same rich materials; one of which stood after the center of all the rest, and was the most beautiful and elegant, both for its height, and fine materials and workmanship. The reader may guess by this sketch at the magnificence of the rest: those who are desirous to know more of it, may see the whole described by the author above quoted (22).

- a THE king and court returned home to their own palace; and about eight of the clock at night, the hour on which the late king died, the whole city and all its edifices were set on fire; the soldiers guarding all the avenues, lest any thing should be saved from the flames; *Set on fire for that end.* it being a received notion, that nothing is re-paid to the dead in the other world, but what has been reduced to ashes in this. As for the gold, silver, and other things which remained unconsumed, the king ordered one part to be given to the soldiers, and the rest to his inferior courtiers and officers. Such was the end of that stupendous piece of machinery, which is computed to have cost that monarch about a million of gold *. Which immense expence the young king put himself to, to procure his deceased father a fine well-built city, with two or three stately palaces, all enriched with the costliest and noblest insignia of royalty; and
- b all this long and pompous ceremony was performed, in order to consecrate and secure all the benefits and advantages of it to him in the other world.

WE come in the last place to give our readers the best account we can find of the origin, antiquity, and history of the *Tonquinese*; but herein we shall be obliged to be very concise, for want of proper records; they being wholly ignorant of the art of writing, till they learned it from the *Chinese* four or five centuries ago, at farthest: so that whatever they have ventured to commit to writing, since they have had the use of their characters, concerning the history of former ages, appears to be no other than a heap of old uncertain traditions, intermixed with fable, which rather cast an impenetrable obscurity on the origin and antiquity of their monarchy. There is, however, no room to doubt of the antiquity of both,

e though we have no authentic records, either of theirs, or any other nation, to prove it by.

IF we may indeed believe those of the *Chinese* (for we have already shewn that they are a different people from them^y), the *Tonquinese* formed a kind of republic under their own ethnarchs, such as were those of the *Philistines*, and other *Canaanitish* nations, in those early times^z; until the year 1956 after the flood, when being oppressed with a grievous famine, occasioned by a three years continued drought, they sent an embassy to the *Chinese* monarch, who then was styled *the son of heaven*, and *the father of the seasons*, in hopes that he would open the windows of heaven, and send them the so much desired supply of rain, to restore to their lands their pristine fertility. They had accompanied their embassy with very sumptuous presents; which, however, that monarch's uncle and prime minister rejected, together with their petition, under pretence that a nation which was tributary to the *Chinese* empire, and had refused to pay the usual homage of its monarchs, did not deserve that they should interest themselves in its behalf, and send them away without any audience from the emperor. But this fact is contradicted, by the annals which the *Tonquinese* pretend to have ever since the year of the world 3612; but of what authority is easy to judge, if they had not the use of writing till near 2000 years after. *The Chinese account of them contradicted by their own.*

NEITHER would we confide too much in the account which the *Chinese* annals give of them, or any other neighbouring nations, whom they call by no better names than *Manfos* or *barbarians*^a; and sometimes *Kao-ce*^b, or *distorted feet*, from a blemish they observe in that part, in common with most *Indian* nations, whose great toe seems as distended at some distance from the rest (O); an eye-sore from which themselves are wholly free. On this account, as well as some other resemblance they bear in their shapes, complexion, and customs, they are supposed by the generality of writers to be of *Indian* extract; but of what tribe or family of them, is hard to guess. As for themselves, they call their country *Ang-nam*, which signifies *Eastern rest*, and *Tong-king*, or *Eastern court*. They likewise affect to call their kingdom *Day-viet*, which in their language is equivalent to that of *Day-mynh*, which signifies a kingdom of brightness, and is one of those which the *Chinese* give to their own, exclusive of all others^c. Upon which account, most likely, they give the *Tonquinese* the nick-name of *Xic-qui* or devils^d; they being, it seems, remarkable above all other *Indians* for the redness of their lips, occasioned by their constant chewing of betel. However it is not improbable, that the name of *Tong-king* was given to this kingdom by the *Chinese* monarchs, when they had reduced it into a province of their empire, and had extended their conquests as far as that of *Siam*, which was then their chief residence†: for in that sense only could it be styled by them their *Tong-king*, or *Eastern court*, for it then lay eastward of them; whereas since they

Both of small authority. Their various names. Probably of India extract. Early conquered by the Chinese.

* MARINI, ubi sup. & seq. & alib. pass. ubi sup. ch. 1.

^y See before, p. 438.

^z BARON in collect. voyag.

^a MARINI, BARON, DAMPIER, & al.]

^b De his, vid. Ancient Hist. vol. i. part 1. p. 341,

^c Id. ibid. & al. ubi sup.

^d MARINI,

† See before, p. 353, & (B).

(O) This might probably enough be occasioned by the thick wooden sandals they are forced to wear in those hot climes, to save their feet from the burning sands, and which are fastened to the foot by a single button at the end, and which is high enough to come between the great toe and that which is next to it,

which in process of time distends them a great way asunder. Our readers have doubtless seen such shoes, among other curiosities and garments brought hither from those parts, amongst the curious; and may have perhaps observed, that any other ligament but that would be apt to fret, and in time excoriate, the instep.

abandoned their conquests, and retired to their old dominions, it lies south and south-west from them. a

Their first monarchy.

HOWEVER that be, it doth not appear to have taken the form of a monarchical government, till the son or nephew of *Shin-nong*, the second emperor of *China* (P), made himself master of that country, which we may suppose was not over peopled so soon after the flood, nor sufficiently civilized to make head against his superior force.

Impatient under the yoke.

HOWEVER, this was no other than a mere reducing them from their republican, or ethnarchical government, to the yoke of a foreign prince; and so ill did they brook their subjection, that it was with the greatest difficulty and condescension to their intractable temper, that he by degrees brought them to live contented under it. He complied as much as possible with their manners, that he might bring them over to his own: he changed his own and his wives *Chinese* names for *Tonquinese* ones, and added to his own the title of *Wong*, or king. By these means he at length brought them to acknowledge him for their sovereign, and left the crown to his son. b

Subdued afresh.

THE succession passed in his family through a number of generations; how many we are not told; till one of the *Chinese* monarchs resolved to subdue it, on some disgust, under his own dominion, under pretence that it had been formerly a province of it. The army he sent against them was numerous, and commanded by 12 of his bravest and most experienced generals, whose arrival was attended by a long and bloody opposition, in which the *Tonquinese* fought with no less zeal for their kings, than bravery against the invaders; but were at length obliged to yield to the superior force and skill of the enemy. The 12 captains had no sooner reduced them, than they agreed to divide the kingdom into 12 provinces, and to assume each the government of them, with the title of king. c

Divided into 12 kingdoms.

A shepherd recovers their liberty.

THIS new divided government had not long continued in that form, before a young man, a native of one of these 12 provinces, a person of no higher rank than that of a poor shepherd, found means to overturn it, and to restore his whole country to its pristine liberty; for which signal and heroic service he was raised to the throne, by the universal vote of his countrymen, and became the worthy head of a new monarchy. This young prince had scarcely held the scepter ten years, before the *Chinese* monarch then reigning caused him to be assassinated, and reduced that kingdom once more under his yoke. From that time their records speak of nothing but new and frequent revolutions, for the space of several centuries d

Assassinated.

Various revolutions.

successively; one while the *Chinese* tyrannising over them; another while the natives bravely shaking off the yoke, driving those invaders out of their dominions, restoring their ancient form of government, living under the protection of their own princes, whom they elected from amongst their own countrymen; and as frequently, from their natural inconstancy, deposing them, and electing new ones in their room^f. This is the best account which our author could meet with in the records of those remote times; which agree so far well enough with the *Chinese* annals, which represent their monarchy as in a most flourishing state, and in its largest extent, during the space of 400 or 500 years before Christ; not to mention what she shall have occasion to observe hereafter, concerning the vast advantages which this monarchy had over all other nations, with respect to power, wealth, arts, sciences, &c. e

Conquered by the Chinese.

BUT if their countryman *Baron* may be believed, he tells us, that the first king mentioned by the *Tonquinese* records, was named *Ding*, and reigned there about 200 years before Christ; he was, according to them, raised to the supreme power by a troop of banditti. The circumstances relating to this revolution are variously related by the *Tonquinese* writers; but all agree that he was massacred by his subjects, on account of his insupportable tyranny. His death was followed by a long and bloody series of wars, which, had they continued much longer, would have quite ruined and depopulated the kingdom; but ended at length

Their first monarchy according to Baron.

^f MARINI, ubi sup. ch. 2.

^e See hereafter, Hist. of China.

(P) The *Tong-kinese*, we are told (23), gave that emperor the name of *Tlan-nong*, which in their language signifies the inventor of the plough or agriculture; which invention is ascribed by the *Chinese* annals to *Shin-nong*, the immediate successor of *Fohi* (24). Hence our author supposes this conquest of *Tong-king* to have happened in his reign; but we have formerly shewn, that even *China* itself could not be so populous at that early time, as to be able to want such conquests, and enlarge their dominions, so far beyond the narrow limits of their infant empire. If there be therefore

any dependence on those records, we would at least put off this conquest to the reign of *Shun*, the ninth emperor, whom *Tao* took partner, and appointed his successor, in the empire, on account of his singular skill in agriculture; and who accordingly made such vast improvements in, and gave such great encouragements to it, that a feast was instituted in honour of him, and hath been observed ever since by all the *Chinese* emperors (25); and even this is as early as we can suppose that conquest to have happened.

(23) Marini ubi sup. ch. 2. China.

(24) See hereafter, Hist. of China.

(25) See hereafter, Hist. of

a in the election of a new king, named *Le-day-ban*; in whose reign, the *Chinese*, taking advantage of the dismal state the country was reduced to, entered it with a powerful army: and this, says our authorⁱ, is the first time, that any *Chinese* are mentioned in their annals to have invaded their dominions. Though, from what we have lately observed, it is more than probable that they had made several descents into it long before that time. However that be, they all agree that they over-ran the whole kingdom, in the reign of the above-mentioned *Le-day-ban*, who being a martial prince, repulsed them with great bravery and success, and gave them several overthrows, without being able to drive them out of sundry strong-holds and passes, which they had made themselves masters of.

But after his death, the *Tonquinese* elected a new one, named *Ly-bal-vie*, an old experienced general, a man famed for his conduct and intrepid bravery; who having defeated them in several fierce engagements, had at length the fortune and glory of driving the rest out of his dominions. The crown continued in his family during five or six generations; and descended at last, for want of male heirs, on an only daughter; who, the better to secure it to herself, married a young nobleman of a considerable family, and took him partner of her throne. But the preference she shewed him, quickly raised the envy of another grandee, named *Ho*, who fell into open rebellion against her; and having defeated her husband in a set battle, seized upon the crown, and caused the princess and her spouse to be put to death. This horrid deed was followed by so many others of the like bloody and tyrannic nature, that he became detested by the whole nation. They unanimously resolved to rid themselves of such a monster; but not being able to cope with him, unfortunately agreed to call in the *Chinese* to their assistance. These readily embraced the opportunity of re-entering into *Tong-king*, and came accordingly with a very formidable army; which had no sooner freed them from their old yoke, than they clapped a new and heavier one upon them; and, instead of deliverers, became their lords and masters. The usurper was indeed destroyed, but the *Tonquinese* only exchanged one slavery for another; and were again reduced to the necessity of receiving a viceroy from their new lords, who quickly overturned their old form of government, and forced them to submit to the laws and customs of the *Chinese*.

It was not long however, before their natural inconstancy, and impatience under a foreign power, roused them up to an open revolt, and, at all hazards, to make a brave attempt for the recovery of their liberty, and the total extirpation of their *Chinese* tyrants. They accordingly appeared in arms, under the conduct of an officer of known intrepidity, named *Ly*, or *Li*, whom they chose for their head. This noble enterprise succeeded to their wish under him. He caused all the *Chinese* forces to be put to the sword, not exempting even the *Chinese* viceroy from the common massacre; whilst the emperor, his master, by the *Tonquinese* records, named *Humveon*, was wholly taken up at home with quelling the civil wars, which reigned in several parts of the empire, and in no condition to assist, much less to revenge the indignity offered to his substitute. *Ly*, taking the advantage of the present favourable juncture, easily forced that monarch to a disadvantageous peace, and got himself crowned and acknowledged king of *Tong-king*, upon the easy terms of owning himself tributary, and paying every three years a small tribute and homage to him.

This treaty, which was concluded and signed, *A. D.* 1200, had been for the most part inviolably observed ever since by both sides. The *Tonquinese* kings have ever since carefully sent an embassy every three years to the *Chinese* court, with the usual homage and tribute (Q). And the *Chinese* on their part always receive them with great pomp and ceremony, though not so much out of regard to the *Tonquinese* ambassadors, as to set off the splendor of their own court, and inspire them with greater awe and respect for their monarchs. It is probable, however, that these emperors have assumed a greater power over the *Tonquinese*, since their Chovas have made themselves absolute, by stripping their natural princes of their power; and have obliged these upstart usurpers to submit to some farther articles of submission, than the lawful sovereigns were bound to, by the treaty above-mentioned. For the *Chinese* emperors have for a long number of years had their ambassadors at *Tong-king*, who assume a much greater state and prerogative there. They never vouchsafe to visit the Chova, but oblige him to wait upon them at their own palace, upon all emergencies, and to receive their instructions from them. Another instance of subjection they have been forced to submit to, is, that their new Chova must be confirmed by the *Chinese* monarch, before he can exert the regal authority, and must receive the seals from thence, which he is to make use of during his reign^k.

ⁱ Collect. voy. ubi sup.

^k BARON, MARINI, DAMPIER, & al. sup. citat.

(Q) Their tribute consists of variety of rich presents of gold and silver, and other rich valuables; some for the emperor, others for his prime and favourite wives and ministers. Among those of the first

sort, are some statues of silver and gold, in a *Tonquinese* dress, and supplicating posture, supposed to be in memory of their bloody massacre of his viceroy, and of his *Chinese* troops (27),

(27) Baron, ubi sup.

Chinese monarchs power in Tong-king.

THESE additional prerogatives (as we may justly suppose them, seeing it is altogether a unlikely, that the brave and warlike *Ly*, the first of this dynasty, would have ever agreed to them, or that the emperor would have insisted upon them, at a time when the bad condition of his affairs obliged him to procure a peace at any rate, from this victorious and successful prince) may be therefore justly deemed to be of much later date than that treaty; and where can we find a more proper opportunity for such new encroachments, than that which the usurpation of the *Chovas* afforded them; who, to maintain themselves in it, would in all likelihood have submitted to much harder terms, to ingratiate themselves with the *Chinese* monarchs, and prevent their molesting them in their new dignity. But this we do not find to have been the case of the *Bovas*, or descendants of *Ly*; who, on the contrary, filled the *Tonquinese* throne, during two whole centuries, with great glory, and with an absolute sway, b and without any other token of foreign submission than the triennial tribute and homage above-mentioned.

THIS is all, however, that we can learn from their records in general. As to any particulars of those reigns, during the two centuries above-mentioned, they either are wholly silent about them, or their account, if any mention is made of them, is not yet come to the knowledge of any *European* writer; so that we are insensibly brought to the most remarkable period of the *Tonquinese* history; namely, that in which the whole supreme authority was wrested from the *Bovas*, or the descendants of *Ly*, and ingrossed by a new set of usurpers, who, under the title of *Chova*, or general, have enjoyed it uncontrouled ever since ¹.

The revolution caused by the *Chova*.

WE have already hinted something of this remarkable revolution, when we spoke of the *Tonquinese* government^m; and there observed, that it was chiefly owing to the indolence and effeminacy of their princes; who, to revel the more freely in their delights, committed the whole and sole government of these and their other dominions in *Kochinchina* to two favourite generals, and suffered them to tyrannize over both with too uncontrouled a sway; the consequence of which was the loss of both kingdoms, quickly one after the other. That of *Kochinchina*, according to some authors, revolted first, as we have seen in the last chapter; and his success soon encouraged his colleague to follow his example in that of *Tong-king*. This last kingdom had already suffered so much from the cruel extortions of their governors, that the subjects had been long since ripe for a revolt; and a great deal of blood has been shed in some of the provinces, when a simple fisherman, named *Mak*, like a second *Maffaniello*, d encouraged by the general murmurings, found means to be chosen head of the malecontents; and having gathered a numerous army under his banner, quickly defeated the *Chova*, and caused himself to be proclaimed king, about *A. D.* 1400. He had not however long enjoyed his new dignity, before he was, like his brother at *Naples*, stripped of it by a new competitor named *Tring*; who, to give the better colour to his enterprize, gave out, that he took up arms in defence of the royal family of *Ly*; and accordingly caused one of the young princes of it to be proclaimed *Bova*, and to be publicly invested with the regal dignity. This step was the more conformable to the minds and wishes of the whole nation, as they still retained the highest veneration for their princes of that race; and who accordingly expressed the highest satisfaction and joy at the prospect of seeing an effectual end put to their civil wars and bloodshed, by the restoration of one of that noble family to the throneⁿ. e

Mak chosen head of the malecontents.

Defeated by *Tring*.

His stratagem.

Conceals his treason.

Assisted by *Hoa-ving*;

Leaves out his name.

Hoa-ving taking up arms against him,

His design however, far from being so loyal and noble, was only to give him the mere title and shadow of *Bova*, and to engross the whole authority in his own hands: in attempting of which he expected nothing less than an universal opposition from the whole nation. But his chief dependence was on a brother-in-law of his, named *Hoa-ving*, and son to the governor of the province of *Tingwa*, a man in great power, and who had a numerous army under his command. This old Mandarin, whether out of a real liking to the loyal measures which the artful *Tring* pretended to pursue; or, which is at least as likely, from some more selfish views, had not only assisted him with all the forces under his command, and thereby enabled him to proceed thus far with success; but, to shew to the world the regard he had for, and the confidence he placed in him, had given him his daughter in marriage; and at his death made him sole guardian to his only son *Hoa-ving* above-mentioned. This young ambitious gentleman, whom his politic brother-in-law had all along fed with the hopes that the forces lent to him by his father, were only designed to settle him on the *Tonquinese* throne, quickly perceived himself to be over-reached; and that *Tring* made no other use of them, than to secure the regal authority in his own hands, and to raise himself to the supreme dignity, of which he meant to deprive the young *Bova* he had lately set upon the throne. This occasioned a grievous breach between them, which did not, however, hinder the *Chova* from pursuing his scheme, in spite of all opposition; wherein he succeeded so well in it, that in a very little time he got himself confirmed in his usurpation by all the grandees in the kingdom. f

¹ BARON, MARINI, DAMPIER, & al. sup. citat. CHEVRIER, & al. sup. citat.

^m See before, p. 430.

ⁿ BARON, DAMPIER,

- a HOA-VING, fired with the deepest indignation at his disappointment, not only refused to ^{subdues} pay him the homage which the rest of the *Tonquinese* did, but, recalling as many of his ^{chinchina,} father's troops as he could gain over, turned his arms against him; but finding himself unable to cope with his rival, by this time too firmly settled in his new dignity, went and employed them in the conquest of *Kocbinchina*; in which expedition he met with better success, and got ^{and becomes} himself proclaimed Chova there by his troops, in imitation of his brother-in-law; as we have ^{king of it.} seen in the preceding chapter. This last step served only to widen the breach between the two brothers-in-law, and kindled a war between them, which was carried on with the utmost vigour ^{Wars between} as long as they lived, tho' without any considerable advantage on either side. Neither did it end ^{these two king-} with their lives; their successors inherited their mutual hatred, and their subjects, who are ^{doms.} commonly the dupes in such contentions, gradually imbibed the same prejudice against each other; which continues to this day; there being hardly any thing recorded in their history for these three last centuries, but the bloody wars they have constantly waged against each other, ever since that mutual breach^o; but of which we have no particular account as yet; and so shall go no farther with it.

^o See before, p. 431.

B O O K XVI.

History of the Eastern Tartars.

C H A P. I.

Description of Eastern Tartary; and account of its inhabitants.

- c **W**E have already laid before our readers a description of *Great Tartary* in general; Eastern Tar^{ary} and of the *Western* in particular^a. We come now to present to their view a ^{ary.} description of *Eastern Tartary*, with some account of the inhabitants, their manners and customs, before we enter upon the history of them: in order, pursuant to our original plan, to bring them previously acquainted with the places which were the scenes of action; as well as with the people, who were the actors.

- EASTERN *Tartary*, according to the limits usually assigned it by historians and geographers, ^{Extent and} is bounded on the west by *Western Tartary*, or rather by that part of it possessed by the proper ^{division.} *Mungls* and *Kalkás*; on the north by *Siberia*; on the east by that part of the oriental ocean called the *Tartarian Sea*; and on the south by the same sea, the kingdom of *Korea*, and the ^d *Yellow Sea*, which separates it from *China*. It is situated between the 137th and 161st degrees of longitude, and between the 40th and 55th degrees of latitude; being about 900 miles long from south to north, and 884 broad, from west to east; yet but thinly peopled.

THIS large region is, at present, divided into three great governments, *Shin-yang* or *Mugden*, *Kirin-vla*, and *Tsitfikar*.

1. Government of Shin-yang.

THE government of *Shin-yang*, called by the *Manchews* *Mugden*, contains all the ancient ^{Shin-yang} *Lyau-tong*, named also *Quan-tong*; and is about 270 miles long, and 125 broad. It is bounded ^{extent.} on the south by the great wall of *China* and the *Yellow Sea*; on the east, north, and west, it is inclosed by a wooden palisade, seven or eight feet high, fitter to mark its bounds, and keep out petty robbers, than to oppose an army. The gates are no better than the rest, and

^a See before, vol. ii. p. 110. & 243.

guarded only by a few soldiers. The *Chinese* geographers having given the name of wall to this palisade, has occasioned the province of *Lyau-tong* to be erroneously placed by most *European* authors (A) hitherto, within the great wall. As the subjects of *Lyau-tong* were permitted neither to go out of their own country, even into *China*, without leave of the Mandarins, this government was reckoned very profitable. It contained likewise, formerly, several fortified places; but at present they are almost in ruins, being become useless under the *Manchew* emperors.

Shin yang
city.

THE capital of this country is *Shin-yang*, or *Mugden*; a city which is looked on by the *Manchews* as the metropolis of their particular nation: for this reason, since they became masters of *China*, they have not only adorned it with several public edifices, and stored it with magazines; but have settled here the same public tribunals with those at *Pe-king*, excepting that called *Li pi*. None but the natives are employed in these tribunals; and all their acts are written in the *Manchew* language. Their jurisdiction extends over all the parts of *Tartary* immediately subject to the emperor. *Mugden* is likewise the residence of a *Manchew* general, who has here his lieutenant general, with a considerable body of forces of the same nation. This has brought a great resort of *Chinese* from the other provinces, who carry on almost all the trade of *Tartary*.

Imperial sepulchres.

NOT far from the gates of this city are two magnificent burying-places of the first princes of the *Manchew* family, now on the throne of *China*, who took the title of emperor from the time they began to reign in *Lyau-tong*. They are built according to the *Chinese* architecture: but what is singular, are inclosed by a thick wall with battlements, which is somewhat lower than that of the city. Several *Manchew* Mandarins, of all ranks, are appointed to take care of them; and, at certain set times, to perform the same ceremonies of respect, as if the princes were still alive.

Inden city.

INDEN is more like a village than a city, although the *Manchews* began there to establish their empire over *China*. The great-grandfather of the late emperor *Kang-hi* lies interred in an ordinary burying-place at *Inden*. The other cities of this province are of little note, being thinly peopled, ill built, and without any defence, except a mud wall; although some of them, as *Ichew* and *King-chew*, are very well situated for trade; and have plenty of cotton.

Fong-whang-ching.

THE city of *Fong-whang-ching* is the best, as well as most populous; and carries on a very considerable commerce; being, as it were, the key to the kingdom of *Korea*, and its trade; on whose borders it lies. This has drawn thither a great concourse of *Chinese* merchants, who have handsome houses in the suburbs. The chief merchandize is paper made of cotton, of a very strong and durable substance; but neither white nor transparent. It is used at *Pe-king* for fashes in palaces, and houses of fashion. The city is governed by a *Manchew*, with the title of *Hotongta*; who has under him several other Mandarins, both civil and military, of his nation. It derives its name from *Fong-whang-shang*, the most noted mountain in all the country, where the famous fabulous bird, called *Fong-whang*, is supposed to breed.

San-cha river.

THE *Chinese* enlarge much in speaking of the rarities found within the government of *Shin-yang* or *Lyau-tong*; but the missionaries, who surveyed this country in 1711, found nothing remarkable either in the mountains or rivers. For instance, the point of *Sin-cha-bo*, so much taken notice of by *Chinese* authors, is no more than a concourse of three ordinary rivers, which unite in this place, and under that common name discharge themselves into the sea: but this is far from being a novelty.

Soil and produce.

THE lands of this province are, for the general, very good, producing abundance of wheat, millet, roots, and cotton. They also afford pasture to great numbers of sheep and oxen, which are rarely seen in any of the provinces of *China*. They have, indeed, but little rice; yet, to make amends, there is plenty of apples, pears, hazel-nuts, filberds, and chesnuts, even in the forests. The eastern part, which borders on the antient country of the *Manchews*, and kingdom of *Korea*, is full of deserts and bogs. This obliged one of the emperors of the *Tang* family to make a causeway, for twenty great *French* leagues together, in order to march his army into *Korea*. For the earth, in these parts, is so loose, that when it rains, as it frequently does, the water sinks so deep into the ground, that the sides of the hills are almost as marshy and unpassable as the plains. There are still to be seen, in some parts of this country, the ruins of towns and villages, which were destroyed in the wars between the *Chinese* and the *Koreans*.

2. Government of Kirin-ula.

THE second great government is that of *Kirin-ula-hotun*, bounded westward by the palisade of *Lyau-tong*; on the east by the eastern ocean; southward by the kingdom of *Korea*; and on the north by the great *Saghalian-ula*. (whose mouth is a little on this side of the 53d degree).

(A) The jesuit *Martini* gave occasion to this mistake, in which he was followed by *Saucon*, *De Fer*, and all the *European* geographers in general, till *De l'Isle*.

- a So that it extends, in latitude, no fewer than 12 degrees, and almost 20 in longitude (being 750 miles in length, and in breadth 600).

THIS country is but thinly peopled, and contains only four cities, which are very ill built, Kirin-ula and encompassed with no better than mud walls. The principal of them is situated on ^{city.} the river *Songari*, there called *Kirin-ula*; from whence the place takes its name; for *Kirin-ula-botun* (or *Kbotun*) signifies, *the city of the river Kirin* (B). Here resides the *Manchew* general, who has all the privileges of a viceroy; and commands the Mandarins as well as the troops.

- b THE next city, called *Pedne*, or *Petuna*, stands on the same river, 45 leagues north-west ^{Pedne, or} from *Kirin-ula-botun*. It is much inferior to the former, being inhabited mostly by *Tartarian* ^{Petuna.} soldiers, under a lieutenant-general, and by exiles.

THE third city, which the family now reigning in *China* considers as its antient patrimony, ^{Ningûta. or} is situated on the *Hûrkapira*, which runs northward into the *Songari-ula*. It is commonly called ^{Ningûta.} *Ningûta*; although its true name be *Ningûnta*; compounded of two *Tartarian* words, which signify *seven chiefs*; to express the rise of the *Manchew* kingdom, which was first established by the seven brothers of the late emperor *Kang-bi*'s great-grandfather's father. The city, at present, is the seat of a *Manchew* lieutenant-general, who has jurisdiction over all the territories, both of the old and new *Manchews*, called also *Han-bala Ta-tse*, and all the villages of the *Tu-pe Ta-tse*, with some other nations of less note, along the sea-coasts, towards the mouth of the *Saghalian-ula*.

- c THE last city is *Putay-ula botun*, which, although the least of the four that are in this govern- ^{Putay ula-} ment, is by far the most agreeable, as standing in a more fertile and better cultivated plain. It ^{botun.} seems to have been built by the antient *Manchews*, who reigned in the north of *China* (called *Ki-tay*), in the 12th century, under the name of *Kin-chau* ^a; although nothing remains at present, excepting an ordinary pyramid, and the ruins of its walls; without which are the *Manchew* houses. It lies about eight or nine leagues (northward) from *Kirin-ula-botun*, on the *Songari*; which being there called *Pûtay-ula*, gives the town its name. *Verbieft* the Jesuit, who accompanied the emperor *Kang-bi* in 1682, says, it is the finest city in all the country; and formerly the seat of the *Tatar* empire ^c. But in this he seems to be mistaken.

- d THE trade of *Ningûnta* is the more considerable, as the precious plant *Jin-seng* grows only ^{Soil and pro-} in these vast countries; and the *Tu-pi Tatars* are obliged to pay a tribute of fables. These ^{duce.} advantages draw thither a great number of *Chineses* from the most distant provinces; whose houses, with those belonging to the soldiers, make the suburbs at least four times larger than the city. The emperor *Kang-bi* took care likewise to re-people the country, by sending thither the *Tatar* and *Chinese* criminals condemned to banishment: so that the missionaries, in their progress, found villages at a good distance from *Ningûnta*. They make a shift to live there; and have in particular abundance of millet; with a sort of grain unknown in *Europe*, called by the *Chineses* dwelling in the country, *May-se-mi*; as being of a middle kind between wheat and rice. It is wholesome; and much used in those cold regions.

- e OATS, which are scarce every-where else, are here in such plenty that they are given to ^{Kinds of grain:} horses, instead of black beans, common to all the northern provinces of the *Chinese* empire. For all this they have but little of either wheat or rice; whether it be owing to the fault of the soil, or humour of those new inhabitants. It is hard to assign reasons, why so many countries, which lie only in the 43d, 44th, and 45th degrees of latitude, should differ so much from those of *Europe*, in regard to the seasons and productions of nature, as not to equal even the most northern provinces of that quarter. However, it may be presumed, says our author *Regis*, that the quality of any soil depends rather on its abounding more or less with nitrous particles, than on its situation.

- f THE cold begins much sooner in these parts than at *Paris*, whose latitude is near 50 degrees. ^{Air very cold.} On the 8th of *September* the missionaries, being at *Tondon* (C), were obliged to put on cloaths lined with sheep-skin. They were afraid also that the *Saghalian-ula*, though so wide and deep, would be frozen over, as indeed it was every morning a considerable distance from its banks. The cold is kept up by the forests (D) in this country, which are very thick, and large, the nearer you advance to the eastern ocean; so that the missionaries were nine days passing through one of them.

AFTER they had passed those woods, they arrived, from time to time, in fine green vallies, ^{Flowers:} watered with excellent rivulets; whose banks were enamelled with variety of flowers, common in *Europe*, excepting the yellow lillies, which were of a most lovely colour. In height and

^a REGIS ap. Du Halde's China Engl. fol. edit. vol. ii. p. 244, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 247.

(B) *Verbieft* says, the inhabitants keep a great number of barks in readiness to repulse the *Russians*, who often come upon the river to dispute the pearl-fishery.

Ke-ching Tatars, Lat. 30° 57' 36'', observed Long. 118° 26' east of *Peking*.

(D) Perhaps more by the great elevation of the land, and winds from the north.

shape they exactly resemble our white lillies; but, like the roses, are of a much weaker scent: the finest grow seven or eight leagues beyond the palisade of *Lyau-tong*.

The Jin-feng. BUT the plant which is most esteemed, and draws a great number of herbalists into these deserts, is the *Jin-feng*, called by the *Manchews*, *Orhota*; that is, *the chief*, or *queen of plants*. It is highly valued for its virtues in curing several diseases, and all decays of strength proceeding from excessive labour of body or mind. For this reason it has always been the principal riches of *Eastern Tartary*; what is found in the north of *Korea* being consumed in that kingdom. It sells at *Pe-king* for seven times its weight in silver; by which its value heretofore may be judged of^a.

FORMERLY the *Chinese* used to get into the *Jin-feng* country, among the Mandarins and soldiers, continually passing: but in 1709 the emperor *Kang-hi*, that his *Manchews* might reap this advantage, ordered 10,000 of his soldiers, encamped without the great wall, to go and gather it, on condition that each should give him two ounces of the best, and take an equal weight of fine silver for the remainder. By which means the emperor got in that year 20,000 *Chinese* pounds of it, for less than one-fourth of the price it bears at *Pe-king*.

Where it grows. THIS plant grows only on the declivity of woody mountains, on the banks of deep rivers, or about steep rocks. It can neither bear much cold or heat; for it grows not beyond the 47th degree of latitude: and if a forest takes fire, it appears no more there in three or four years. It is easily distinguished from all other plants about it; and frequently by a cluster of very round and red fruit, or a stalk that shoots above the branches: such was that which the missionaries saw at the village of *Honchun* (D), on the borders of *Korea*. This plant, which was about a foot and a half in height, had but one knob, whence shot four branches, parting equally one from another, as if they did not spring from the same plant. Each plant had five leaves; and, 'tis said, there is always that number, unless diminished by accident. The root is the only part used medicinally. Its value is enhanced by its age; for the largest and firmest are best. Those who search for it must carry neither tent, bed, nor provision, excepting a bag of dried millet; and at night lodge on the ground, under a tree, or a covering made of boughs.

Hon-chun village. HON-CHUN, before-mentioned, two leagues from *Korea*, is the principal village of the *Quelka Tatars*, who are at present confounded with the *Manchews*, both in language and habitation. It is also the farthest extent of their country, which is agreeable enough; and, what is very uncommon among *Tatars*, well cultivated. Whether it be owing to necessity, on account of their distance from the *Manchews* (the nearest of whom are 40 leagues off), or the example of the *Koreans*, whose very hills are cut into stories, and cultivated to the top.

Prospect of Korea. IT was a new sight to the missionaries, after they had crossed so many forests, and coasted so many frightful mountains, to find themselves on the banks of the *Tumen-ula*, with nothing but woods and wild beasts on one side, while the other presented to their view walled cities, with all that art and labour could produce in the best cultivated countries.

The river Tumen. THE *Tumen-ula* falls into the ocean ten leagues below *Hon-chun*. The *Koreans* had built a wall on that bank, opposite to the *Tatars*, from whom the river divides them, almost like that of *China*: but the part towards *Hon-chun* was quite ruined, when the *Manchews* ravaged *Korea*; which they made their first conquest. In parts more remote it continues almost intire.

River Swifond. BEYOND the *Tumen-ula*, in the antient country of the *Manchews*, is the *Swifond-pira*, the most considerable river in it, and very famous among those *Tatars*, although it scarcely deserves notice. Here the missionaries saw the ruins of a city, called *Furdan Hotun*, situated in an open plain fit for tillage. It had only a slight mud-wall, defended by a shallow ditch^c.

The Yu-pi Tatars. THE river *Usuri* is incomparably the finest, both for clearness and length of course. It falls into the *Saghalian*, and belongs to the *Yu-pi Tatars*, who dwell in villages along its banks. A great many large, as well as small rivers, help to augment its stream; and its waters abound with fish, which serve the natives both for food and raiment. They have a way of dressing their skins, which they dye of three or four colours; and after shaping, sew them in so delicate a manner, that at first you would imagine they made use of silk, till, on ripping a stitch or two, you perceive an exceeding fine thong, cut out of a very thin skin.

Their dress. THESE *Tatars* dress like the *Manchews*, in the *Chinese* habit, with this difference chiefly, that the bottom of their long robes is commonly bound with a green or red border, on a white or grey ground. The women also hang small pieces of brass coin, or little bells, at the bottom of their mantles, which give notice of their approach. Their hair, which parts into several tresses, falls upon their shoulders; and is braided with bits of looking-glass, rings, and other baubles, which they prize as jewels.

^a REGIS ap. Du Halde's China Eng. fol. edit. vol. ii. p. 245.

^c Ibid. p. 246.

(D) Or *Houchon*. Latitude-observed, 42° 45'.

a THE manner of life among these *Yu-pi* is no less extraordinary. All the summer they spend *Way of living.* in fishing. One part of what they catch is laid up to make oil for their lamps; another serves for their daily food; and the rest, which they dry in the sun, without salting, for they have no salt, is laid up for their winter's provisions, whereof both men and cattle eat, when the rivers are frozen. For all this, the missionaries observed a great deal of strength and vigour in most of these poor people: yet the animals used for food are very scarce in their country; and their flesh of such an intolerable taste, that the very servants they brought with them, though eager for flesh, after having lived long on fish, could not endure it. The dogs in this country draw their sledges (E), when the rivers are frozen, and are highly valued.

b THE lady of *Ufuri*, whose husband had been chief general of this nation, and enjoyed the *Use dog-sledges.* prerogative of a body guard, told the Jesuits that she had an hundred dogs for her sledges. One beaten to the road goes before, which those in harness follow, without straying, to the end of the stage, where they are relieved by others from the spare pack. She assured them, that she had often ran an hundred *Chinese Li* (or ten *French* leagues) without resting. Instead of treating them with tea, which is the custom among the *Chinese* and other *Tatars*, her attendants served up little bits of sturgeon, upon a neat ratan salver.

c THIS lady, who understood *Chinese*, had a quite different air and manner from these *Yu-pi* *Their manners.* *Tatars*; who, for the rest, are in general of a peaceable disposition, but heavy, unpolished, and without any tincture of learning, or the least public religious worship; the *Chinese* idols themselves, not having, as yet, found their way among them. Very likely, says the good Jesuit, because the Bonzas or priests cannot take up with such a poor wretched country, where they sow neither rice nor wheat, but only a little tobacco, in a few plats of ground near each village, on the banks of the river. All the rest of the land is covered with a thick and almost impenetrable wood; from whence they are annoyed with a cloud of gnats, and such-like insects, which they are obliged to drive away with smoke.

d THERE are found in *Europe* almost all the kinds of fish taken in the rivers of this country; *Fish, and fish-* but not that quantity of sturgeon, which is the principal fishery of the *Yu-pi*. They say it is *ing.* the king of fish, and that it has no equal. They eat certain parts of it quite raw, imagining by that means to partake of all the virtues which they ascribe to it. Next to the sturgeon, they highly prize a fish, which is unknown in *Europe*, but one of the most delicious that can be imagined. It about the length, and almost of the shape, of a small tunny, but of a finer colour. The flesh is intirely red, which distinguishes it from other fish; and so very scarce, that the Jesuits could never meet with it above once or twice. The natives commonly spear the larger fish, and take the lesser with nets. Their barks are small, and their boats made only of the bark of trees; but so well sewed as to keep out water.

e THE language of the *Yu-pi* seems to be a mixture of that of the *Manchews*, who are their *Their lan-* neighbours on the west and south, and the *Ke-ching Tatars*, bordering on the north and east; *guage.* for to the chiefs of the villages, both languages were intelligible. Thus much concerning the *Yu-pi Tatars*, to whose country some of our geographers have given the name of a kingdom.

f THAT of the *Ke-ching Tatars* has no better title to the honour, although it extends along *Ke-ching* the *Saghalian-ula*, from *Tondon* before-mentioned, to the ocean. For in all this space of near *Tatars.* 150 leagues, you meet with nothing but ordinary villages, which are for the generality seated on the banks of that great river. Their language differs from that of the *Manchews*, who call it *Fiatta*; and this *Fiatta* tongue is also apparently that of the *Tatars*, who inhabit from the mouth of the *Saghalian-ula*, to the 55th degree of latitude; which in this part is the northern bounds of the *Chinese* dominions in *East Tartary*. They do not shave their heads, according to the custom of the empire; but wear their hair tied with a sort of ribbon, or in a bag behind. They seemed more ingenious than the *Yu-pi Tatars*; answered distinctly to the questions asked them by the Jesuits, concerning the geography of their country; and took great notice of their operations^f.

GERBILLON, from the information of the viceroy of the province of *Solon* (the same with Gerbillon's *Tsi Tsi-kar*), writes that beyond the *Dog-drivers*, along the same river *Saghalian* to the ocean, *mistake.* there dwell a nation called *Fiattú*, or *Fiatta*, who live on fish; and that from clothing themselves with their skins, the *Chinese*, name *Yu-pi*, that is, *Fish-skin*. According to this account, the *Dog-drivers* must be a different people from the *Yu-pi*, and the *Yu-pi*, or *Fiatta*, the same with

^f REGIS, ubi supr. p. 247.

(E) Hence Gerbillon says, they are called by their neighbours, the *Manchews*, by no other name than *Dog-drivers*. He makes them a different nation from the *Yu-pi*, whom he confounds with the *Fiatta* (or *Ke-ching*). He places them before *Ninguta*, and says, that although they extend along the *Saghalian-ula*, about

two hundred leagues, they are not numerous, having only here and there small hamlets, situate at the fall of some little river into that great one. This Jesuit had his information from the viceroy of the province of *Solon*. *Du Halde*, vol. ii. p. 256.

the *Ke-ching* ; but we ought to submit to the authority of *Regis*, who travelled the country. ^a
The former author adds, that the language of the *Fiatta* (F) is quite different from that of the *Dog-drivers* ; and that both differ from the *Manchews* : that they understand not agriculture, and live in huts without a king or sovereign ; although every community elect a chief, whom they obey, much like the *Iroquois*, or savages of *Canada* in *America*, whom they resemble in manners. They have canoes made of the bark of trees, or the trunks hollowed ; that those inhabiting near the sea are frequently visited by boats from the islands. These lie pretty thick at the entrance of the river ; which is not there above three leagues wide, but very deep everywhere, and navigable when not frozen, for vessels of good burden, up to *Nip-chu* (or *Nerchinskoy*), about 500 leagues distant ^b.

Great island. FROM these *Ke-ching*, the missionaries learned, that opposite to the mouth of the *Saghalian-ula*, there was a great island inhabited by people like themselves, with whom they traded. After this, the emperor *Kang-hi* sent thither some Mandarins, who surveyed the east and north sides of it, and would have measured the whole for the use of the missionaries (G) ; but were obliged to return, for want of provisions. They informed them, that these islanders breed neither horses nor any beasts of burthen ; but that in several parts they had seen a sort of tame stags (H), which drew their sledges, and by the description were like those used in *Norway*. The inhabitants of the continent gave this island various names, but that generally used is *Saghalian-anga-bata*, or *the island of the mouth of the black river*.

Land of Jesso. THE missionaries heard nothing of the land of *Jesso* (I), which they suppose not to extend beyond the 45th degree of latitude. But according to the discoveries of the *Dutch*, it reaches ^c above the 50th degree : so that the north part must lie in the same parallel with the south coast of the island, just now mentioned, and perhaps three or four degrees more to the east ; as it is exhibited in Mr. *Kyrillow's* map of the *Russian* empire (K). This seems to be the country, called *Ye-tse* by the *Chinese* geographers, who make it part of *Eastern Tartary*, and a land of vast extent, placing it about *Hon-chon* before-mentioned, in the northernmost borders of *Korea*, inhabited by a warlike nation formidable to the *Japaneses* ; having hairy bodies, whiskers hanging down to their breasts, and their swords tied by the point behind their heads. But this is all fiction, such a people being unknown to either the *Yu-pi* or *Ke-ching* *Tatars*. According to the accounts of the Jesuits from *Japan*, confirmed by those of Captain *Saris* and the *Dutch*, it is divided from the north-east part of that island, by a strait of the sea (L). ^d

Country beyond the river. BEYOND the *Saghalian-ula*, there is nothing but a few villages, inhabited by the *Ke-ching* *Tatars* ; the rest of the country being a wild desert, frequented only by fable-hunters. It is crossed by a famous chain of mountains, called *Hin-kan-alin*. Here are also some pretty good rivers. The *Tú-bú-rú-pira*, which falls into the eastern ocean, springs from another chain of mountains, in the 55th degree of latitude, which marks the point whence the rivers flow different ways. Thus the *Udi-pira* runs towards the northern sea, and belongs to the *Russians* ; whilst the *Silinsi-pira* passes southward into the country of the *Ke-ching* *Tatars* ^e.

The Orochon people. AMONG the rivers which augment the *Saghalian-ula* on the north-side, *Gerbillon* mentions the *Chikiri*, so called by the *Manchews*, and *Zia* by the *Russians*. It is about half a league in breadth, near its fall into the *Saghalian* (M) ; and although the ascent to its source is said to be a journey of two months, yet the current is so rapid that you may return in fifteen days. It rises in a chain of mountains ; which serve for a boundary between the two empires of *China* and *Russia*. The *Manchews* call the people who dwell near this river, *Orochon*, from an animal named *Oron* ; a small sort of deer, which they break to draw their sledges, or carry their baggage. The author has seen some in the emperor's park ; also elks, which are common in this country, and that of *Solon*. The fine fables, grey ermines, and black foxes, are found among the *Chikiri* ; of whose skins the *Russians* took abundance, whilst they held *Taksa* ^f.

Han-hala Tatars. THE *Tatars* called *Han-hala*, or the three *Hala* families, are true *Manchews*, who united together after the conquest of the rest of their nation, from whom they lay at a great distance, being mixed with the *Yu-pi* *Tatars*. The emperor *Kang-hi* gave them lands near *Ningúta*, ^f

^a GERBILLON, ap DU HALDE ubi sup. p. 256.
^b GERBILLON, ubi sup. p. 256.

^c REGIS ubi sup. p. 247, & seq.

(F) Perhaps *Fiatta* is the indigenous name of the *Ke-ching* *Tatars*, and thence their language called the *Fiatta* tongue, or language of the *Fiatta* ; for *Ke-ching*, as well as *Yu-pi*, are names given these nations by the *Chinese*.

(G) The Jesuits in their map, make it about 280 miles long, and 60 broad.

(H) These must be rein-deer.

(I) Variouslly written by authors, *Jesso*, *Jeso*, *Jetso*, *Jedso*, *Yedso*, and *Yetso* ; and as variouslly described.

(K) Published at *Petersburg* in 1734, the best for

those parts, before the academy's map, 1745. This country, there called *Jedso*, is represented as an island ; but *Strahlenberg* makes it a part of *Kamchatka* in *Siberia* ; which is contrary to the fact, as appears from the discoveries of Captain *Beering* in 1730.

(L) The discovery and map of *Spangenberg* in 1739, clash greatly with those of the *Dutch*. See also *Kämpfer's Voy. Japan*, ch. iv. p. 64.

(M) According to the maps of *Eastern Tartary*, made by the missionaries, it falls into the *Saghalian-ula*, about 15 miles to the north of *Saghalian-ula-hotun*.

a along the *Hürba-pira* and *Songari-ula*; on the banks of which rivers almost all their villages are situated. Their clothing is like the *Tu-pi*; but they have horses and oxen, as well as good harvests, which the others want ^k.

THESE seem to be the same *Manchews*, dwelling along the *Songari*, whom, according to *Gerbillon*, the *Russians* name *Diúchari*; in winter they go a sable-hunting in those great forests; besides which, and mountains, there is nothing to the east of that river, called by the *Russians*, *Singula*, or *Sbingala*. In summer they return to spend their time at home about *Ningúta* ^l.

b AVRIL, who travelled for information towards these countries, learned from a person who had perused the records of the *Russian* treasury, that there is in *Bogdoy* (M), a particular province, named by the *Russians* *Diúchari*, and by the *Mungls*, *Diurski*: situated between the eastern ocean and the great rivers *Shingale* (or *Songari*) and *Yamúr*, (or *Amúr*, as the *Russians* call the *Saghalian-ula*). These people, he says, had formerly no prince of their own, and were little either feared or known, till they subdued the six northern provinces of *China*: that these *Diúchari* were at length driven out by the family of *Jvn* (or *Ywen*, that is *Jenghiz Khán*); who, in 1368, were themselves driven out by the *Chinese*, of the *Tay-ming* family. That after this the *Diúchari* re-entered *China* in 1644, and in time subdued the whole; *Shun-chi* being their first prince, of the reigning family, named *Tay sing*, by the *Chinese* ^m.

c WHAT is mentioned in the above paragraph, concerning the *Diúchari*, can be applicable ^{The Man-} only to the *Manchews*, who inhabit this part of *Eastern Tartary*, and are lords of all the other ^{chews} inhabitants thereof, and are called by the *Russians*, *Bogdoy* (N). They may pass for heathens, but what is offered to the emperor of heaven, as they express it. They pay, indeed, their ancestors a veneration mixed with superstition; and some of them, since their being in *China*, have embraced the idolatrous sects. But they are mostly wedded to their old religion (O), which they reverence as the basis of their empire, and the source of their prosperity ⁿ.

d IN all the province of *Bogdoy* (says *Avril*) you meet with none but houses of earth; the inhabitants drive a great trade in fables and black fox-skins, as well as the *Jin-seng* root; but ^{Shape and manners,} are not rich in cattle. Their horses too are very small, and never shod. The people exactly resemble the *Krim Tatars* in features, shape, and size; but are much more polite and civilized, by reason of the great correspondence they have with the *Chinese*. Fire-arms, though known to them, are not much in use ^o.

ACCORDING to *Bentink*, the *Eastern Tatars* (or *Manchews*), whom he calls *the Mungals of Their lan-* ^{the east}, live mostly by husbandry, and resemble in all things *the Mungals of the west*, except- ^{guage} ing that they are more civilized, and fairer; especially the female sex, among whom there are many to be found who might pass for fine women in any country ^p.

e ALTHOUGH the *Manchew* language is as much used at the court of *Pe-king*, as the *Chinese*, and all public acts are drawn up in the one as well as the other; yet it began to decline, and would probably have been lost, had not the *Tatars* used all precautions to preserve it, by translating *Chinese* books, and compiling dictionaries, under the emperor's encouragement. Their language is so singular in this respect, that the verb differs as often as the substantive governed by it: for instance they change the verb *make*, as often as the substantive which follows it changes; or, which is the same thing, to every different substantive they use a different verb for *make*; as when they would say, *make a verse make a picture, make a statue*. For though the repetition of the same verb in discourse might be excusable, it is with them unpardonable in writing, as making a monstrous grating to their ears. They fell a laughing, when they heard the missionaries read books, at the frequent returns of *que, qu'ils, qu'eux*, who, what, him, them, &c. which quick repetitions of the same sound disgusted them. And indeed the *Manchews* can well be without such helps; for the bare ranging of their words answers the same end, without obscurity or ambiguity; nor have they any insipid puns or quibblings on words.

^k REGIS, *ibid.* p. 248.
p. 146.

^l GERBILLON, *ubi sup.* p. 255.

^m AVRIL's travels,

ⁿ GERBILLON, *ubi sup.* p. 255.

^o AVRIL, *ubi sup.* p. 147, & seq.

^p BENTINK in Abulghazi Khán's Hist. of the Turks, &c. p. 503.

(M) So they call both *Eastern Tartary* and the *Manchew* country: but *Avril* distinguishes the province of *Dauri* from that of *Bogdoy*, p. 147.

(N) And the emperor of *China*, who is a *Manchew*, *Bogdoy Khán*, and *Amulon Bogdoy Khán*. *Avril* says, p. 146, that the *Bogdoy* are by the *Chinese*, called *Eastern Tatars*, and by the *Monguls* (or *Mungls*) *Niuchi* or *Nuchi*; but *Niuchi*, or *Nyu-che*, is the *Chinese* term.

(O) *Avril*, p. 148, says, to speak properly, they

are of no religion; although several of them are seen to wear crosses, which they call *Lamas*. Hence probably it is, that he took occasion to affirm, not only that they have a great inclination to the christian religion, but even that there are not a few who are already become catholics. He adds, that they have no kindness either for the *Mohammedans* or *Nestorians*, because they formerly helped the *Western Tatars* to expel their ancestors (the *Kin*).

Great copious-
ness.

ANOTHER singularity of their language, is the copiousness of it. For instance; besides names for each species of animals, they have words to express their several ages and qualities. *Judagon*, is the general name for a dog; but *Tayba*, signifies a dog who has very long and thick hair, both on his ears and tail. *Yolo*, a dog with a long thick muzzle and tail, large ears, and hanging lips. The horse, as more serviceable to them, has twenty times more names than the dog; almost every motion of him giving occasion to a different name. Whence they could get that astonishing multitude of names and terms, is not easy to determine (P). On the west are the *Mungls*; but in the two languages there are scarcely eight words alike, and those uncertain as to their origin. They understand nothing of the language of a few savage nations on the east and north. As to the *Koreans*, their language and letters being *Chinese*, have no resemblance to the *Manchew*.

Characters and
writing.

THEY have only one sort of character, but four different ways of writing, according to the occasion, as in other countries. They commonly write with a pencil, though some use a kind of *Bambú* pen: but the pencil holds ink better, and moving more freely on the paper, runs most nimbly without stopping, in the hand of one of their writers. The *Manchews* think their language the most elegant, as well as the most copious, in the world; and imagine there is no rendering the sense of it, much less the majesty of its style, in any of the barbarous languages, meaning the *European*, as well as others. Yet they cannot express all sounds, as they want the letters B and D, using P and T in their stead; nor can write words in which two consonants come together, without inserting a vowel between (Q). Their transitions likewise are so few, that they are much puzzled how to connect their written discourses; and on that account, after they have written some sentences, or periods, being often at a loss how to proceed, are forced to blot out what they have done, and begin again^a. In other respects it must be allowed to be a masterly language, well cultivated, and as full of terms, perhaps, as the *Arabic* itself.

Ruins of cities.

In these parts are to be seen the ruins of several cities, as those of *Fenegha Hotun*, on the *Húrba*, five or six leagues from *Ningúnta*, now no more than a small hamlet. *Odoli Hotun*, on the river *Lefuchi*, was strongly situated, being accessible only through the waters by a narrow causeway: in it are likewise found great stair-cases of stone, with some other remains of a palace, the like not to be met with any-where else, not even at *Ningúnta*. Hence it is probable, that all the monuments of antiquity in *Eastern Tartary* were not the work of the present *Manchews*, but of their ancestors the *Kin*, in the 12th century, as before-mentioned. These built towns and palaces in several parts of their ancient country; which might fall to decay, after their dynasty was ruined by the *Mungls*, under *Jenghíz Khán* and his successors.

River Songa-
ri.

THERE is nothing more celebrated in the *Manchew* history than the *Songari-ula*, and the mountain whence it springs, called by the natives *Shanyen-alin*, and by the *Chinese*, *Chang-pe-shan*, that is the ever white mountain, from whence they derive their origin, which they mix with fable and the marvellous. The truth is, that the *Manchews* had no river in all their territories comparable to the *Songari*, which abounds with fish, and is large, deep, and navigable throughout; being but moderately rapid, even at its confluence with the *Saghalian-ula*.

Mountain
Shanyen.

As for the mountain *Shanyen*, it is the highest in all *Eastern Tartary*, and may be seen at a vast distance. One half being woody, the other sandy, it is that which makes it appear always white, and not the snow, as the *Chinese* imagine; for scarce any ever remains on it. On the top are five rocks, like so many broken pyramids, exceeding high, which are continually wet with fogs and vapours, peculiar to this country. Between them lies a very deep lake, from whence the *Songari* takes its rise with a fine stream^b. According to *Verbiest*, this mountain stands about 400 miles southward of *Kirin-ula*^c.

3 Government of Tsitsikar.

Government.

THE third government into which *Eastern Tartary* is divided, is that of *Tsitsikar*. *Gerbillon* calls this province *Solon*, after the inhabitants; and says, the *Russians* name it *Dawra* (R)-

^a PARENIN in Du Halde, ubi supra, p. 265.

^b REGIS, ubi sup. p. 248.

^c Ibid. p. 269.

(P) In this it is like the *Arabic*. *Bentink* says, the language of the *Mungals* of the east (by whom he means the *Manchews*) is a mixture of the *Chinese* and ancient *Mogul*, which has scarce any connexion with that of the *Moguls* of the west. See *Abu'lghazi Khán, hist. of the Turks*, p. 503. *Avril* will have it that the language spoken in *Persia*; and that their characters have a great resemblance, only they write from top to bottom of the paper, like the *Chinese*; and have above 60 letters in their alphabet. *Avril's Travels*, p. 148—It may be presumed that this was the language both of the *Lyau* and *Kin* (the ancestors of

the *Manchews*), who reigned formerly in the empire of *Kitay*; at which time these people, being very numerous, as well as in power, took care to cultivate and improve their language; the delicacy and copiousness of which their successors endeavour to preserve.

(Q) And, properly speaking, a vowel does come between, tho' not written; being pronounced so quick, that it seems not to be expressed, like the *Hebrew She-vah*.

(R) *Dauri*, as *Avril*, and *Daur*, as *Isbrandt Ides*. p. 40; but p. 54, he says, it is, by the *Tatars*, called *Deri*, and the people *Dauri*, or *Old Dauri*.

a It begins, according to him, at the confluence of the river *Ergona* (or *Argun*), and the *Saghalian-ula* (S) : along which latter it extends above 150 leagues (T), towards *Ninguta*. The governor told our author, that there were not more than 10,000 families in the whole province. The people are great hunters, dextrous archers, and pay their tribute in sable skins; each family two, or three, or more, a year, according to the number of able persons.

THIS province is inhabited by three sorts of people; the *Manchews*, *Solons* and *Tagûri*, *The Tagûri*, who were the ancient possessors. This last nation, which is not very numerous, submitted to the *Manchews*, under the father of the emperor *Kang-hi*, whose protection they implored against the *Russians*: for these latter, passing in armed barks out of the *Saghalian-ula* into the *Songari-ula*, secured all the rivers communicating with them, and became terrible to the
b *Tatarian* nations dwelling on their banks. The *Tagûri*, who are a large and robust people, were always accustomed to sow grain, and build houses, though surrounded with *Tatars*, who never did either^c.

ISBRANDT IDES (who calls these people *Targazi* or *Targazins*, perhaps by some mistake) *Manners and* says, they are a separate independent clan or tribe, paying tribute to the emperor of *China*; *custom.* and though governed by their own chief, yet obey those who are most potent in *Tartary*. That ambassador met with the first huts of them, made of thin canes, soon after he came to the river *Yal*, about half-way from *Argunskoy* (on the *Argun* or *Ergona*) to *Tsitfiskar*. They are heathens, and, according to him, worship the devil. They are of a middling stature, and broad-faced like the *Mungls*. Their summer dress is of blue *China* callico (or *Kitayka*)
c and tanned leather; but in winter they wear coats made of sheep-skins. Their language differs very little from that of the *Tongûz* or *Tunguzians* (inhabiting *Siberia*). They cultivate chiefly barley, oats, and millet; selling to the villages of *Tsitfiskar* what they do not consume themselves. Their cattle are principally horses, dromedaries, bulls, cows, and sheep. These last are very fine and large, their tails being above one span thick, and two long, are all fat, and so very heavy that they cannot go fast. The *Tagûri* make use of oxen much, to ride on, and are very expert archers: they likewise make abundance of bows, which being esteemed the best in all *Tartary*, bear a great price^d.

THE *Solons* are originally *Eastern Tatars*, descended, as they say, from those who escaped *Solon Tatars*. the general destruction of their nation (by the *Mungls* in 120). They are more robust,
d brave, and skilful, than the other inhabitants of these parts. Their women ride on horseback, draw the plough, hunt stags, and other game. A great number of *Solons* now reside at *Niêrgbi*, a pretty large town, not far from *Tsitfiskar* and *Merghen*. The missionaries saw them set out from thence, the first of *October* 1711, to hunt sables, whose skins are highly valued by the *Tatars*, because they wear well and are lasting. They were clad in short jackets of wolves-skins, with a cap of the same, and their bows at their backs. They had with them
e some horses laden with millet; and their long cloaks, made of fox or tigers-skins, to defend them against cold, especially of the night. Their dogs are made for the game, clamber well, and are acquainted with the wiles of the sables. Neither the severity of the winter, nor the fierceness of the tigers, can restrain them from this dangerous exercise, because all their riches depend on it. The finest skins are reserved for the emperor, who pays a fixed price. The rest bear a great rate even in the country itself, as being pretty scarce; and are immediately bought up by the Mandarins in those quarters, and the merchants of *Tsitfiskar*. *Sable-hunting.*

THERE are, besides the country town or villages, three cities (U) in the province of *Tsitfiskar*; namely, *Tsitfiskar Merghen*, and *Saghalian-ula-botun*. The capital, *Tsitfiskar*, a new city, was built by the late emperor *Kang-hi*, to secure his frontiers against the *Russians*. It is situated near the *Nonniula*, a considerable river, falling into the *Songari*; and inclosed with a strong palisade, not very high, but lined with a pretty good rampart. The garrison consists principally of *Manchews*: but the inhabitants are mostly *Chineses*, drawn thither by traffick, or banished for crimes. The houses of both people are without the wooden wall,
f which incloses little besides the courts of justice, and palace of the *Manchew* general. They are built of earth^w, ranged into pretty wide streets, and closed with a mud wall. This city is called *Tsitfiskar*, from the province of which it is the metropolis; but its proper name seems to be *Naun-koton*, or *Nonni-koton*, that is, the city of the *Naun*, or *Nonni*, the river on which it is situated: at least it went by the appellation of *Naun-koton* in the time of *Isbrandt* *Or Nonni Hotun.*

^c GERBILLON, *ibid* p. 256.
Halde, p. 248.

^d ISBR. IDES, *Trav. to China*, p. 55.

^w REGIS in Du

(S) This is to be understood only of the part belonging to *China*; for according to *Isbrandt Ides*, p. 40. it begins at *Vilinkay*, to the north of the city *Selinga*, above eight degrees to the west of the *Ergona* or *Argun*, which part belongs to the *Russians*.

(T) But, according to the maps of the Jesuits, it is 740 miles long, and 600 broad.

(U) Gerbillon says, there was only one city, viz. *Merghen*, in his time; which must be understood of the year 1689 (or thereabouts), when he made the journey to *Nipchu*, or *Nerchinskoy*, in its neighbourhood. For in 1692, *Isbrandt Ides* found *Tsitfiskar*, or *Naun-koton*, in being, although but newly built.

Ides, who speaks of *Tsitfiskar* (or *Xixigar* (W) as he writes it) only as a country town or a village, a little short of that city. *Naun koton* according to him, is encompassed with walls of earth, but well lined and covered on the outside with maffy timber; the houses very commodious and neat.

The inhabitants.

THE inhabitants of this city, and the six southern villages, are called *Doari*, or *Old Dauri* (X), and the country *Dori*, by the *Tatars*, who dwell along the *Naun* and *Yal*, as far as *Albazin*, or *Yakfa*. They have very rich manured lands, all sorts of garden-fruit, and several plantations of tobacco, which is their chief livelihood. They by their own account are all *shammaus*, or conjurers, who invoke the devil with frightful cries, which the ambassador heard every night. They give their dead two burials, first leaving a hole at top of the grave, where the relations daily brings victuals, which they convey to the mouth of the deceased with a spoon, and leave drink in small tin cups, standing round the grave. This ceremony holds for several weeks; after which they bury the body deeper in the ground.

Their houses.

THEY live in houses made of earth, covered with reeds or small bambûs, somewhat like thatched cabbins in *Europe*. The walls within are plaistered with lime. In the middle stands a pillar, with the entrails of beasts wound about it, and by them are hung a little bow and arrows, pikes and other arms; to all these, from time to time, they bow and prostrate themselves. Their houses are neither divided into chambers, nor furnished with upper rooms; near one half of it is taken up by a bench, which runs round the walls, about an ell high, and two broad, covered with red mats. Under this bench there passes a chimney, or funnel; so that the fire being made at one side of the door, the smoke enters the funnel, and passes out at the other side. This in winter serves instead of a stove; and altho' the house is not much warmed by it (Y), yet those who sit on the bench in the day, and lie on it at night (for it serves for a bed), find benefit from it.

Abject submission.

THE natives are generally well-shaped, but especially the women; and all wear the same dress as the *Manchews* in *China*. But they live in such submission to the Mandarins sent from thence, that the secretaries of those officers seize both their wives and daughters at pleasure; and our author has frequently seen them carry off the most beautiful creatures in waggons. Some men, being obliged to send their wives after these ravishers, boast of having such a lord for their brother-in-law; while others submit to the injury, for fear of punishment, or losing some advantage^x.

Merghen city.

THE governor of *Tsitfiskar* has jurisdiction over the other new cities, *Merghen-hotun*, and *Saghalian-ula-hotun*. *Merghen* (Z) (or *Merghin*) lies above 40 leagues north eastward of *Tsitfiskar*; but is much thinner of people, and inclosed with only a single wall.

Saghalian ula city.

SAGHALIAN-ULA-HOTUN, that is, *the city of the black river*, stands on the south side of the river *Saghalian*, and is built like *Tsitfiskar*; is equally populous, but richer in merchandize. The lands belonging to this town, and *Merghen*, are but indifferent, being a sandy soil; yet those of *Saghalian-ula-hotun* yield good crops of wheat; they consist of a plain, extending along the river *Saghalian*, and containing several *Manchew* villages. Those few villages which are on the river belong to the city; besides several large forests, where you meet with excellent hunting for fables. Thete the *Russians* from *Albazin* or *Yakfa*, (A), (built a few days journey higher up the river) would have become masters of, had not that city been demolished by the treaty of *Nipchu* in 1689. The *Tatar* hunters still keep a strong guard on the frontiers, and armed barks on the *Saghalian-ula*^y. As the garrison of that fortress disturbed the sable-hunters, it occasioned a war between the two empires; but at length the fort was razed, and the country yielded to the *Chinese*, by the said treaty. From thence to the mouth of the *Saghalian-ula* in the eastern sea, are full 400 leagues, by the viceroy's reckoning, who made the voyage; and 150 to *Ningûta*^z.

A strong frontier.

Ruins of Aykom.

ABOUT 13 *Chinese li* (B) or furlongs, higher, on the north side of the river, are the ruins of an ancient city, called *Aykom* (C), built by the first emperors of the *Chinese* dynasty *Tay-*

^x ISBRANDT *Ides*, ubi sup. p. 53. & seq. Also BRANDT's embassy to China, p. 70.

^z GERBILLON, *ibid.* p. 256.

^y REGIS, ubi

(W) His secretary *Brandt* writes *Suttega* and *Sut-tegar*, and places it five miles distant. Perhaps *Zizikar* is the *English* spelling.

(X) *Regis* says, this city is inhabited by the three sorts of people mentioned above; and as *Isbrandt Ides* described the *Targuzi* (or *Taguri*) before, the inhabitants here described, under the name of *Dori* (or *Dauri*), must be the *Solon*; for the third sort, or *Manchews*, could not be in such abject subjection to the Mandarins, as he mentions lower down.

(Y) In the northern provinces of *China*, they make hollow places with bricks, in the form of beds, through which, from a charcoal stove, heat is conveyed by pipes terminating in a funnel or chimney; which warms all the house, as well as the bed.

(Z) This city is mentioned occasionally, both by *Isbrandt Ides*, and his secretary *Adam Brandt*; but neither speaks of *Saghalia-ula-hotun*. The first writes *Mergeen*, the latter *Merghen*, to express *Merghin*.

(A) *Gerbillon* says, it was called by the *Russians*, *Albazin*; and by the *Tatars*, *Yakfa*, from a little river on which it stood, where it runs into the *Saghalian ula*. *Isbrandt Ides* mentions *Albuzin*, p. 54. and *Brandt*, p. 63, says it was a strong fortress.

(B) Ten make a *French* league.

(C) *Regis* says, several at *Pe-king* gives this name to *Saghalian-ula hotun*; perhaps to excuse *Gerbillon*, who seems to do the same; for he says, the principal cities of the *Manchews* in *Eastern Tartary*, are *Ula*, *Aykom*, and *Ninguta*. *Lu Haldé's China*, &c. vol. ii. p. 256.

ming, which preceded that of the *Manchews*. For the *Mungls*, after they were expelled *China* by *Hong-wu*, having been driven beyond the river *Saghalian*, *Aykom* was built under *Yong-lo*, to prevent their return. However, twenty years after they rallied and destroyed it, ravaging likewise, in revenge, the northern provinces of *China*.

INTO the *Saghalian-ula* (D) fall the *San-pira*, *Kirfin-pira*, and several other rivers considerable for pearl-fishing; which is performed without much art; the fishermen only jumping into these little rivers, and taking up the first oysters they can find. They say there are no pearls in the *Saghalian* itself; because, as their Mandarins informed the missionaries, they durst not venture in so deep a water. They fish for them likewise in several other little rivers, which fall into the *Nonni-ula* and *Songari* (E); as the *Arom*, and *Nemer*, in the road from *Tsitsikar* to *Mergben*; but affirmed they never found any in those west of *Saghalian-ula-batun*, towards the *Russian* territories. The pearls, though much cried up by the *Tatars*, would be little valued by *Europeans*, on account of their defects in shape and colour. The emperor *Kang-hi* had several chaplets or strings of these pearls, each containing one hundred or more, which were very large, and exactly matched; but then they were chosen out of thousands in his possession.

THE bounds of this government to the west, and on the side of *Russian Tartary*, are two rivers of a moderate size; the *Ergona* (F) and *Aygha-kerbechi*. The first rises to the south, a little below the 50th degree of latitude, and joins the *Saghalian-ula* in four degrees of longitude east of *Pe-king*. The *Kerbechi* descends, with a shorter course, from the north, and falls into the *Saghalian*, a little north-west of the *Ergona*'s mouth: from whence it is reckoned 50 leagues to *Nipchu* or *Nerchinskoy*, the first city of the *Russians*, almost under the meridian of *Pe-king*, and in $50^{\circ} 45'$ of latitude^a.

^a REGIS, ubi supr. p. 148.

(D) This river has several names in different parts, as *Onou* towards the source; afterwards *Shilka*; by the *Chinese*, *He-long*, *Kyang*, or *Black dragon river*, and by the *Russians*, *Amur*.

Yamur (*Amur*, or *Saghalian*); and *Shingale* (or *Songari*), afford store of rubies and pearls, which the natives are continually fishing for.

(F) By others called *Argun*.

(E) *Avril*, p. 148, says, the rivers *Argus* (*Argun*),

CHAP. II.

The empire of the Lyau or Kitan.

THE empire of *China*, as appears from these abstracts of its history, transmitted to us by the jesuit missionaries, particularly *Martini* and *Couplet*, had been from very early times threatened with invasions, and its northern provinces actually ravaged, by the nations bordering on the north and west, known to the *Chinese* by the names of *Tata*, *Ta-tse*, *Tan-yu*, and the like. These became so formidable, as well as troublesome, that at length, to prevent their incursions, the famous wall was built by the emperor *Tsin-shi-wang-ti*, 223 years before the christian æra. But no considerable part of *China* was ever conquered, or held for any space of time, by either them, or any other neighbouring people, till the tenth century (A): when the *Kitan*, or *Lyau*, empire; and having joined some of the northern provinces to their other dominions, founded a new monarchy, but still resided in *Lyau-tong*.

THESE *Ki-tan* were people of *Eastern Tartary*, who dwelt to the north and north-east of the province of *Pe-che-li* in *China*, particularly in *Lyau-tong*. They are called *Sye-tan*, or *Lyau*, *Si-tan*, by *Couplet* (B), and after him by *Du Halde*; but by *Gaubil* and *Guigues*, *Ki-tan*: which seems more exact, as being most conformable to the name of their empire. In the

(A) We may except, however, the *Wey*, whose emperors were formerly very powerful in *Tartary*, and the northern provinces of *China*. They were *Tatars* of the tribe of *Topa* (as were the kings of *Hya*). They came originally from the countries to the north-east of *Pe-king*, between the 43d and 45th degree of latitude. They established themselves first near *Tay-tong-fu*, in *Shan-si*. Their dynasty began in the year of Christ 386, and ended in 572. There is a *Chinese* history of these princes, *Gaubil* hist. de *Gentch*. p. 50. note (6). This seems to be the empire of the north of *China*, mentioned by *Couplet*, under the eighth dynasty called *Song*.

(B) We are told *Sye-tan* (rather *Ki-tan*) was their true name; but that after they had begun to lay the foundation of their empire, they changed it to that of *Lyau*. *Du Halde*'s description of *China*, vol. i. p. 203.

(C) It was called *Kitay* by the *Moguls*, or *Mungls*, and perhaps by the *Kitan* themselves, after their own name; by others, particularly the people west of *China*, *Katay*.

century above-mentioned, they subdued all the countries between *Korea* and *Küßgar*, besides a several northern provinces of *China*.

Kitay, their empire.

THIS large dominion is the famous *Katay*, or rather *Kitay* (C), hitherto so little known to *Europeans*, who were quite at a loss where to place it. As it was divided into two parts, with respect to the different countries which composed it, and one was much inferior in all respects to the other; that part which belonged to *Tartary* was, by way of distinction, called *Kâra-kitay* (D). For the situation hereof our authors have been no less to seek, than for that of *Kitay* itself; which, in strict sense, contains only the northern provinces of *China*, subject to the *Kitan*, or *Lyau*, and their successors the *Kin*.

Their history imperfect.

WE are informed by *Gaubil*, one of the Jesuit missionaries, that the *Chinese* have particular histories of these two nations: but as yet nothing of them has been transmitted to us, more than what we find occasionally mentioned in the reigns of the *Chinese* emperors, by *Couplet*, and that of *Jenghiz Khân*, by *Gaubil* himself. This latter gives only a brief account of the rise and fall of their dynasties; and the former only takes notice of the wars, or other affairs of importance, which any of their kings had with the *Chinese*, without giving so much as a regular list of their names. However these fragments relating to the *Lyau* and *Kin*, imperfect as they come to us, are valuable in their kind; and the rather, as they serve for a proper introduction to the history of the *Moguls* or *Mungls*.

Their dominion founded.

THE empire of the *Kitan* began in *Lyau-tong*, where they had two royal seats, *Tong-king* and *Pe-king*, that is, the eastern and northern courts. The first is the same with *Lyau-yang*, the second with *Mugden*, the present capital, called by the *Chinese*, *Shin-yang*^a. These people having been formerly augmented by many colonies from *Korea*, began to extend their territories, and gave trouble to *China* more than all the other inhabitants of *Tartary*. Their empire is reckoned to commence from the 13th year of the 61st (E) *Chinese* cycle, which answers to that of *Christ* 916 (F), and continued the space of 117 years, under nine princes; at what time those people changing their name from *Kitan* to that of *Lyau*, laid the foundation of their government. This happened in the 4th year of *Mo ti Kyun-ti*, second emperor of the 14th *Chinese* dynasty, or race of princes, called *Hew-lyang*.

Called into China.
A. D. 946.

SEVENTEEN after this, in the 30th year of the cycle, *Ming-tsung*, second emperor of the 15th dynasty, *Hew-tang*, being dead, *She-king-tang*, his son-in-law, rebelled against his son and successor, *Ming-tsung*; and with an army of 50,000 men, furnished by the *Lyau*, made himself master of the palace, and deprived *Ming-tsung* of his crown and life, in the first year of his reign, and 45th of his age. His son, *Fi-ti*, being unable to resist the usurper, fled to the city *Ghey-chew*; where shutting up himself and family, with every thing he had of value, in a palace there, he set it on fire, and perished in the flames. By his death, *She-king-tang* became emperor, and founded the 16th dynasty of *Hew-tsin*, under the name of *Kau-tsu*. But the general of the *Lyau*, who had so much contributed to the advancement of *Kau-tsu*, refused to acknowledge him for emperor, having an inclination to assume that title himself. Hereupon *Kau-tsu*, in the 33d year of the cycle, to avoid a new war, purchased a peace at the expence of the honour of his country; by giving up to the *Tatarian* chief, in recompence of his service, 16 cities in the province of *Pe-che-li*, which were nearest to *Lyau-tong*, besides a yearly present of 300,000 pieces of silk.

A. D. 949.

Cities yielded them.

THIS donation greatly increased the power and ambition of these restless people; and was the occasion of numberless wars, which ravaged *China* for more than 400 years. These wars began not long after: for, in the 43d year of the cycle, two years from *Kau-tsu*'s death, the *Lyau*, breaking the treaty made with that prince, invaded the empire when least expected. *Tsi-vang*, his nephew and successor, opposed them with an army sufficient to have repulsed them: but *Lyew-chi-ywen*, the general, covering his ambition with the appearance of zeal, made short marches; and, by affected delays, gave the enemy (G) time to make the emperor prisoner. Being thus dethroned, he was contented to accept of a small sovereignty; while the traitor-general seized the crown, by the name of *Kau-tsu*, and founded the 17th dynasty of *Hew-ban*^b.

They revenge China.
A. D. 96c.

MEAN time the army of *Lyau-tong*, finding no resistance, ravaged all the northern provinces of *China*, and then marched into the southern. But they were stopped by considerable bodies of troops, which opposed their passage; and occasioned their general to say,

^a GAUBIL Hist. de Gentischan, p. 87. vol. i. p. 203.

^b COUPLET tabl. chron. sinic. p. 65. DU HALDE's China,

(C) It was called *Kitay* by the *Moguls*, or *Mungls*, and perhaps by the *Kitan* themselves, after their own name; by others, particularly the people west of *China*, *Katay*.

(D) Or perhaps *Kara-kitay* was more properly the country about, where the *Lyau* settled after the destruction of their empire by the *Kin*, and erected a new monarchy, under the name of the *Western Lyau*, as

mentioned hereafter; by the *Moguls* and *Persians* called *Kara-kitayans*.

(E) This cycle began in the year of *Christ* 904.

(F) Or 917, as *Gaubil* places it. Hist. de Gentichif. p. 13.

(G) They are every where called barbarians in the *Chinese* history.

■ he could not have believed that the conquest of China would have proved so difficult : therefore, contenting himself with a rich booty, he retired into *Tartary*. *Kau-tsu* dying in the 45th A. D. 962. year of the cycle, his son *In-ti* succeeded him the next year ; whose youth gave opportunity to the eunuchs to raise commotions ; especially, as the army was at a distance, employed in opposing the invasions of the *Tatars* of *Lyau-tong*. This army was commanded by *Ko-ghey*, who defeated the enemy in several battles, and thereby restored peace to the northern provinces. In the mean time *In-ti* being slain by those eunuchs, the empress placed his brother on the throne : but *Ko-ghey*, returning with triumph, proclaimed him emperor, and founded the 18th dynasty, called *Hew-chew*.

b HOWEVER this dynasty lasted but nine years ; after which the *Ta-jin*, or grandees of the empire, setting aside *Kong-ti*, the third in succession, on account of his nonage ; enthroned in his room the *Ko-lau Chau-quang-yu*, who was his guardian. This prince assuming the name of *Kau-tsu*, founded the 19th dynasty, of the *Song* or *Tsong* ; which continued 319 years, under 18 emperors, till destroyed by the *Moguls* or *Mungls*. Although the empire began to recover itself during the reign of this monarch, who had all the qualities which the *Chinese* require in their emperors ; yet the *Lyau* continued to invade and harass the northern provinces, when the *Chinese* opposed them with various success^c. *Tay-tsong*, second emperor of the *Song*, earnestly desired to recover the cities which had been yielded by his predecessors to the *Lyau* ; but his general, *Chang-tsi-byen*, wisely advised him to defer his design till the empire was well established, at what time they should have more leisure and less difficulty to reduce the enemy. *Tay-tsong*, however, in the second year of his reign, and the 14th of the 62d cycle, marched against them, sometimes gaining, at other times losing, the advantage. At length the *Lyau* having laid siege to a considerable city, the *Chinese* general made use of the following stratagem to raise it. He detached 300 soldiers in the night, each carrying a lighted torch, with orders to approach as near as possible to the camp of the enemy : who imagining, by the number of lights, that the whole *Chinese* army was coming upon them, immediately fled ; and falling into the ambuscades, which *Chang-tsi-byen* had placed in all the passages, very few of them escaped the sword. ^{Opposed by the Song. With various success, A. D. 978.}

d *TAY-TSONG* dying in the 34th year of the cycle, was succeeded next year by his son *Ching-tsong* *Ching-tsong* ; who hearing that the *Lyau* had besieged a city in the province of *Pe-che-li*, he came on them so suddenly with his army, that in a terror they made a shameful flight. He was advised to take advantage of their consternation, and recover the country which had been yielded to them : but instead of pursuing his victory, as if he had been defeated himself, he bought peace, by submitting to pay yearly 100,000 tael (H) and 200,000 pieces of silk. The youth and pacific disposition of *Jin-tsong* his successor revived the courage of the *Lyau* ; who, in the 11th year of his reign, and 11th of the 63d cycle, would have renewed the war, if the emperor had not bought a peace, on as shameful terms as his father had agreed to. The *Lyau*, more encouraged than satisfied by these pusillanimous proceedings, two years after *Hyen-tsong*, seventh king of *Lyau-tong*, sent ambassadors to demand the restitution of ten cities in the province of *Pe-che-li*, which had been taken by *Ko-ghey*, founder of the 18th dynasty. *Jin-tsong*, who loved peace, in order to procure it, engaged to pay the *Tatar* prince yearly, 200,000 taels in silver, and 300,000 pieces of silk, in lieu of those cities : and what was most shameful of all, made use of the character *Na* in the treaty, which signifies a pension by way of tribute. ^{beats them, A. D. 999. A. D. 1035. Yet becomes tributary.}

f *SHIN-TSONG*, the sixth emperor of the *Song*, who ascended the throne in the 45th year of the same cycle, had a strong desire to deliver the northern provinces from the yoke of the enemy, but was diverted by the counsel given him by his mother at her death, to sacrifice every thing to preserve peace. Neither do we find any steps taken to drive them out, by his successor *Che-tsong*. But *Whey-tsong*, eighth emperor of the *Song*, impatient to suffer their ravages any longer, and not being able to prevent them himself, resolved on a remedy, which at length proved worse than the disease. This was to call in the *Nu-che* or *Nyu-che*, to destroy the kingdom of the *Lyau*. From this he was dissuaded by the king of *Korea*, and most of his ministers ; but, contrary to these prudent remonstrances, in the 16th of his reign, and 34th of the 64th cycle, he entered into a league with those *Eastern Tatars* ; and having joined their forces, several battles were fought, in which the army of *Lyau-tong* was always defeated, and reduced at last to such extremity, that they who remained were obliged to quit their country, and fly for safety to the mountains of the west. Thus ended the kingdom or empire of the *Lyau*, which had stood in *Lyau-tong* 209 years^d (1). However, their monarchy was in some ^{Lyau empire destroyed, A. D. 1069. A. D. 1117. by the Kin Tatars.}

^c COUPLET, p. 66. DU HALDE, p. 204, & seq. p. 28, & seq.

^d COUPLET, ubi sup. p. 68, & seq. DU HALDE,

(H) A tael, called by the *Chinese* *Lyang*, is a piece of silver, the value of six shillings and eight pence.

(1) Thus *Couplet*, and after him *Du Halde*, computes. By the years of the beginning and end of their mo-

narch, there are but 201 for its duration. Perhaps they reckon from the time those people began to molest *China*, seven or eight years before.

fort restored 24 years after, by *Jenghiz Khân*; who, in 1211, made *Lyew-ko*, a *Kitan* prince, on revolting to him from the *Kin*, king of that country; and on his death, in 1225, *Pi-tü*, one of his sons, was appointed to succeed him, as more at large appears in the history of the *Mungls*.

Empire of the
Western
Lyan,

MEAN time *Ye-lü Tache* (K), prince of the *Lyan*, finding his house destroyed by the *Nu-che*, or *Kin*, departed from *Tay-tong-fü*, a city of *Shan si*, with a few followers; and retired to the *Pe-tata* (or *White Tata*), who encamped to the south-east of mount *Altay*. From thence he removed to the neighbourhood of the city *Ho-cheu* (ten miles to the east of *Turfán*, in *Little Bukharia*), still called *Pe-ting-tü-bü-fü*. There, by means of 18 hords, he was supplied with 10,000 choice men, and prepared all sorts of arms. *Pe-li-ko*, king of the *Whey-bü* (who dwelt about *Turfán*), let him pass through his territories. *Ta-che*, having vanquished all who opposed him, arrived with an inestimable booty at *Sun-se-kan* (which our author takes to be *Kojend*, on the river *Sir*, in *Great Bukharia*); the *Whey-bü* princes, who dwelt in those parts, advancing to give him battle, were intirely defeated. He stayed at that city 90 days, and marching westward, went to *Kirman* (K); where his generals proclaimed him emperor. Then returning eastward, after 20 days march, he fixed his seat at *Hu-se-wa-cul-tu* (M). Thus was the dominion of the *Western Lyan* (or *Kitan*) founded in the year 1124, by *Ye-lü Tache*; the reigns of whose successors are inserted in the *Chinese* history, till it was destroyed in the year 1212, by *Kuchluk*, prince of the *Naymins*^c, after it had continued 88 years.

A. D. 1121.

or Kára-ki-
tayan.

WE find, in this narrative of the second empire of the *Lyan* or *Kitan*, two reasons to account for the *Persian*, and other historians of the west of *Asia*, calling these people *Kára-kitayans*, and their country *Kára-kitay*; although we cannot fix its situation with any certainty from the extracts hitherto given from them. For it has been already observed, that all the country west of *Lyan-tong*, as far as *Káshgar*, had been conquered by the *Kitan*; and that part of the *Kitan* empire called *Kitay*, which belonged to *Tartary*, had the name of *Kára-kitay* given to it; probably by the *Moguls*, *Turks*, and other inhabitants of *Tartary*, from whom the southern nations received it.

Kára-kitay
Kür Khân.

THE historians among the *Mohammedans*, *Tatars*, and *Persians*, mention two kings of *Kára-kitay*, under the title of *Kür Khân*, or *Gürkan*. With regard to the first of these, we are told by *Mirkond*, that the *Khân* of *Balásagún* (N), which the *Moguls* call *Khám-bálig*, that is, *the good town*, of the posterity of *Afrasiab*, to defend himself against the *Turkish* tribes of *Karluk*, *Kipjáq*, and *Kánkli*, submitted both himself and his city to *Gürkhân*, king of the *Kára-kitayans* (O); who changing his name from *Illuk Khân*, gave him that of *Illuk Turkmán*. After this, in the year 536 of the *Hejrab*, he conquered *Káshgar*, *Khoten*, *Bishbálig*, *Turkestan*, and *Mawaral'nábr* (or *Great Bukharia*). Upon his death he was succeeded by *Kujang*, who also assumed the title of *Gurkhân*, and reigned 81 years. The successor of *Kujang* was *Kuchluk Khân*, who subdued *Káshgar* and *Khoten*^d.

A. D. 1111.

Quits his
country.

ABU'LGHAZI KHAN speaks of only one king of *Kára-kitay*, but seems to have joined the two first together. He tells you, that the inhabitants of *Kára-kitay* having revolted against the emperor of *Kitay*, a great part of them left their country, and retired towards the *Kerghis*; but these latter having pillaged instead of welcomed them, they went and dwelt in the country of *Atil*, and built a town there. They applied themselves to cultivating the lands; and as they throve by their industry, many neighbouring people went and joined them: so that at length they were able to make up 40,000 families. About the same time the *Khân* of *Júrjút* (P), declared war against the inhabitants of *Kára-kitay*; and having defeated them, made himself master of the country. This obliged the prince of *Kára-kitay*, called *Nusi Taygbir Ili* (Q), a prince of great merit, to retire among the *Kerghis*, and from thence to a town of *Kitay*, called *Imil*. This happened about the year 573.

A. D. 1177.

Abu'Ilík
Khân.

Two years after (in 1179), when the place of his retreat was known; one *Ilík Khân*, of the posterity of *Afrasiab Khân*, who resided in the town of *Yalasgun* (*Balásagún*) or *Khám-bálig*, finding himself hard pressed by the *Kánkli*, who dwelt in his neighbourhood, and had

^c GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 34. 127.

^d MIRKOND. ap. Horn. arca Noæ, p. 287.

(K) *Ye-lü* is the family name of the kings or emperors of *Lyan-tong*.

(L) Not *Kirman* in *Persia*, it is presumed; but rather *Karmina*, near the city of *Bokhára*, in *Great Bukharia*, or some other place to the north of the *Sir*, now destroyed.

(M) This is the *Chinese* word for *Ortú*, i. e. *the palace of the king*; a city in the east of *Little Bukharia*, towards *Hámi* or *Khamil*.

(N) A city in about 46 degrees of latitude, and four east of *Samar kand*; one hundred and fifty miles north-east of *Tenkát* on the river *Sir*, in the east borders of

the present *Turkestan*, of which it was then the capital; but is now probably in ruins. See the description of *Turkestan*, p. 148.

(O) He is commonly called *Kára-kitay Gurkhân*, or *Kurkhân*, by the *Persian* historians.

(P) This possibly was one of the *Sifán* princes, mentioned hereafter; who reigned in the country of *Kokonor*, and part of *Shen-si* in *China*.

(Q) *Ili*, perhaps, stands for *Yeliu*, which, as we observed in a former note, is the family name of the *Kitan* princes.

a destroyed all his cultivated lands, sent to *Nusi Tayghir Ili* to desire his assistance, offering, on that condition, to resign his city to him. The offer having been accepted of, *Nusi Tayghir Ili* went, and taking the government into his hands, changed the name of *Ilik Khân* into that of *Ilik Turkân*; and assumed himself the title of *Kavar* (or *Kâr*) *Khân*, that is, *Great Lord*. *Grosvonts*. After this he conquered the cities of *Andijân*, *Tashkent*, and *Turkejân*; but raised the siege ~~before~~ before *Samarkant*, because the inhabitants obliged themselves to pay him an annual tribute. Some time after he returned to his own dominions, he sent *Avîs*, one of his generals, towards *Urgens*, the capital of *Karazm*, with a numerous army; which having plundered all the adjacent country, *Vighîsh Khân* (R) was obliged to submit to a yearly tribute of 20,000 gold dinârs. This he accordingly punctually paid to *Kavar Khân*; but his son *Mohammed* coming
b to succeed him (S), refused any longer to perform the agreement. This caused a war between these two potentates; and although *Soltân Mohammed*, whose dominions extended as far as the country of *Râm* (or the *Greeks*), had gathered all his forces; yet he was defeated by *Kavar Khân*, and constrained to fly for shelter to the *Kankli*, till he had found means to make a new agreement with his enemy ^e.

SOME time after this (T), *Kuchluk*, prince of the *Naymâns*, having, after several defeats, *Pravits* been closely pursued by *Jenghîz Khân* (prince of the *Moguls* or *Mungls*, who had already *Kuchluk* subdued most of the tribes in the east parts of *Tartary*), fled to *Turkestân*, where he was received with great marks of distinction and affection by *Kavar Khân*; who pitying the misfortunes of this young prince, gave him his daughter in marriage, and looked on him as
c his own son. Those who knew *Kuchluk* did not approve of this match, for he had neither good-nature nor gratitude; and notwithstanding his obligations to his father-in-law, daily excited commotions among his subjects, and even held intelligence with *Soltân Mohammed Karazm Shâh*, his greatest enemy. At last in 611, under some pretence of discontent, he A. D. 1214; retired from court with such as he had seduced to his party; and being joined by the eastern tribes, who had refused to acknowledge *Jenghîz Khân* for their sovereign, he suddenly attacked *Kavar Khân* (or *Kurkhân*), and deprived him of the better half of his dominions eastward; whilst *Soltân Mohammed* invaded his dominions on the west ^h.

KAVAR KHAN, detesting the ingratitude of *Kuchluk*, resolved first to be revenged on him; ^{who plots} and though he was far advanced in years, put himself at the head of a considerable army. Then ^{against him.} marching against him, had vigour enough to conquer him in the country of *Quakaj*. After ^{A. D. 1115.} this he turned his arms against *Soltân Mohammed*, who had already seized on all the provinces of *Turkestân* bordering on *Great Bukhâria* and *Karazm*; but had not the same success as against *Kuchluk*, for he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. The weakness attending that prince's great age, gave opportunity to several lords of his kingdom to form plots against him; so that his dominions fell into strange disorders, of which he could not expect to see the end. To ^{And imprison} complete his misfortunes, his ungrateful son-in-law returning to give him a second battle, gained ^{him.} the victory, and took him prisoner. It is true he treated him in appearance with respect, but took possession of all his kingdom and treasures; which injurious requital for his many favours, so affected the aged *Kurkhân*, that within two years after he died with grief. Thus termi-
e nated the life of this great prince, who in his prosperity had assumed the title of emperor ^{His death.}; and in him ended the dominion of the *Western Lyau*, or *Kâra-kitayans*, which this prince had extended over one half of *Great Tartary*, from mount *Altay* (which then bounded the conquest of *Jenghîz Khân*), to the *Caspian* sea, containing the space of 40 degrees in longitude.

THE reader must rest content with this imperfect account of the *Western Lyau* and their empire; till the detail of their history comes transmitted to us from *China*, if ever that shall happen. We shall only farther observe, that these princes, according to the *Persian* writers, reigned at *Kâshgar*, before their conquest of *Turkestân*: for they frequently speak of the *Kâra-kitay Khâns* residing there, and marching from thence in their expeditions westward.

^e ABU'LGHAZI KHAN, hist. Turks; p. 44. p. 93, 114.

^h Ibid. ubi supr. p. 114, & seq.

^h ABU'LGH. p. 85, 93. DE LA CROIX, hist. Gengh.

(R) The same with *Takash*, or *Alao'ddin Takash*, sixth Soltân of *Karazm*, who had the title of *Karazm Shâh*. He began his reign about *Hejrah* 589, A. D. 1193.

(S) *Kothbo'ddin Mohammed*, succeeded his father *Takash*, in *Hejrah* 599, A. D. 1196.

(T) *Abu'lghazi Khân* places this event in *Hejrah* 602, A. D. 1205. *De la Croix* in 604, or 605; that is, A. D. 1207, or 1208.

C H A P. III.

The empire of the kingdom of Nyu-che, or Kin.

The Kin
prince.

A. D. 1117.

Invasion of the
empire.

Reduce Ho-
nan.

Seize the em-
peror.

The Song
retire.

A. D. 1128.

Hi-tsong.

THE empire of the *Eastern Lyau*, or *Kitan*, having been destroyed by the powerful assistance of the *Nyu-che Tatars* (A), as hath been before set forth, their prince grew (B) so elated with this conquest, that he assumed the title of emperor, and gave the name of *Kin* (C) to his new dominion. Soon after, extending his views of aggrandizing himself, he broke his treaties with the emperor of the *Song*, who reigned in *China*; and invading the provinces of *Pe-che-li* and *Shen-si*, made himself master of them, more by treachery of some malecontents, than by force of arms. *Whey-tsong*, in danger of losing the greater part of his dominions, made several advantageous proposals to the *Tatar*; who seeming to hearken to them, invited the *Chinese* monarch to come in person and settle the limits of the two empires. This *Whey-tsong* complied with, and new articles of peace were agreed on between them: but on that prince's return to his capital city, his ministers made him change his mind, telling him the treaty could not subsist, and that the most cruel war was preferable to so shameful a peace. The *Kin* monarch, who was informed of all which passed, had immediately recourse to arms; and, taking several cities, entered the province of *Shan-si* in triumph; where he once more invited the *Song* emperor to come and settle their limits. This unhappy prince, who dreaded nothing so much as war, was weak enough, after this new breach, to go a second time to his enemy; who on his arrival seized his person, and having stripped him of all the marks of his dignity, kept him prisoner. A faithful minister, named *Li-so-shin*, who accompanied the emperor, enraged at this perfidy, in the height of his fury, cut off his own lips and tongue, and then killed himself.

WHEY-TSONG died in the desert of *Sha-mo* (D), where he was confined under a strong guard, in the 42d year of the 64th cycle, and 54th of his age; having first nominated *Kin-tsong*, his eldest son, to succeed him. This prince began his reign by executing the orders of his father, in putting to death six of his ministers, who had basely betrayed him to the *Kin Tatars*. Mean time these latter pursued their conquests, and invaded the province of *Ho-nan*, passing the *Whang-ho*, or *yellow river*, without opposition. This made them wonder at the negligence of the *Chinese*, who with a handful of men might have prevented it. The army, being gotten over, marched directly to the imperial city, which they took and plundered: then seizing the emperor (E) and his consort, carried them away prisoners: but the principal lords, and several of the ministers, preferring death before so ignominious a bondage, slew themselves. The *Kin* being informed by the empress *Meng*, that she had been divorced, and had no hand in the management of affairs, they left her behind: which was the means of preserving the empire. For by her wisdom and conduct she got the crown placed on the head of *Kau-tsong*, ninth son of *Whey-tsong* by his divorced empress, in the 44th year of the cycle.

KAU-TSONG fixed his court at *Nan-king*, capital of *Kyang-nan*; but soon after was obliged to remove it to *Hang-chew* (F) in *Che-kyang*. Although of a peaceful disposition, yet he gained some victories over both the *Kin* and his own rebellious subjects; who took advantage of the present troubles to plunder the provinces. *Kong-ye*, who commanded his forces, had several times repulsed the *Kin*, but could recover none of the conquered countries.

HI-TSONG (G), the *Kin* monarch, to gain the love of his new subjects, shewed his esteem for learning and learned men. He likewise visited the hall of *Kong-fu-tse*, or *Konfusius*; and, in imitation of the *Chinese*, paid him regal honours; saying to his courtiers, who thought

(A) Or *Nu-che* and *Nyu-chin*. They are likewise commonly called *Eastern Tatars*, although the *Lyau* had as much right to be so called as they.

(B) *Gaubil* informs us that his name was *Ogota* or *Aguta*; and says, the first year of his empire was that of Christ, 1115. *Hist. de Gentib.* p. 87. note (1).

(C) *Kin* signifies gold; whence the *Moguls*, translating the word into their own language, gave the emperor of this dynasty the name of *Altun Khân*; that is, *the king of gold*, or *the golden king*.

(D) A vast desert, which extends from south-west to north-east, through that part of *Tartary* which lies to the north of *China*. It is called by the *Mungls* the *Great Kobi* or *desert*. It is described in the next chapter.

(E) He died in *Tartary*, 30 years after.

(F) This is the famous city called by *Marco Polo*, *Quinsay*, capital of *Manji*; which name he gives to *Southern China*, or the empire of the *Song*.

(G) The names of the kings mentioned by *Couplet*, are not those used by their subjects, but *Chinese*; as appears from what we find in that respect relating to the last emperors of the *Kin*. All the *Chinese* names of those monarchs seem to have ended in *Tsong*, as did those of the contemporary *Chinese* emperors of the *Song* race. But for what reason the historians give them the same termination, we know not.

a a person of his mean parentage did not deserve so much homage, *If he does not merit these honours by his birth, he merits them for the excellent doctrine which he hath taught.* After this *Takes Nan-* he marched with his forces to *Nan-king*, from whence the emperor had retired, and took it : *king.* but receiving intelligence that *Yo-si*, general of the *Song*, was advancing by long marches to relieve that city, they set fire to the palace, and retreated northward. However *Yo-si* arrived time enough to fall upon their rear-guard, which suffered very much ; and from that time the *Kin* never dared to cross the ^a *Kyang* (H).

A FEW years after the emperor made peace with the *Kin* monarch on very dishonourable conditions : for in signing the treaty he submitted to use the word *Chin*, that is, *subject*, and *Kong*, which signifies *tributary*. The *Tatar*, in consideration of these submissive terms, *The Song tri-* engaged to send the emperor the bodies of eight of his relations, who had died within so many *butary.* years ; whose arrival he solemnized with a general pardon. In the 35th of his reign, and 18th of the 65th cycle ; the *Tatar* king broke the peace, and invading the southern province with a formidable army, took *Yang-chew* (I). Afterwards approaching the *Kyang*, A. D. 1163. which is not far from that city, he commanded his troops to pass over near the mouth of the river, where it is most wide as well as rapid, threatening with his drawn sword to kill those who refused. Hereupon the whole army mutinied ; and the king being killed in the beginning of the tumult, they immediately retired towards the north, where several disturbances and insurrections began to appear.

NEXT year *Kau-tsung* resigned the crown to his adopted son, *Hyau-tsung* ; but lived 25 *Next inwa-* years longer, and died without children, at the age of eighty-four. *Hyau-tsung* enjoyed a *sions.* peaceful reign, and so did his successor *Quang-tsung* ; because the *Kin Tatar*, *She-tsung*, very different from his predecessor, was of a mild and pacific temper. But in the reign of *Ning-tsung*, 13th emperor of the *Tsong*, the *Kin* again violating the peace, invaded the *Chinese* territories afresh.

MEAN time *Jenghîz Khân*, chief of the *Western Tatars*, or *Mungls*, who had begun to lay *Jenghîz* the foundation of his empire, having in the year 1204 attacked the kingdom of *Hya* (which *Khân offended* sprung up in the west parts of *Kitay*, during the dynasty of the *Lyau*), and obliged the king A. D. 1204. to pay him tribute, resolved to turn his arms against the *Kin*, in order to revenge the injuries which the *Moguls*, or *Mungls*, had received from them. Among the rest, *Yong-tsi*, a prince d of the blood, having been sent by *Tay-ho*, emperor of the *Kin*, to recover the tribute from the *Moguls*, he seemed to make no account of *Temujin* (afterwards called *Jenghîz Khân*), and proposed having him seized. *Yong-tsi* coming to the crown, on the death of the emperor *with Yong-tsi.* *Wang-Yen-king*, he next year sent to demand the tribute of *Temujin*, who refused to pay it ; and immediately raising a formidable army, in 1210, ordered a body of troops to march towards the frontiers of *Shan-si* and *Pe-che-li* ^b. At the same time, the king of *Hya*, disgusted with the *Kin* emperor, for having refused to assist him with troops, when attacked by *Jenghîz Khân*, invaded his dominions on the west side ^c.

YONG-TSI, finding himself threatened by two formidable enemies at once, raised forces in *Forces the* order to defend himself. But on the news he received in 1211, that *Jenghîz Khân* was *great wall.* marching southward with his whole army, he was seized with fear, and sent to make proposals of peace, which were rejected. After this the *Mungls* forced the *Great Wall* to the north of *Shan-si*, and made incursions as far as *Yen-king* (now *Pe-king*) the capital of the *Kin* empire ^d. At the same time great part of *Lyau-tong*, the bulwark of the *Kin* empire, was reduced by several *Kitân* lords, who had revolted to *Jenghîz Khân*. This prince, in 1212, took several strong places, and defeated an army of 300,000 *Kin*, with inferior forces ; but being wounded at the siege of *Tay-tong-fû* in *Shan-si*, returned to *Tartary* ; yet the next year re-entered *Kitay*, and gained two great battles ^e.

THE same year *Yong-tsi* was slain by his general *Huja-kû* ; and *Sun*, a prince of the *Yong-tsi slain.* blood, advanced in his room. After which, the *Mungls* attacking the *Kin* with four different A. D. 1213. armies at once, laid waste *Shan-si*, *Ho-nan*, *Pe-che-li*, and *Shan-tong*. In 1214 *Jenghîz Khân* sat down before *Yen-king*, the capital of the *Kin* empire ; but instead of assaulting the city where the emperor then was, offered him peace on certain conditions, which were accepted ; and he withdrew into *Tartary*. After the *Mungls* were returned, the emperor *Sun*, leaving his son at *Yen-king*, removed his court to *Pyen-lyang* (called *Nan-king*, or the *South Court*) near *Kay-fong-fû*, the present capital of *Hô-nan*. *Jenghîz Khân*, offended hereat, immediately sent troops to besiege *Yen-king*. At the same time the emperor of the *Song* refused to pay the *Kin*

^a COUPLET, tabl. chron. Sinic. p. 72. DU HALDE'S China, vol. i. p. 211.

^b GAUBIL'S hist. Gentch.

p. 12, & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 20.

^d Ibid. p. 15.

^e Ibid. p. 18. 74.

(H) The greatest river in *China*, through the middle of which it runs from west to east. *Kyang* signifies *the river* ; by way of eminence. It is also called *Yang-tse Kiang*, which signifies *the river which is the son of the Jia* ; in allusion to its extraordinary largeness.

(I) *Yang-chew-fû*, one of the capital cities of the province of *Kyang-nan*, situate to the north of the *Kyang*, on the royal canal.

tribute. The capital held out till the 5th month of the year 1215, and then surrendered. ^a
This year also the *Mungls* finished the conquest of *Lyaa-tong*; and the king of *Hya* continued the war against the *Kin*.

Yen-king
surrenders.

The Kin
defeated.

IN 1216 *Jenghiz Khân* returned into *Tatary* to pursue his conquests in the west of *Asia*, where he continued above seven years. Mean time his chief general *Mubuli* (H), whom he had left to take care of his acquisitions in *Kitay*, made great advances there, both against the *Kin* and the king of *Hya*. He was assisted in his progress against the former by the motions of *Ning-tsang*, emperor of the *Song*, or southern *China*; who, incensed by their frequent perfidies, had already declared war against the *Kin*. Nor would they hearken to peace on any terms, though very advantageous proposals had been made him; publishing an edict, wherein he earnestly requested his subjects to use their utmost endeavours to drive the *Tatars* of *Nyu-che* out of the empire. When the *Kin* monarch was informed of *Ning-tsang's* inflexible temper, he is reported to have said, by way of reply to him, *To-day the western* ^b
Tatars will destroy my empire; to-morrow they will conquer yours ^h.

Make great
efforts.

FOR all this, the *Kin* exerting themselves, in 1220 raised two great armies, one in *Shen-si*, where they baffled the attempts both of the *Song* and the *Hya*, who were united against them. In *Shang-tong* they set on foot an army of 200,000 men; but they were intirely defeated by *Mubuli*. In 1221 that great officer marched westward, and passing the *Whang-ho*, struck terror through the dominions of *Hya*, which he entered; but bent his arms solely against the *Kin*, from whom, that year and the next, he subdued great part of *Shen-si*; then returning into *Shen-si*, died there, after he had mastered several cities.

The Hya
ruined.

A. D. 1224.

IN 1224, the *Kin* emperor dying in the 9th month, his son *Shew* (I) succeeded him, and made peace with the king of *Hya*, promising to send his son for a hostage. Next year *Jenghiz Khân* arriving in his own dominions, from his expedition in the west, marched to chastise the king of *Hya*, who had given shelter to two of his keenest enemies; and over-ran the greater part of his dominions, to such a degree that the king died for grief, in the 7th month of the year 1226. He was succeeded by *Li-byen*, who being reduced to the last extremity in his capital *Ning-hya*, surrendered at discretion in the 6th month of 1227. And thus a period was put to the kingdom or empire of *Hya* (K). ^c

Progress in
Shen-si.

IN 1226, while *Jenghiz Khân* was subduing the kingdom of *Hya*, his son *Oktay* marched into *Ho-nân*, and besieged *Kay-fong-fû*, capital of the *Kin* empire; but was obliged to withdraw into *Shen-si*, where that prince took several cities. Mean time the *Kin*, fearing his return into *Ho-nân*, made new overtures of peace: but they were rejected by *Jenghiz Khân*, who having forces to besiege *Ning-hya*, sent another body to conquer the country of *Koko-nor*. This having done, they reduced *Ho-chew* and *Si-ning* in *Shen-si*, cut in pieces an army of 30,000 men, and then went to besiege *Lin-tau-fû*, a city belonging to the *Kin*, 14 or 15 leagues to the south-east of *Ho-chew* ⁱ.

JENGHIZ KHAN, who had gone to pass the summer heats at the mountain *Lu-pan*, or *Lyew-pan*, fell sick and died there, in *August*; after having named his son *Oktay* for his successor, and given him instructions for the more speedy reduction of the *Kin* dominions.

Peace rejected.

A. D. 1228.

MEAN time the war went on vigorously between the two nations, with various success. In 1228, the *Kin* commanded by a prince of the blood, defeated the *Mungls* in battle, and slew 8000 men. Next year the *Kin* emperor, under pretence of complimenting the new *Khân* upon his advancement, made proposals of peace by his ambassadors: but *Oktay* refusing to enter into any negotiations on that subject, pushed the war in *Shen-si*, where several cities were taken; and at length, in 1230, the capital *Si-gan-fû*, then called *Kin-tau*. Presently after *Oktay*, and his brother *Toley*, or *Tuli*, at the head of a formidable army, entered *Shen-si*, resolving to make short work of it: but although above 60 important posts were taken, they could not force *Tong-quan*, which they had so often attempted, in order to penetrate effectually into *Ho-nân*. Hereupon the army separating, the emperor marched with one part into *Shan-si*, the other part remained in *Shen-si*, with *Toley*; who besieged *Fong-tsyang-fû*; ^e
and after defeating the *Kin* army, which came from *Tong-quan* to relieve the place, took it in ^f

A. D. 1231.

April 1231 ^k.

Ho-nan entered.

HERE one of the *Kin* officers told the prince, that he lost time, as well as his troops, in attacking the *Kin* by the way of *Tong-quan*, and the *Whang-ho*; but assured him he might enter *Ho-nan* in less than a month by the country of *Han-chong-fû*. This advice being approved on, in *January* 1235, *Toley* marched towards that city: but being denied passage

^f GAUBIL's hist. Gentch. p. 21, & seq. H. LDE, p. 203.

^g Ibid. p. 32.

^h Ibid. p. 43. COUPL. p. 74. DU

ⁱ GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 48, & seq.

^k Ibid. p. 54, & seq.

(H) *Mukbuli*, or *Makli*.

(I) Or rather *Shew-su*, as it is written afterwards. This was his true name; but the *Chineses* called him *Gai-ti*, or as others spell it, *Ngai-ti*; as we find by *Couplet*, and are told by *Gaubil*, p. 87.

(K) A more particular account of the ruin of this monarchy will be given hereafter, in the history of the *Sifan*, or *Tu-fan*.

- a by the governor for the *Song* emperor, to whom it belonged, he took it by assault with great slaughter; while the *Chineses* flying on all sides to the mountains, more than 100,000 perished there. At length *Toley*, after surmounting infinite difficulties, entered *Ho-nán*, to the great consternation of the *Kin*, who did not expect an attack from them on that side. However, two generals, were sent with a great army to stop their progress: *Toley* feigning a flight, the *Kin* pursued. Mean time a detachment of *Mungls* seized the heavy baggage of the *Kin*, which obliged the generals to retire to *Tong-chew*; from whence, concealing their loss, they sent the emperor word that they had gained the battle. But a few days after, while the inhabitants of *Kay-fong-fú* were still rejoicing for the supposed victory, the van-guard of the *Mungl* troops, sent by *Oktay Khán*, appeared in the plain; and in *January* 1232, the *Khán* himself b passing the *W'hang-bo* from *Shan-si*, went and encamped in the district of *Kay-fong-fú*, then called *Pyen-king*, which he sent his general *Súpútay* to besiege. This city, which was then *Pyen-king* *le*. 120 *Li* (L) in circumference, having had only 40,000 soldiers to defend it, a recruit of 40,000 *si*ged. more from the neighbouring cities, and 20,000 peasants, were ordered into it; while the *Kin* emperor published a discourse on the occasion, which made every body weep, and at the same animated them to defend the place to death ^k.

- OKTAY* having heard with joy of *Toley's* entrance into *Ho-nán*, by the way of *Shen-si*, *The succours* ordered him to send succours to *Súpútay*. On the other hand, the two *Kin* generals advanced *defeated*. with 150,000 men to support that great city: but dividing their troops near *Kun-chew*, to avoid in part the great road which the *Mungls* had embarrassed with trees, *Toley* attacked c them with his forces; and after some small resistance, the *Kin*, weakened by want of provisions, were intirely routed, with the loss of both their generals, one killed, the other taken. In *February* the army at *Tong-quan*, and other fortified places, marched, by order of the *Kin* emperor, to assist *Kay-fong-fú*, to the number of 110,000 foot, and 15,000 horse; followed by infinite numbers of people for protection. But many of these troops having deserted to *Great* the enemy, and the rest being ineebled by the fatigues of the march, in roads made impass- *slaughter*. fable by the thaws of nightly frosts, they dispersed on the approach of their pursuers; who killed all whom they found in the highways, with the two generals. After this they took *Tong-quan*, and other considerable posts; but were obliged to raise the sieges of *Quey-te-fú* and *Lo-yang*, by the bravery of the governors, especially him of this last place, named d *Kyang-shin*, who so fatigued the *Mungls* by his activity, and the engines he invented for shooting stones and arrows, that after three months siege he obliged them to raise it; although he had but 400 brave fellows among his soldiers, against 30,000 of the enemy ^l.

- OKTAY KHAN* having resolved to return into *Tartary*, sent to offer the *Kin* emperor peace, *Peace con-* on condition that he became tributary, and delivered up to him 27 families, whose names he *cluded*. mentioned. These overtures were very acceptable to the emperor. But *Súpútay* taking no notice of the treaty, pressed the siege of *Pyen-king* more vigorously than ever; and by the help of the *Chinese* slaves in his army, soon filled the city-ditch with fascines, trees, and other materials. This threw the inhabitants into a great consternation, and induced the emperor *Shew* to send the prince, his heir, in hostage. Mean time *Súpútay* redoubled his attempts to e take the city, and the *Kin* seemed to assume new vigour. The *Moguls* at that time made use of artillery (M), but the bullets could make no impression on the walls, which were as impenetrable as iron. The *Mungls* likewise raised walls round those which they besieged, 150 *Li* in circuit, fortified with ditches, towers, and battlements. They proceeded also to sap the walls: but were mightily obstructed by the artillery of the besieged, and especially their bombs filled with powder; which sinking into their galleries, and bursting under ground, made great havock among the miners.

- For 16 days and 16 nights the attacks continued without ceasing; in which an incredible *Prodigious* number of men were destroyed on both sides: but at length *Súpútay* finding that he could *mortality*. not take the city, withdrew under pretence of the conferences being on foot. Soon after the f plague began in *Kay-fong-fú*, where, in 50 days, 900,000 biers were carried out, besides infinite poor, who could not afford any. When the contagion was over, the emperor *Shew-su* bestowed large rewards on the officers who had defended the city, retrenched the expence of his table considerably, reduced the number of his women, and striking out of his titles that of *holy*, *wise*, or *perfect*, ordered *superior* to be used instead of it ^m.

PEACE thus restored might have continued, but two unlucky accidents re-commenced the *War renewed*. war, which put an end to the dominion of the *Kin*. *Gan-yong*, a *Mungl* lord, having

^k GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 59, & seq. p. 69, & seq.

^l Ibid. ubi sup. p. 64, & seq.

^m Ibid. ubi sup.

(L) These are *Li*, or furlongs, of which 250 go to a degree of latitude; and not those whereof 10 make a league. *Gaubil*

(M) Fire-pau engines, which shot not only fire, but stone bullets, by means of powder, which the *Chineses* have had the use of above 1500 years. *Gaubil*.

assumed the government of some cities taken by him from the *Kin*, in *Kyang-nan*, and killed the officer sent with troops by one of the *Mungl* generals to take possession of them, declared for the *Kin*. The emperor *Shew-su*, deceived by false hopes, took *Gan-yong* into his service, and gave him the title of prince. Hereupon *Oktay Khán* sent an envoy, attended by 30 other persons, to enquire into that affair. But the *Kin* officers slew them all, without being punished by the emperor. *Súpútay* having informed *Oktay* of these proceedings, the *Khán* ordered him to continue the war in *Ho-nán*. The *Kin* emperor, on his part, commanded his officers to unite their troops, and form an army to defend the capital: but the *Mungls* attacking them before they could join, defeated them one after the other. This obliged him to raise soldiers from among the peasants and common people, for whose subsistence the inhabitants were taxed three-tenths of the rice they were possessed of; which order was executed with great rigour.

Pyen-king
besieged.

A. D. 1233.

MEAN time provisions became extremely scarce in the city. Towards the end of the year the *Mungls* made a treaty with the *Song* emperor, who engaged to join his forces to theirs; on condition to have the province of *Ho-nán* delivered to him, as soon as the dynasty of the *Kin* should be destroyed. In the beginning of the year 1233, *Súpútay* preparing to besiege *Pyen-king* (or *Kay-fong-fú*) which was but in a bad posture of defence, the emperor resolved to take the field; and passing the *Wbang-bo*, sent part of his army to besiege *Wey-chew* (now *Wey-wbey*), south-west of *Kay-fong-fú*; but being attacked by the *Mungls*, it was cut to pieces. At the same time *Súpútay* sat down the second time before the capital city, where the empresses and princes remained. The emperor, on hearing these bad tidings, repassed the *Yellow River*, and retired to *Quey-te-fú*.

Surrendered by
a traitor.

Tsuli, general of the troops which defended the western wall of *Pyen-king*, under pretence of saving the people, assumed the management of affairs himself; and having played the tyrant for a while, went in great pomp, and delivered up the city to the *Mungl* general, before he had formed the siege of it, with all the princes and princesses of the blood, the treasures and jewels. *Súpútay* put to death all those who were of the imperial race: but the inhabitants, amounting to 1,400,000 families, were saved by the *Khán*'s order. He sent the empress-mother, empress-regent, the queens, and their attendants, to *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorum*), where *Oktay* kept his court.

WHILE *Tsu-li* was acting in this manner at *Pyen-king*, *Pu-cha-quen*, another general, behaved with no less insolence at *Quey-te-fú*. He put to death several great men at pleasure, and even confined the emperor to his chamber: but coming to confer with his majesty soon after, he was slain by three faithful officers, who had offered their service for that purpose.

Ju-ning-fú
besieged.

AFTER this the emperor *Shew-su*, leaving troops at *Quey-te-fú*, removed to *Ju-ning-fú* (N), with only 400 persons to accompany him; the inhabitants every-where lamenting his miserable state, and he deporting himself with great humility. The presence of the emperor brought crowds of people to the city; and the distance of the *Mungls* made him think of living at ease: but while he talked of building a palace, and taking a wife, the united armies of the *Chineses* and *Mungls* came in *October*, and invested *Ju-ning-fú*. The garrison, terrified at the works which were raised to inclose the city, would have surrendered it; but the emperor, seconded by his brave general *Hu-fye-bú*, encouraged them to hold out to the last. In *November*, for want of men, the women, dressed in the male habit, were employed to carry wood, stones, and other necessary materials, to the walls.

Kin emperor's
bravery.

THE chief fortifications of *Ju-ning-fú* consisted of a tower, surrounded with water, and a fort near the river *Jú*, which being taken, the enemy forced the south and west walls; but found within a second wall, defended with *chevaux de frise*, and a ditch, where the illustrious *Hu-fye-bú* fought three days and nights with success. On this occasion the *Kin* emperor said to the lords who were about him, *That the princes under whom empires ended, were commonly brutal, and treated by their conquerors with dignity: but that they should not see the fall of the Kin dynasty dishonoured in him.* Upon this he distributed all his costly effects among them, and put on an ordinary habit. Then inviting his best troops to follow him, sallied out of the eastern gate, and made extraordinary efforts, with a resolution either to die with his arms in his hand, or break through the enemy: but unable to compass either design, he was at length forced back into the city; where, for three months, the besieged had endured extreme famine, and were reduced to feed on human flesh, killing the old and feeble, as well as many prisoners, for that purpose.

The city taken.

A. D. 1234.

THIS being known to the confederate generals, they made a general assault in *January* 1234, on the western side, which they continued from morning till evening, with great loss of men, but without success. The besieged likewise had all their best officers and soldiers

^a GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 72, & seq.

^o Ibid. ubi sup. p. 78, & seq.

(N) A city of *Honan*, in the southern parts of it.

a cut off in the action. Hereupon, that night, the emperor *Shew*, assembling the lords, resigned the throne to *Cheng-lin*, a prince of the blood. Next morning, while the ceremony of investing the new emperor was performing, the *Chinese* and *Mungl* troops mounted the south walls, defended only by 200 men; and the south gate being at the same time abandoned, the whole army broke in. However, the prince *Hû-fye-bû*, with 1000 soldiers, met them in a street, and fought with amazing intrepidity.

MEAN time the emperor *Shew-su*, seeing all irreparably lost, made haste, and lodged the seal of the empire in a house; then causing sheafs of straw to be set round it, ordered his people to set it on fire as soon as they found he was dead. After this order he hanged himself; and his commands were executed by his domestics. *Hû-fye-bû*, who was still fighting like a lion, being informed of the emperor's tragic end, bad adieu to his officers, protesting that he would die likewise: accordingly he ran that instant to the river *Jû*, and drowned himself. The officers who were with the prince, and 500 of the most resolute soldiers, followed, telling him they knew how to die as well as he; and threw themselves also into the same river^p. The emperor's death.

THE new emperor *Chang-lin*, at the head of a few Mandarins, performed the *Chinese* ceremonies for the death of *Shew-su*, and gave orders to bury his ashes by the river side. Mean time the emperor having seized on the palace, the two generals divided between them all that could be found of the royal ornaments, and the emperor's ashes. The same day *Chang-lin* was slain in a tumult: and thus ended the dynasty of the *Kin*, after it had continued 117 years, or, according to *Gaubil*, 119 years (O), under nine emperors^q. His successor slain.

THIS author furnishes us with the names of five of these emperors, besides *Shang-lin*; viz, *Tay-bo*, *Wang-yen-king*, *Yong-tsi*, *Sun*, and *Chew-su*; with the years when the three last began and ended their reigns. If these immediately succeeded one the other, then the sixth king whom he mentions elsewhere, by the name of *Chang-tsong*, must be *Wang-yen-king*, or *Yong-tsi*, supposing *Chang-lin* to be the last. This difficulty would have been avoided, had that author either numbered the five kings he speaks of, or given us both the *Tatar* and *Chinese* names, of which latter kind *Chang-tsong* doubtless is. *Couplet* mentions three of the preceding emperors, *Hi-tsong*, the *Tatar* king, not named by the other; and *She-tsong*: to whom if you add *Aguta*, said by *Gaubil* to be the founder of the *Kin* monarchy, we shall have a complete line of nine emperors. But in all probability *Aguta* is the same with *Hi-tsong*, although *Couplet* does not expressly say he was the first king; the former being his proper name, the latter, that given him by the *Chinese*s. So that the 9th should be looked for between him and the anonymous king, who was slain, in 1163, by his own soldiers; or between *She-tsong* and *Tay-bo*. The Kin emperors.

AGUTA, or *Ogota*, according to *Gaubil*, revolted against the emperor of the *Lyan* in 1114; and having obtained several victories over him, to the north of *Lyau-tong*, at length cleared his way to the throne in 1115; which was the first of his reign. The princes of this house were adopted by the lord of the tribe of *Wan-yen*; and *Wan-yen* was the name of the imperial family of the *Kin*. The tribe of *Wan-yen* was one of the principal among the *Eastern Tatars*, called *Nu-che*, or *Nu-chin*, who encamped to the north of *Korea*, and along the oriental ocean. There were likewise other *Nu-che*, who dwelt to the north of *Lyau-tong*. The empire founded.

THE empire formed by these people, under the name of *Kin*, was very extensive; for, besides those regions above-mentioned, which they inhabited originally, at the time when attacked by *Jenghîz Khân*, they possessed *Lyau-tong*, with the parts to the north and north-east, as well as to the west, bordering on the great wall; as far as to the north-west of *Tay-tong-fû* in *Sban-si*, and north of the country of *Ortûs*. In short, both *Tartaries* (the eastern and western) to the 49th or 50th degree of latitude (P), and 19th or 20th of longitude, west of *Pe-king*, which were then full of petty princes, paid tribute to the emperor of the *Kin*. In *China* they had the provinces of *Sban-tong*, *Pe-che-li*, *Sban-si*, and *Ho-nan*; some cities of *Kyang-nan* to the north of the *Kyang*; the territories of *Kong-chan-fû*, *Lyu-tau*, *Fong-tsyang*, *Si-gan-fû*, *Ping-lyang*, *Kin-yang*, and *Yen-gan* in *Sben-si*^r. Its extent.

ACCORDING to the above-mentioned limits, the *Nyu-che*, or *Kin*, had larger possessions in *China* than the *Kitân* or *Lyau*; who, although we hear of their ravaging the northern provinces, and once entering the southern, yet seem to have had no acquisitions in any of the provinces, excepting *Pe-che-li*. Besides, the emperors of *Hya* were possessed of the greater Compared with the Lyau.

^p GAUBIL. ubi sup. p. 84. & seq. ubi sup. p. 3. 87. 146. SOUCIET, obs. math. &c. p. 186.

^q Ibid. ubi sup. p. 83.

^r Ibid. p. 91, note (3).

^s Ibid.

(O) For he places the commencement of the monarchy in 1115. This, and the other circumstances, our author probably took from the express history of the *Kin*, which, he says, is in great detail both in *Chinese* and the *Manchew* language.

(P) *Gaubil*, p. 87. says, that all the north and north-west of *Lyau-tong*, as far as the rivers *Kerlon*, *Saghalian-ula* (or *Onon*), *Tula*, and *Orghûn*, paid the *Kin* tribute.

part of *Shen-si*, with the countries of *Tartary*, adjoining on the north and west. However, to make amends, their dominions in *Tartary* were much larger than those of the *Kin*; for they stretched 16 degrees farther westward, reaching to *Kâshgar*, which is above 36 degrees west of *Pe-king*. And in this part they retained a considerable footing after their empire in the east had been destroyed: so that the empire of *Kitay* in general, as well as *Kâra-kitay* in particular, was more extensive under the *Lyau* than the *Kin*. But that of the latter exceeded it for grandeur, opulence, and number of people, as having a much greater portion of *China* belonging to it. However that be, both nations improved in manners, as well as power and riches, by their conquests from the *Chineses*.

The *Kin* remains.

THE *Kin-chau* (Q) (after their establishment, we presume, in the northern provinces of *China*) built towns and palaces in their native country, the ruins of which are still to be seen, as *Feneghi-botun*, *Odoli-botun*, and *Putay-ula*, before-mentioned[†].

In like manner, at the beginning they had neither characters, books, nor history. But in 1119 they made characters (R), in imitation of those used by the *Kitan* or *Lyau*, whom they had subdued. Afterwards the *Kin* emperors erected tribunals for astronomy and history, after the example of the *Chineses*[‡].

WHEN their dynasty came to be ruined by the *Mungls*, in confederacy with the *Chineses*, those who escaped the slaughter were obliged to fly into the western parts of their ancient country, now inhabited by the *Solon Tartars*, who say they were originally *Manchews*[§].

Manchews, their descendants.

THE late emperor *Kang-bi* said, that his family was descended from the imperial family of the *Kin* (S). But if one may judge by several words of the *Kin* language, that of the *Manchews* now reigning in *China* is a different tongue; although it must be acknowledged, that the territory whence the *Manchews* came, is the country of the ancient *Nyu-che*, or *Kin*[¶].

[†] DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 247. ubi sup. p. 88.

[‡] GAUBIL, ubi sup.

[§] DU HALDE, ubi sup.

[¶] GAUBIL,

(Q) By the word *Chau*, or *Chaw*, is here meant the dynasty or dominion of the *Kin*. But the word in *Chinese* signifies neither dominion, race, nor succession; but that number of years which any family possessed the dominion. *Fourmont's Resl. critiq. sur hist. anc. peupl. tom. ii. p. 397.* So that the *Kin-chau*, or *Chau*

of the *Kin*, implies properly, the space of time during which the family reigned, or held the dominion.

(R) But *Gaubil* says, he had not yet met with them.

(S) *Couplet* asserts, that the present *Chinese* family of the *Manchews* sprung from that of the *Kin* monarch. *Sinic. tab. chron. p. 74.*

CHAP. IV.

The history of the *Si-fân* or *Tu-fân*.

SECT. I.

An account of the *Si-fân* or *Tu-fân*; and the country inhabited by them.

The *Si-fân's* country.

THE country of the *Si-fân*, or *Tu-fân* (who are a people quite unknown, at least in name, to the western historians, *Asiatic* as well as *European*) is differently represented with regard to its situation and extent, by the accounts sent from *China* by the missionaries who surveyed that empire, in which these people are included. According to *Regis*, it borders on the provinces of *Shen-si*, *Se-chwen*, and *Yun-nan*, or *Jun-nan*, reaching from the 30th to the 25th degree of north latitude; and westward to the river, called by the *Chineses*, *Ya-long Kyang*^a. By another account it extends but a little way along the western borders of *Shen-si*; or seems to be a narrow tract of mountains, lying between the north-west part of *Shen-si* and the country of *Koko-nor*, inclosing this latter on the north and east in form of a bow. But in the jesuits map of *Tibet*, the territories of the *Si-fân* are distinctly marked out, as bounded on the east by the province of *Se-chwen*; on the north by the country of *Koko-nor*; and on the west by the river *Tsacho Tsitsirbâna*; which rising southward of the lakes from whence the *Whang-ho*, or *Yellow River*, issues, runs through *Se-chwen*, where it takes the name of *Ya-long Kyang*; and afterwards that of *Kin-cha Kyang*.

Site and extent.

ACCORDING to this situation, which seems to be the right, the country of the *Si-fân*, or *Tu-fân*, lies between 29 degrees 54 minutes of latitude; and between 12 degrees 30 minutes, and 18 degrees 20 minutes, of longitude west of *Pe-king*. Its shape is triangular; the base, which lies to the north, being about 300 miles long; and the other two sides, which make

^a DU HALDE's *China*, vol. ii. p. 305.

- a an angle to the south, about 245 miles each. This is all which at present remains to the *Tu-fân*, of a very large dominion they formerly possessed, comprising all *Tibet*, and even some neighbouring territories of *China*^b. From hence (as well as on account of the affinity between the languages of the *Si-fân* and *Tibet*) it may be presumed it is, that the *Chineses*, as we are told, extend the name of *Si-fân* over all that country; and sometimes to all the nations lying to the west of their own empire^c. This great dominion, including the whole region between *Great empire China* and *Hindûstân*, with all those wide plains and deserts on the north and west of it, inhabited by the *Eluth Tatars* (or *Mungls*) is, in all probability, that which formerly went by the name of *Tangût*, *Tangûtib*, or *Tankût*; and the rather, because at present the language and characters of *Tibet*, still used by the *Si-fân*, are called the characters and language of *Tangût*^d.
- b HOWEVER that be, the condition of the *Si-fân* is very different from what it was formerly: they have not now one town in their possession; and are pent up between the rivers *Ta-long* on the west, *Whang-ho* on the north, and *Tangtse Kyang* (which rises in this country) on the east: whereas anciently their kingdom had fortified cities, very well peopled, and very powerful^e.

THE *Chineses* distinguish the *Si-fân*, or *Tu-fân*, into two sorts of people. The *He Si fân*, *Black Si-fân*, or *Black Si-fân*, and the *Whang Si-fân*, or *Yellow Si-fân*, from the colour of their tents, not their complexions, which are in general a little swarthy. The *Black Si-fân* have also some pitiful houses; and are governed by two chiefs, who depend on a third; but are very uncivilized. Those seen by *Regis* were dressed like the inhabitants of *Hami* (A). The women wear their hair parted into tresses, hanging down on their shoulders, full of little glass mirrors.

c THE *Yellow Si-fân* are subject to certain families, whereof the eldest is made a Lama, and *Yellow Si-fân* wears a yellow habit. These Lamas are all of the same family, and govern in their respective districts. They have the power of deciding causes, and punishing criminals. They inhabit the same canton, but in separate bodies, without forming large families of the same kindred, which appear like so many little camps. The greater part of them dwell in tents; but some have their houses built of earth, and a few with bricks. They want none of the necessaries of life; and have numerous flocks of sheep. Their horses, though small, are well shaped, mettlesome and strong.

d THE Lamas, who govern these people, do not vex or oppress them, provided they render *Their government* them certain honours, and punctually pay the dues of *Fo*, which are very trifling. These dues seem to be a kind of tythes, as being exacted on a religious account. The religion of *Fo* hath ever been that of the *Si-fân*, who always chuse their Lamas to be ministers of state, and sometimes to command their armies. There is said to be some difference in the language of these two sorts of *Si-fân*: but as they understand each other well enough to trade together, they probably differ only as dialects of the same tongue. The book and characters used by their chiefs are those of *Tibet*. They have customs and ceremonies very different from the *Chinese*, *Old customs*, though bordering on them: thus it is usual with them to present a large white handkerchief of cotton or taffety, when they go to wait on persons whom they mean to honour. They have likewise some customs like those among the *Kâlka Tatars*, and others which resemble the usages of the *Tatars* of *Kokonor*.

e NEITHER of the two nations is more than half subject to the neighbouring *Chinese* Manda- *Nearly independent* rins; whose citations they so little regard as rarely to appear before them when summoned: nor dare those officers treat them with rigour, or offer to force an obedience; the frightful mountains which they inhabit, whose tops are covered with snow, even in *July*, securing them against all pursuits. Besides, as the rhubarb grows in abundance on their lands, they are courted by the *Chineses* for sake of that precious commodity^f.

^b DU HALDE'S *China* vol. i. p. 22.
vol. i. p. 29.

^c Ibid. vol. ii. p. 385.

^d Ibid. p. 383.

^e Ibid.

^f Ibid. p. 22, & seq.

(A) So the *Chineses* pronounce *Khamul*, or *Khamul*, a city and province of *Little Bukhâria*, at the very eastern extremity adjoining on the *Great Kobi*, or desert.

S E C T. II.

History of the Si-fân, or Tu-fân, intermixed with that of the Hya.

f THE *Si-fân*, or *Tu-fân*, according to the *Chinese* authors (B), had formerly a very extensive dominion, and princes of great renown, who made themselves formidable to their *Formerly famous* neighbours, and even to the emperors of *China*. On the east side they not only possessed divers territories, which at present belong to the provinces of *Se-chwen* and *Shen-si*; but extended

(B) Particularly the *Chinese* geographers of the middle age, history of the provinces of *Shen-si* and *Se-chwen*, and the great annals *Nyen-i-she*.

their conquests so far within them, as to subdue several cities of the second rank (C), where-
of they formed four great governments. Westward they were masters of all the countries from
the river *Ya-long* to the borders of *Káshmir*, in the Great Mogul's empire.

*Refused a prin-
cess.*

A. D. 630.

IN the 7th century, *Ki-tson*, king of the *Tu-fán*, possessed this vast dominion, and had several
kings who paid him tribute, and from him received their investiture, with patents, and seals
of gold. This prince, in 630, coveting an alliance with *Tay-tsung*, the famous emperor of
the *Tang* dynasty in *China*, sent him a pompous embassy; which having been received with
great marks of distinction, he, by a second, demanded a princess of the imperial blood for
his son *Long-tsung*. The council of state looking on this as a very arrogant proposal, rejected
it, without so much as debating on it. Hereupon *Long-tsung*, on the death of his father, came
at the head of 200,000 men to demand the princess; and having defeated certain princes tri-
butary to *China*, who opposed his passage, penetrated to the borders of *Shen-si*, where the
emperor then kept his court. From thence he sent one of his officers with an haughty letter
to his majesty; demanding the princess to be forthwith yielded to him, with a certain quan-
tity of gold, silver, and silks, by way of portion.

*Invades
China.*

A. D. 640.

THE emperor, more offended than before, amused the envoy with hopes, till his forces
were assembled, and then dismissed him, without returning any answer to his master's letter.
At the same time his army attacked that of the *Si-fán*, and routed it. However, as the loss
Long-tsung received was not considerable, he rallied his troops; and the emperor finding that
prince was in a condition to give him much uneasiness, in 640 (D), the princess, by advice of
his council, was sent with a great deal of pomp to the *Si-fán* monarch. On this, as soon as the
ceremonies of marriage were over, he retired, and became very serviceable to the empire on
several occasions afterwards: particularly, when the general *Alena* usurped a tributary kingdom
of *China*, he joined the imperial army with all his forces, which he commanded in person, and
had no small share of the victory by killing the rebel^e.

*Assist the
Chinese.*

A. D. 766.

KI-LO-SO, who succeeded *Long-tsung*, improved the peace he was in with all his neighbours,
by the treaties which he made with several nations of *Tatars*; particularly the *Whey-be* (E).
This prince dying without issue, *Su-si*, his next heir male, who succeeded him, was called in
with his *Tatarian* confederates, to succour the emperor *Wben-tsung* (F); at that time constrained
to quit his court at *Chan-gan-fú* (at present named *Si-ngan-fú*) and abandon it to the rebel *Gan-
lo-shan*, a foreign prince, whom the emperor, against the advice of his ministers, had advanced
to the highest posts, and even intrusted with the command of his army. This traitor, finding
himself master of great part of the north, assumed the title of emperor, and marched to attack
Chan-gan-fú; which having entered, he plundered the imperial palace (G), and carried the
Lo-yang: but by the assistance of *Su-si* he was routed, and soon after killed in bed by his
own son.

*Break the
peace.*

A. D. 772.

*Burn the capi-
tal.*

THE *Tu-fán*, in reward of their service, besides the rich plunder of *Lo-yang*, and other
rebellious cities, were presented with great quantities of silks, and the choicest things which
China afforded. But whether through covetousness, or pride, as soon as they heard of the
emperor's death (H), they advanced with a formidable force; and, arriving on the borders of
the empire, before there was the least suspicion of their invasion, obliged the governors of
Ta-chin-quan, *Lan-chew*, and all the country of *Ho-si-ni* (I) to surrender. The prime-minister,
who at first could not believe this advice, sent *Ko-tsey*, the most experienced general then at
court, with three thousand horse, to learn the truth. *Ko-tsey* (K) being informed at *Hyen-yang*,
a city not far from the capital, that the enemy's army, consisting of 300,000 men (L),
would be there that very day, dispatched a courier to the minister, to apprise him of the
danger, and press for succours: but that officer of state did not stir a step the faster. Mean
time the generals of the enemy, who were acquainted with the country, being arrived at *Hyen-
yang*, detached a considerable body of troops to take possession of a bridge over the river. The
emperor, from whom the ministry had, till then, concealed the danger which threatened him,
frighted at the news, forsook his palace. The great men of his court, the officers, and peo-
ple, all followed his example, and fled. Thus the *Tu-fán* entered the city without resistance;
and having carried away immense riches, set it on fire^h.

^e DU HALDE'S *China*, &c. vol. i. p. 23.

^h Ibid. p. 23, & seq. & 199.

(C) The *Chinese* distinguish their cities into ranks or orders, denoted by the final syllables *fú*, *chew*, and *hyen*.

(D) The dates, which in *Du Halde* are in the margin, we have thrown into the text.

(E) Or *Whey-hü*; they inhabited in the neighbourhood of *Turfán* in *Little Bukharia*.

(F) Or *Hiun-tsung*; who began his reign in 713, and died in 762. He divided his dominions into 15 provinces.

(G) This was about the year 766, in the 4th year

of the reign of *So-tsung*, successor of *Hiun-tsung*. But this history is very inaccurate, as related in *Du Halde*, marking neither the dates, nor reigns, when the facts happened.

(H) This was ten years after *Hiun-tsung*'s death, in 772; and 8th of *Tay-tsung*, *So-tsung*'s successor.

(I) That is, to the west of the river; meaning the *Wang-ho*, or *Yellow River*.

(K) Elsewhere *Ko-tsu-i*; in Couplet, *Ko-tsavi*.

(L) Two hundred thousand, according to *Couplet*. Tabl. sinic. p. 61.

a Ko-TSEY, who had withdrawn, to join the troops, which, on the first alarm, left *Chang-gan*, seeing himself now at the head of 40,000 men, yet unable to cope with the enemy in the field; to supply, by policy, what he wanted in strength, ordered a body of horse to encamp on the neighbouring hills, and there ranged themselves in one line, to make a dreadful noise with their drums, as well as light up great fires every night in different places. This artifice had the desired success: for the *Tû-fan*, fearing to be surrounded by the united forces of the empire, conducted by a general of known bravery and skill, marched westwards, and blocked up the city of *Tong-tsyang*. *Forced by strategy.*

MA-LIN, who commanded in that district, came to the relief of the place; and forcing his way through a body of the enemy's troops, of whom he killed upwards of a thousand, threw himself into the town. As soon as he was entered, he ordered all the gates to be set open, to let the *Tû-fan* see that he did not fear them. This extraordinary conduct confirming them in their first suspicions, and their fatigued troops being unable to withstand fresh forces, they resolved to retire with the spoil which they had already gained. After their retreat, the *Chinese* repaired *Chang-gan*, whither the emperor returned some months after his shameful flight. *to retreat.*

THESE troubles were no sooner over, than the *Chinese* were obliged to take the field against a new rebel named *Pû-kû*, who had confederated with the *Tû-fan* and *Whey-be Tartars*, before-mentioned. But *Pû-kû* being very opportunely taken off by a sudden death, the *Chinese* had the address to disunite the two nations, by raising a contention about the chief command. *Invade of force.*
Yo-ko-lo, general of the *Whey-be*, would needs command the whole army. This the *Tû-fan* opposed, as being contrary to their orders, and dishonourable to their kingdom, which was much superior to the petty state possessed by the *Whey-be*. The *Chinese* generals, who were encamped in their view, secretly supported the pretensions of *Yo-ko-lo*; and at length openly joined him. Upon this the *Tû-fan* were attacked as they were marching away, and lost 10,000 men in their retreat. *c*

WHILE the *Tû-fan* king meditated how to retrieve his losses, he was informed that the *Whey-be* were retired much dissatisfied with the *Chinese*. Hereupon he sent his forces to besiege *Ling-chew*, whose governor, having but a few troops, carefully shunned an engagement. The course he took was, at the head of 5000 men, to attack the magazines of the besiegers: accordingly he not only burnt them, but also carried off all the spoil they had taken, with part of their baggage. This loss compelled the *Tû-fan* to return home in haste, where they remained quiet for five years, and then brought a formidable army into the field; which, dividing into two bodies, fell almost at the same time on the districts of *King-chew* and *Ping-chew*. These troops being numerous, easily defeated several bodies of the imperial forces. But at length, in 779, *Ko-tsey* routed them intirely by means of an ambuscade. *Defeated again.*

THIS defeat inclining the king of the *Tû-fan* to peace, he sent an ambassador, attended with no fewer than 500 persons in his retinue, to the emperor; who, to mortify him, detained him a long time at court without an audience. His master, greatly incensed at such contempt, was preparing to take revenge, when *Tay-tsong* (D) happened to die. His son *Te-tsong*, who succeeded (in 781) taking a different measure, feasted the ambassador and his retinue, gave them rich habits, and loading them with presents, sent them back under the conduct of *Wey-ling*, one of his officers; who had orders to lay the blame of the small regard which had been paid his ambassadors, to their bad conduct, and having too numerous a retinueⁱ. *A. D. 779. Sue for peace.*

WEY-LING, contrary to what he expected, was received and dismissed with honour, as well as magnificence; which surprised the emperor himself, and gave him an esteem for the *Tû-fan* court (E), which promised an inviolable regard to peace. But this king dying in 786, *Tsang-po*, who succeeded, ordered his army forthwith to enter *Shen si*. They entered that province without being discovered; and defeated all the imperial troops which they met with, until they arrived at *Kyen-chin*, called at present *Kyen-yang*. But the *Chinese* general, *Li-ching*, coming up with his troops, as the enemy was upon the point of besieging the city, obtained so complete a victory, as compelled them to sue for peace; which was ratified by oath. For all this, some of their officers, who wanted to have the war continued, endeavoured to seize the emperor's envoy, and carry him to their camp. The general, however, disowned having had any hand in the affair; and without committing any further hostilities, returned home with his army. *Break it, and routed.*

THIS first expedition not having the desired success, the king of the *Tû-fan* got ready for a second; and, in 791, sent an army sufficient to oppose both the *Chinese* and their new allies the *Whey-be Tartars*. In their way they took some considerable forts, and withal *Gan-si*; but *A. D. 791.*

ⁱ DU HALDE'S China. &c. vol. i. p. 24.

(D) His death happened in 780; and *Ko-tsey*, the famous general, died in 784, the first of the 69th sexagenary cycle of the *Chinese*.

(E) Yet neither the name, nor situation of this court is mentioned. Nor does it appear from the history, in what part of their dominions the capital of the *Tû-fan* stood.

when they were advanced as far as *Pe-ting*, which lies to the south of *Ning-hya*, they were surprised and defeated by the *Whey-be*. For all this they continued their march towards the court, with incredible resolution: but the general *Wey-kau* falling on them unexpectedly, cut several bodies of them in pieces; in the place where afterwards, to hinder the incursions of the enemy, the fortresses of *Tong-ka*, *Ho-taw*, *Mupu*, and *Ma ling*, were built in the district of *Ning-yang-fu*, belonging to *Shen-si*.

Chief city
taken
A. D. 801.

THIS precaution however proved useless. For, scarce were those towns finished, when in 801, the *Tu-fan* returned, and at length reduced *Lin-chew*, which they had before attempted to do several times in vain. But on the approach of *Wey kau*, with his army, they abandoned the city, and marched towards *Wey-chew* in *Se-chwen*, which was one of the best places they had. *Wey-kau* pursued them; and finding they did not cease their flight, laid siege to that town. The king of the *Tu-fan*, startled at this news, sent *Lun-ming*, his prime-minister, with considerable succours: but being met by *Wen-kau*, he was routed, and taken prisoner. Upon this victory that general was received into *Wen-chew*, which he made a place of arms, and went to besiege the fortress of *Quen-min-ching*; but was baffled there, through the bravery of the governor.

Recovered
again.

WEY-CHEW was one of the royal cities; and the *Tu-fan* kings, since the time of *Ki-lo-so*, resided there one part of the year; for this reason *I-tay*, who succeeded his brother, resolving by all possible means to recover it, raised an army of 150,000 men next year, and sent to besiege it. On the report of their march, the *Chinese* general threw himself into the city: but the expected succours not arriving, he was constrained, by continual assaults, to surrender, after a siege of 25 days. The *Tu-fan*, elated with their success, advanced towards *Ching-tu fu*, the capital of *Se-chwen*. The emperor's general, unable to oppose their march, spread a report that he was gone to possess himself of the mountain-straits, through which they had passed; and caused his little army to make the necessary motions to induce them to believe it. This had the desired effect; for, through fear of having their retreat cut off, they retired to *Wey-chew*.

Peace concluded.

As soon as they got thither, *I-tay*, who was a mild prince, being satisfied with having recovered the place, sent to acquaint the imperial generals on the frontiers, that he was willing to live in peace; and as a proof of his sincerity, enjoined his officers to act solely on the defensive. The *Chinese*, on their side, acted with great generosity on several occasions. Among the rest, *Si-ta-mew*, a *Tu-fan*, governor of *Wey-chew*, having offered to deliver up that place to the *Chinese* general, when almost all the other officers were for accepting the proposal, *Ni-tu-fan* opposed it, and declared: *That a great empire ought to set a greater value on sincere dealing than on the possession of a city; and that their breach of the peace would authorize all the perfidies which the Tu-fan had committed, or should commit for the future.* Hereupon the offer was rejected.

Flourishing
state.

I-TAY took the opportunity of the peace to make new laws, and advanced none to employments but men of approved merit. If he heard of any person remarkable for his knowledge and application to study, he preferred him to those who were equally experienced in the management of affairs. Thus he sent for *Shang-pi-pi*, one among the *Literati* of great reputation (F), from the farthest part of the kingdom; and after he had examined him, made him governor of the city and district of *Chin-chew*, at present called *Si-ning*^k.

Cause of its
decay.

I-TAY died without issue, and was succeeded by *Ta-mo*, his next of kin, who devoted himself wholly to pleasures. He lived in peace with his neighbours; but became so execrable to his subjects, by his oppressions and cruelties, that they forsook their country in multitudes. In effect, he was the first cause of the kingdom's falling to decay. The public distractions greatly increased after his death: for as he neither left issue, nor had nominated a successor, one of the ministers, gained by the widow queen, in 842, procured the son of *Pay-va*, her favourite, a child of only three years old, to be proclaimed king.

A. D. 842.

Lu-kong je
rebels.

THE report of this election brought *Kye-tu-na*, the first minister of state, to the palace, to oppose it, in behalf of the royal family: but his fidelity cost him his life; for he was killed in his return home. However, this conduct of the court lost them the hearts of all the people. *Lu-kong-je*, the great general, who was then with the army near the frontiers, refused to obey the orders sent him by the new government, and even conceived thoughts of ascending the throne himself. He was extremely ambitious, proud, and self-conceited, passionate, and often cruel; but, on the other hand, was brave, skillful, and capable of the greatest undertakings. He first caused a report to be spread, that he was going to root out the usurpers of the crown; and then marched against the new king's army, which he defeated. He likewise took and

^k DU HALDE'S China, &c. vol. i. p. 25, & seq.

(F) It appears from hence, that the *Tu-fan* had introduced the *Chinese* form of government; this all the other foreign nations have done, who made conquests

in China, as the *Lyau*, the *Kir*, the *Moguls*, and *Man-chews*, who now reign there.

a plundered *Wey-chew*. By this time his forces, by the accession of male-contents, were increased to one hundred thousand strong. But before he attempted any thing farther, he tried to bring the provincial governors into his measures.

SHANG PI-PI being one of the principal, and his troops, by the care he took to augment them, the best in the whole kingdom, *Lü-kong-je* was willing to sound his inclinations first, and after writing him a deceitful letter, advanced towards the city. *Shang-pi-pi*, who saw through the general's design to deceive him, in his turn, wrote him an answer which flattered his hopes. At the same time setting forward with all his forces, he came upon the rebels so unexpectedly, that without any difficulty he defeated them, tho' much stronger than himself. *Lü-kong-je*, after this rebuff, withdrew, much enraged at heart. But in 846, having recruited his army, b imagined the way both to regain his authority, and win the affections of his nation, was to enter the territories of *China*, and give them up to be plundered. He met with some success indeed at the beginning; but was soon after routed by the *Chinese* generals, who also took from the *Tu-fan* the city of *Ten-chew*, and several strong fortresses.

THE rebel, who judged these losses might easily be retrieved, if once he was sole master c of the kingdom, having augmented his army with *Tatars*, to whom he promised the plunder of the provinces of *China*, bent all his thoughts on reducing *Shang-pi-pi*. With this view he began his march; and arriving near *Chen-chew*, compelled that officer to abandon his camp, though well fortified. However, this latter, after he had passed the river, broke down the bridge, and followed the enemy step by step on the other side, without suffering himself to be drawn to an engagement by *Lü-kong-je*, who made great ravages in his march for that purpose. Mean time the natural brutishness of the rebel general, joined to the ill humour which the small success of his enterprizes had thrown him into, rendered him so insupportable to his soldiers, that they deserted in troops to *Shang-pi-pi*, while the *Tatars*, for the same reasons, returned home. Hereupon *Lu-kong-je*, despairing of compassing his designs, submitted to the emperor on certain conditions, and retired to *Ko-chew*, a *Chinese* city, where he spent the remainder of his days. This happened about the year 849. Submits to China.

DURING the time this ambitious general had under his command almost the whole forces d of the state, the princes of the blood retired to different parts of the kingdom, where they had small patrimonies; and some took shelter in certain forts, which belonged to them, towards *Se-chwen*, chusing rather to submit to the emperor of *China*, than to an usurper. Others fortified themselves in the mountains; while some of the most considerable remained in the territories which they possessed, bordering on the government of *Shang-pi-pi*. Hence arose an infinite number of distractions in the state, which continued a great number of years, and proved the ruin of this monarchy at last. A. D. 849. The Tu-fan divided.

THE *Tu-fan*, divided into several parties, went to war among themselves; and when they were weary of fighting, many officers and soldiers lifted under *Pan-lo-chi* (H), prince of *Lü-kü*, a place in the borders of the district of *Chen-chew*, which the children of *Shang-pi-pi* had preserved for the royal family. As soon as the *Tu-fan* beheld a prince of the blood, they formed an army, and resolved to attack the king of *Hya*, who had ill requited their services. United again.

e THIS new king was a *Tatar*, originally of *To-pa* (I), who by the assistance of the *Tu-fan*, about the year 951, founded a new dominion near the *Whang-ho*, under *Li-ki-tsyen*, in spite of all these *Chinese* could do; the capital whereof was *Hya-chew*, at present *Ning-hya*, from whence the kingdom took its name of *Hya*¹, or *Si-Hya* (K), given to it by the *Chinese*. This kingdom sprung up to the west of *Ki-tay* (L), and by degrees became very potent under a prince who assumed the title of emperor. This dominion, which extended over part of *China* and *Tartary*, contained the province of *Shen-si*, all to the north of *Ping-lyang-fü*, as far as *Kya-yu-quan* (M), with the country of *Ortus* and *Etsina* (N), the country of *Koko*. Kingdom of Hya. A. D. 951.

¹ DU HALDE'S China, &c. vol. i. p. 26, & seq.

(H) The *Tu-fan* history, during their embroiled state, from the retreat of *Lü-kong-je* to the time of *Pan-lo-chi*, which contains the transactions of above 150 years, is here omitted by the Jesuit.

(I) Near *Sining-chew*, then called *Chen-chew*, or *Chin-chew*. *To-pa* is a rich borough, still in possession of the *Tu-fan*.

(K) *Si-hya* signifies *Hya* of the west, or more properly, the guards of the west. Whence possibly those who founded this monarchy, were the western guards of the great wall, which was intrusted to *Tatar* tribes; from one of which the king of *Hya* sprung. And *Alakus Khan* was a *Turkish* prince; who, we are told, had the guard of a gate, and gave admittance to *Jenghiz Khan* into *Kitay*. *Hya* is also pronounced *Kya*, or rather *Khya*, as in *Kya-yu-quan*, *Kya-chew*, and other names.

(L) The kingdom or empire of *Hya* was not a part of *Kitay*, or taken out of it; but seems to have bounded it on the west; or perhaps the *Chinese*, during the empire of the *Lian*, had some parts both of *Shan-si* and *Shen-si*, between those two dominions.

(M) Or *Hya-yu-quan*, a fortress at the western extremity of the great wall of *China* (to the west of the city *So-chew*), latit. 39° 48', long. 17° 21' 30" west of *Pe-king*.

(N) Both in *Tartary*, or what was then called *Karakitay*. *Ortus* is inclosed between the great wall and the *Whang-ho*, which surrounds it on the west and north in the eastern part of the north border of *Shen-si*. *Etsina* seems to be the country to the west of *Ortus*; of which *Etsina*, now in ruins, was then the capital, situated about two degrees to the north of *So-chew*.

(O), also that lying between *Kya-yü-quan* and *Sba-chew* (P); besides several other places to the north and west of *Kya-yü-quan*^m.

Its growing
power.
A. D. 1003.

THE king of *Hya* had, in the year 1003 (Q), renewed the war with the empire, at that time governed by the *Song* race, entering suddenly into the western part of *Shen-si*, which bordered on the small dominion that the *Tü-fan* were still possessed of. *Pan-lo-chi* offered to join the *Chinese* commander with his forces to crush this growing power; provided the emperor would honour him with a title, which might give him more authority among those of his own nation. The proposal being approved of, his imperial majesty sent him patents as governor-general of the *Tü-fan*. The king of *Hya*, who knew nothing of these private contracts, after committing some devastations, besieged the city of *Silyang*, and having taken it, put the governor to death. He intended to push his conquests farther, in a belief that *Pan-lo-chi* was advancing to join him with his troops. But that prince arriving at the head of 60,000 men, attacked him with so much valour, that he entirely defeated his numerous forces. However, he died soon after the victory, by a wound which he received in the battle.

So-tso lo's
ambition.
A. D. 1015.

SO-TSO-LO, his successor, in 1015, formed the design of recovering the antient monarchy possessed by his ancestors. His little dominion consisted of no more than seven or eight towns; particularly *Tsing-ko-ching*, *Li-tsing-ching*, *Ho-chew*, *I-chwen*, *Tsing-tang*, *Hya-chen*, and *Kan-ku*, with some neighbouring territories; but was in hopes that the rest of the *Tü-fan* would join him, as soon as they should see that he was powerful enough to defend them. He fixed his court at *Tsing-ko-ching*, where he established officers, the same, both as to number and titles, which the kings his predecessors had made use of. After this he levied new forces throughout his dominions, and entered the territories of the empire several times; but was always defeated, and at length concluded a peace.

Divides his
states

As the growing power of the king of *Hya*, who had assumed the title of emperor, gave *So-tso-lo* some uneasiness; the *Chinese* monarch, to engage that prince more firmly in his interest, made him governor-general of *Pau-shun*, which lay very conveniently for his purpose. But *So-tso-lo* dying soon after, the division which ensued among his children hastened the entire ruin of the *Tü-fan* state. That prince had, by his first wife, two sons, *Hya-chen* and *Mo-chen-tsu*. He had afterwards the prince *Ton-shen* by a second venter, who prevailed on him to imprison his two other sons, and compel their mother to turn nun. But they having found means to escape, and deliver their mother out of the convent, the people, who had helped to deliver them, declared in their favour.

among his sons.

SO-TSO-LO, who had by this time recovered from his infatuation, approved of this change, and gave *Tsing-ko-ching* to *Mo-chen-tsu* for his maintenance; for he had removed his court from thence to *Chen-chew* (or *Si-ning*). To *Hya-chen* he assigned *Kan-ku* for the place of his abode; and to *Ton-shen*, whom he judged most capable of keeping-up his family, he surrendered all his authority, with the government of *Pau-shun*, and the rest of his dominions. *Ton-shen* resided at *Li-tsing-ching*, where he was beloved of his subjects, and feared by his neighbours; insomuch that all the *Tü-fan*, who dwelt to the north of the *Wbang-bo*, were under his subjection.

Two submit

THIS great power wherewith the younger brother was invested, gave the two elder, and their families, apprehensions of being one time or other oppressed by him. *Mü-ching*, son of *Hya-chen*, more uneasy than his father, surrendered *Kan-ku*, *Ho-chew*, and all the lands which were in his possession, to the *Song* emperor; who granted to him, and his descendants, whatever they demanded, in order to support themselves with honour in his dominions.

KYAU-KI-TING, heir of *Mo-chen-tsu*, the eldest brother, was much beloved in his little state; but did not long survive his father. His son *Hya-chen*, who succeeded him, incensed his subjects to such a degree, by his violences and cruelty, that they formed a design to depose him, and set up his uncle, *Sü-nan*, in his room: but the plot coming to be discovered, *Sü-nan*, and almost all his accomplices, were put to death.

to the emperor.

HOWEVER, *Tsyen-li-ki*, one of the principal officers, having found means to escape, carried with him *Cho-sa*, one of the family; and seizing the city of *Ki-kü-ching*, had him proclaimed prince of that petty state. But *Hya-ching* hastening thither, with his forces, took the place; and put *Cho-sa* to death. *Tsyen-lo-ki*, however, made a shift to get to *Ho-chew*; and having persuaded the governor, *Van-chau*, to conquer the country of *Tsing-tang*, he attacked the little city of *Mo-chwen*, which he took without any difficulty. Hereupon prince *Hya-ching*, find-

^m GAUBIL, hist. Gentch. p. 10.

(O) *Koko ner* lies to the west of *Shen-si*. about the city *Si-ning-chew*.

(P) We may add, and beyond, as far as *Khamil*, or *Hami*, the most eastern city of *Little Bulbaria*. *Sba-*

chew is the *Sakion* of *M. Polo* and other writers, about 120 miles N. N. W. of *Kya-yu-quan*.

(Q) The king here referred to cannot well be supposed *Li-ki-tsyen*; for then he must, at that time, have reigned 52 years.

a ing himself hated by his people, and at the same time vigorously pressed by the *Chinese*, in 1099, surrendered all his territories to the emperor, on certain terms, which were granted him. The like did *Long-su*, a son of *Niu-ching*, whom one of the *Tu-fan* chiefs had put in possession of the city of *Hu-pa-teen*: for after several battles fought, with various success, against *Van-chau*, wherein he distinguished himself by surprising valour, he submitted likewise upon advantageous conditions.

In the midst of the troubles which arose in the 12th century, between the *Chinese* emperors of the *Song* dynasty, and the *Nyu-che*, or *Kin Tatars*, the family of *Ton-shen*, which continued longest in splendor, made an alliance with the kings of the *Hya*; and, under their protection, enjoyed their territories tolerably in peace; till at length they were involved in the common ruin, by the prevailing arms of *Jenghiz Khân*. The year 1227, according to the *Chinese* history, is the era of the entire ruin of the *Tu-fan*; from which time they have remained in their ancient country, without either name or power^a.

This history, as transmitted by the missionaries, is very defective; especially in this latter part, in which they ought to be most particular. They not only omit the *Tu-fan* affairs for more than a whole century downwards, from the year 1099; but pass slightly over the destruction both of their decayed state, and the empire of *Hya*: which yet is the most curious and interesting part of all their history, as being connected with that of *Jenghiz Khân*. We shall therefore briefly supply the deficiency, especially with respect to the *Hya*, from the historians who have written the reign of that conqueror of *Asia*.

c THE *Khân* of the *Mungls* began in the year 1205 to make incursions on the territories of the king (or emperor) of *Hya*; and in 1209 formally attacked his dominions, with design to reduce them under his sway; he began hostilities by forcing several posts near the great wall of *China* to the west of *Ning-hya*, the capital city; after which he took the city of *Ling-chew*, and intended to reduce *Ning-hya* itself: but its king *Li-gan-tsven*, to avoid the storm, submitted to become his tributary, and give him a princess to wife. Hereupon the *Moguls* made a peace with him; and, withdrawing their forces, returned into *Tartary*^b.

d THE historians of the west of *Asia* differ from the *Chinese* in the date of this expedition, which they place in 1206, and in the proper names. They call the prince *Shidasku*, his kingdom *Tangut*, and his metropolis *Kampion*. They relate also, that *Kampion* was taken by stratagem; but that on the king's paying tribute, and receiving a garrison into the fortress, he was restored (R). They ascribe the cause of the war to his assisting the enemies of *Jenghiz Khân*, who from thence carried away immense riches^c. The oriental authors seem to have mistaken *Tangut* and its capital, for *Hya* and its capital, which lay contiguous to the east. Or perhaps they mean the same places; although, as customary with most nations, they give them different names; and this the rather seems to be the case, as the same events happened in both.

e THE *Tu-fan* states are not mentioned by the *Chinese* historians of *Jenghiz Khân*, as being considered by them only as parts of the empire of *Hya*: nor is *Hya* mentioned by the western writers of the *Mogul* affairs, as they probably knew of no dominion between *Tangut* and *Kitay*; and might consider *Hya* only as the *Kitayan* name for the county of *Tangut*. Yet, supposing this to be the case, they have mistaken the capital of this country; if, as we are told, *Kampion* is not *Ning-hya* (then called *Hya-chew*) but *Kan-chew*; a city indeed near the great wall of *China*, but 250 miles more to the west. Neither was it the capital of *Tangut*, considered as a different state from *Hya*: for it appears from the foregoing history, that the prince of the *Tu-fan*, who continued longest in splendor, resided at *Li-tsing-ching*, a town of *Shen-si*, somewhere more to the south.

f THE kingdom of *Hya*, and empire of the *Kin*, had been at peace above 80 years, when *Li-gan-tsven*, seeing himself pressed by the *Mungls*, demanded succours of the *Kin*; but the latter excused themselves, alleging that they could not possibly spare any. Hereupon the *Hya*, after making peace with the *Mungls*, in 1210, declared war against the emperor *Yong-tsi* (who then reigned in *Kitay*); and in *April*, the same year, attacked *Kya-chew*, a city of *Shen-si*: but they were defeated, and obliged to raise the siege. Four months after *Li-gan-tsven* died, and was succeeded by *Li-tsun-byu*, a relation of his, who was more successful in his war against the *Kin*; for in *December* 1213 he took *King-chew*, a city in the same province. After this he offered to join his troops to those of the *Chinese* emperor against the *Kin*: but that proposal not being accepted of, he continued the war separately; and in *December* 1215 took from them *Lin-tau-fu*, a considerable city, also in *Shen-si*^d.

^a DU HAIDE, ubi sup. p. 26, & seq. hist. Genghis. p. 91, & seq.

^b GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 12, & seq.

^c DE LA CROIX'S

^d GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 20, & seq.

(R) *Aluighazi Khân* places this expedition before the defeat of *Bayak Khân* of the *Naymans*, and says the

Khân was put to death, and his capital, which he calls *Tangut*, demolished.

Provoke the
Mungls.

A. D. 1221.

Their country
reduced.

And state
destroyed.

Great havoc.

King of Tan-
gut.

WHILE *Jenghiz Khân* was on his expedition in the west of *Asia*, the emperor of *Hya* did several actions contrary to his engagements as a tributary prince. Hereupon *Mûbûli*, who had been left as the *Khân's* lieutenant-general in *Kitay*, invaded his dominions; and gained great reputation in the war which he maintained against that monarch and the emperor of the *Kin* (S). In 1221 that general passed the *Whang-bo*, and struck terror through the whole country of the *Hya*, whose king thought it his wisest course not to oppose his passage; and by this means avoided being attacked for that time by *Mûbûli*, who turned his arms solely against the *Kin*. In the year 1224, *Shew*, succeeding in the empire of *Kitay*, made peace with the *Hya*, who had been at war for many years with his father *Sun* ^r.

LI-TE, king of *Hya*, among other causes of offence given to the *Mungls*, had afforded a retreat to *Sun-quen-si* and *Che-la-bo*, two of their greatest enemies. Of this *Jenghiz Khân*, on his return from his western expedition in 1226, complained loudly: but *Li-te* was so far from making him any satisfaction, that he even took them into his service. The *Mungl* emperor, enraged at this indignity, marched from *Ho-lin* (or *Karakorum*); and in February, the same year, took the city of *Yetsina* (T), *Ning-hya* (the capital of the kingdom) *Khya-yu-quan* (U), and *Kan-chew* (X): *Sû-chew* (Y), *Gan-chew*, and *Si-hyang* (Z), were also reduced. In November he subdued *Ling-chew*, to the south of *Ning-hya*, and encamped 20 or 30 leagues to the north. *Li-te*, king of *Hya*, was so afflicted to see his dominions become a prey to the *Mungl* troops, that he died for grief in July the same year.

JENGHIZ KHAN having in the spring, 1227, left an army to besiege *Ning-hya* (A), detached a great body of forces, who seized on the country of *Koko-nor* (B), *Qua-chew*, and *Sba-chew* (C). He marched himself at the head of another body to take *Ho-chew* (D) and *Si-ning*. After this, having cut in pieces an army of 30,000 men, he went and besieged *Lin-tau-fû*, a city which belonged to the *Kin*. Mean time *Li-hyen*, king of *Hya*, being reduced to the last necessity in his capital city *Ning-hya*, surrendered at discretion in June; and set forward to humble himself before *Jenghiz Khân*, who was gone to pass the hot season on the mountain *Lu-pan*: but was slain as soon as he left the city, which was plundered by the foldiers.

THE history, exaggerating the havoc made by the *Mungls*, affirms, that not above two persons in a hundred escaped the massacre; representing the plains of *Hya* as sowed with dead bodies; and the woods, mountains, and caves, filled with miserable people, who fled thither to avoid the sword of the enemy. On the other hand, the same history does not fail to accuse the king of *Hya*, as having brought on the ruin of his state, by giving protection, as above-mentioned, to the two enemies of *Jenghiz Khân*, and refusing to deliver his son in hostage, according to his promise. Thus fell the kingdom, or empire, of the *Hya*, after it had stood 276 (E) years ^s.

THIS is the account given of this great revolution, by the *Chinese* historians; but those of the west of *Asia* relate it with some considerable variation, though more in detail. According to these latter, as soon as *Jenghiz Khân* was recovered from his fatigues, after his return to *Karakorum*, he applied himself to settle the state. He first summoned to court the great officers in *Kitay*, to give him an account of their behaviour; of which his brother *Utakin* (F) having fully informed him, some were rewarded, and others punished. He did the like by the great lords of *Mogulistan* and *Kara-kitay*. He sent also for *Shidurku* (G), sovereign of *Tangut*, who had offered to continue tributary. But this prince, fearing his former rebellion would not be pardoned, deferred going to court under various pretences; and sought to make a league with

^r GAUBIL, ubi supr. p. 43, & seq.

^s Ibid. p. 48, & seq.

(S) This looks as if the *Hya* were joined in confederacy with the *Kin*, for the cause of the rupture with the former is not mentioned; but it appears afterwards that they were then at war.

(T) The *Tong-kyen-kang-mû*, under the year 1225, mentions the taking of *Yetsina*, and other places spoken of here. It was a considerable city of the kingdom of *Hya*, called *Exina*, by *Marco Polo*, whose *Suchur* (or *Sukir*) is *Sû-chew*, and his *Kampition* (or *Kampion*) *Kan-chew*. The *Chinese* geography places *Yetsina* (called also *Etina*) to the north-east of *Sû-chew*, and north of *Kan-chew*, 120 leagues from the latter. This distance is certainly too much, says our author *Gaubil*; and hence we are inclined to think *Kampion* should be *Ning-hya*, with which that distance very well agrees. He adds, that *Yetsina* is now in ruins.

(U) A fort at the very west end of the great wall of *China*.

(X) In *Shen-fi*, latit. 39° 00' 40'', long. 15° 32' west of *Pe-king*.

(Y) In *Shen-fi*, latit. 39° 45' 40''. long. 17° 21' 30'' west.

(Z) In *Shen-fi* also, then a great city, now a fortress, called *Tong-chang-vey*.

(A) This capital is mentioned before as taken, perhaps by mistake.

(B) Often mentioned, and described hereafter.

(C) Both cities near each other, and situated to the north of the country of *Koko-nor*; or rather *Hûhû-nor*. The latit. of *Sba-chew* is 40° 20'. long. 20° 40' west.

(D) Fourteen or fifteen leagues N. W. of *Lin-tau-fû*.

(E) *Gaubil*, in a note, p. 50, says, that kingdom lasted near 200 years; but as the year 951 is marked in the history of the *Si-fan* for the commencement thereof, it must have subsisted 76 years longer.

(F) Called *Wa-che* in the *Chinese* history.

(G) Called *Shidurku* in *Abûlghâzi Khân's* history; the same with *Li-hyen* in the *Chinese*.

a¹ the *Chinêses* of *Manji*, and the oriental *Turks* his neighbours. The first complained of *Jenghîz Khân's* usurping the dominion of *Kitay*; and the latter of his ill treatment of Queen *Turkân Khâtûn*, who had always ruled them well when her subjects. *Shidaskû* having at length gotten together a considerable army, the *Mungl* emperor sent a body of troops towards *Tangut*; the news of whose sudden approach much startled the revolting king. Those troops stopped near *Ezina*, or *Azina*, a city lying south of *Karakorum*, and 12 days hard journey from *Kampion* (H), where *Shidaskû* kept his court¹.

The emperor could not join his troops with the main body of his army before *June* 1225, at what time the hot season begins in *Tangut*. His forces consisted of 450,000 men, whereof he sent 100,000 to *Kitay*, where he feared a revolt in case fortune should favour *Shidaskû*. He divided this great army into ten bodies: the princes *Jagatay* (I) and *Oktaï* commanded the two first; the rest were under the conduct of *Kârasbar*, *Ilenku*, *Bela*, *Hubbe*, *Suiday*, and other lords, who had signalized themselves in the past wars: but all these generals were subject to *Tulû*. Besides, he had a flying camp of broken officers, for the instruction of his grandsons *Jutlay* and *Alakû*. Hej. 621. A.D. 1225.

AFTER several weeks march from *Mogulestân*, the army crossed a desert 40 days journey over, in the province lying most eastward of the *Naymâns*; and arriving on the frontiers of *Tangut*, called also *Kashin*, soon took *Ezina*, which had been closely besieged by the first troops. *Jenghîz Khân* chose this place for his residence during his stay in *Tangut*; and by presents won the people of the country to serve as spies. By them he was informed, that *Shidaskû* had sent 30,000 horse in several parties, to endeavour to surprise him. These, at first, defeated some parties of the *Mungls*, whom they met with on the frontiers; but retired on advice that the emperor was marching with all his forces against their master. Ezina taken.

Shidaskû had gotten together an army of 500,000 (K) men, the greater part of whom were furnished him by the *Chinese* of *Manji* (or the southern *China*). *Jenghîz Khân*, confiding in the bravery of his disciplined troops, continued his march. *Jagatay* and *Kârasbar Nevian* had 40,000 men under their command; *Hubbe* and *Suida* 30,000; *Ilenku* headed 20,000 *Kerâzmians*, who had served in several former expeditions. A like number of *Indians* were under *Bela*. *Badroûdin*, who had served the Khân against *Soltân Mohammed*, because the latter had put his uncle to death, brought 30,000 men from the country of the *Getes*, and borders of *Kipjak*. A Khân, named *Danishmend*, a favourite of the emperor, had under his conduct 30,000 *Karazmians*, new raised troops. The Khân of the *Igûrs* led the auxiliary forces, which had, after his example, voluntarily submitted to *Jenghîz Khân*. The veteran bands were commanded by prince *Oktaï*, and made a body of reserve, which attended the emperor's person: and in this body was the flying camp of reformed officers. [Last armies.]

WHEN *Shidaskû* was within two days march of *Jenghîz Khân*, he sent 100,000 horse to surprise his van-guard: but meeting with a stout resistance, they retired with loss to the main army of the enemy, who at last came in sight, making a splendid shew, dressed in cloth of gold and silver, as well as the richest silks. The very common soldiers had habits much finer than the *Mungl* officers. For though they were very rich, the Khân had ordered both them and his soldiers not to dress gaudily. The king of *Tangut's* army took up a great space of ground: but the *Mungls* were obliged to fight upon a frozen lake, which derived its waters by a canal from the river *Kîramûran*. A general battle soon began, and the *Mungls* quickly had the advantage. The troops of *Tangut*, with others on the same line in front, were intirely routed; and all the enemy's army had been at the same time defeated, if the *Chinese*, commanded by *Mayan Khân*, (whom *Jenghîz Khân* had ordered to be seized in the *Chinese* war) and the *Turks*, led by the prince of *Jurjeb*, had not strongly withstood the fury of the *Mungls*: but these two generals charged the two wings of the emperor's army with so much bravery, that it revived the courage of their soldiers, who made a terrible slaughter, killing above 30,000 men. [Bloody battle.]

This good success became fatal to the victorious troops; who believing the *Mungls* vanquished, attacked them boldly without keeping their ranks: whereas the *Mungls*, who always kept close and in order, suffered themselves with much difficulty to be broken. At last the resolute resistance which *Mayan Khân* and the prince of *Jurjeb* met with in the center, astonished them; and the corps de reserve, which now came up, falling upon them all at once, made the *Turks* and *Chinese* give back, and take to flight. *Shidaskû* himself, after having shewed The Tanguts overthrown.

¹ DE LA CROIX's hist. Gengh. p. 363, & seq.

(H) This is a further proof that *Kampion* must be *Ning-hia*, rather than *Kan-chow*. *Abû'lghâzi Khân* calls it the city of *Jenghîz*, meaning no doubt the capital.

(I) According to the *Chinese* history, *Jagatay* was left behind in *Great Bactria*, to take care of the western conquests.

(K) Which was 50,000 more than *Jenghîz Khân* had. But *Abû'lghâzi Khân* says *Shidaskû* (as he is called in the translation) had an army nearly equal to that of the *Mungls*.

an extraordinary bravery, was obliged to fly, and leave the field of battle to the enemy; who cut in pieces all the troops which resisted: and 'tis said that there were killed in all above 300,000 men. How many *Jenghiz Khán* lost, the *Mungl* history does not mention: but it speaks of all those who signalized themselves in this great action; and among the rest of the young princes *Kublay* and *Húlakú* (R), who gave proofs of an extraordinary courage.

Their king
slain.

AFTER this he marched against the *Turks* of *Jurjeh*, who submitted. He likewise secured himself of the countries of *Erghimul*, *Sinqui*, and *Egrikaya*, which were dependant on *Tangut*. *Jenghiz Khán* falling sick not long after, the last orders he gave before his death were, to secure *Sbidaskú*, who was hourly expected at court, as soon as he arrived, and put him to death (S), notwithstanding the promise made to his envoy. To effect this more easily, he enjoined them to conceal his departure; so that *Sbidaskú*, attended by his sons, and some of his lords, coming to court eight days after, found a great appearance of joy: but they were all seized, and immediately deprived of life¹.

Disagreement
of authors.

WITH regard to the disagreement which there is between the *Chinese* and other historians, of the *Mungl* affairs, concerning *Hya* or *Tangut*, we shall only observe, that the former name four kings of *Hya*, from the time that monarchy was attacked to its extinction; the latter only one, as reigning all that while. They speak indeed of two invasions by the conqueror; but *Abū'lghazi Khán*, the *Tatar* or *Mungl* historian, makes the king to be slain in the first; and *Sbidurkú* (by others *Sbidaskú*), by whose death the dynasty ended, only as a governor of *Tangut*, who had revolted from *Jenghiz Khán*.

¹ GAUBIL, ubi sup. p. 370, & seq.

(R) The first was then about 11 years old; the last 10; for they are said to have been one year younger, each in 1224, when *Jenghiz Khán* returned to *Karakorum*. See *De la Croix's* history of *Genghiscan*, p. 363.

(S) According to *Abū'lghazi Khán*, they had orders to put him to death, and destroy the city of *Tangut*.

BOOK XVII.

Introduction to the Modern History of China.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, language, arts, sciences, and disposition of the antient Chinese.

THE *Chinese*, like other nations, assume to themselves too high an antiquity, as fixing the reign of their first emperor *Fo-hi* near three thousand years before the birth of CHRIST. Their original, as well as that of the *Tartars*, favours strongly of fable, as does also the history of several of their first emperors. Nor has Father *Du Halde* offered any thing in defence of the *Chinese* chronology, though he professes himself a zealous admirer of it, that deserves the least attention, except an eclipse of the sun, which happened in the reign of *Chong-kang*, 2155 years before the commencement of the *Christian Era*. This, indeed, he builds much upon, as does likewise Father *Premare*, who allows, that *China* was peopled above 2155 years before CHRIST, of which he reckons the aforesaid solar eclipse to be a full and perfect demonstration^a.

M. MAIGROT, Bishop of *Konon*, with great reason, believes the chronology of antient times among the *Chinese* to be very uncertain and precarious; as also that the *Chinese* annalist *Cbnbi* has adjusted both the years and eclipses solely according to his own fancy. Of this no one can doubt, who considers that the *Chinese* were little versed in astronomy, even when the *Jesuits* first came among them; and that they were so far from being able to calculate an eclipse, or even likely to make any celestial observations, 2155 years before the birth of CHRIST, that they probably knew as little then of any thing relating to eclipses, and the other heavenly phænomena, as the bulk of mankind, or even the most illiterate nations, at present do. For a full demonstration of this, we must beg leave to refer our readers to a curious and learned letter of Mr. *Costard*, Fellow of *Wadham College, Oxford*, published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for the months of *March, April, and May, 1747*^b.

THAT *China* could have been but thinly peopled so late as 1300 years before the *Christian Era*, we have rendered probable in the history of the *Tartars*. Nay, that a considerable part of it must have been uncultivated, even in the year preceding CHRIST 637, when the *Scythians*, under the conduct of *Madyes*, first made an irruption into the upper *Asia*, has there likewise been clearly evinced. To which we may add, that had *China* then been a large and powerful empire, as it has been for many ages last past, notwithstanding the reserved temper of the *Chinese*, and their great aversion to an intercourse with foreigners, some knowledge of the riches, power, and genius of its subjects, must have transpired. The *Persians* could not have been kept in profound ignorance of such a state till the decline of the empire, nor even the *Greeks* till the time of *Herodotus*, had the *Chinese* made any considerable figure before that period. But we have not the least intimation of such a people as the *Chinese* before *Alexander the Great* penetrated into *India*, and even then we find nothing of moment related of them^c.

THAT the descendents of *Japhet* (A) peopled *Cbina* as well as *Tartary*, we see no reason to doubt, though when they first arrived in that country, we cannot pretend to say. It is true, that the descendents of *Japhet* peopled *China*.

^a MART. MARTIN. *Sinic. hist. lib. i. p. 21.* DU HALDE in *introduc. &c. in Fo-hi.* FOURM. *refl. critiq. sur hist. anc. peuple. tom. ii.* P. COUPLET. *præf. ad Sinic. chronol. p. 20.* P. PREMARE in *lett. edifiant. tom. xix. p. 457.*

^b M. MAIGROT apud DU HALDE in *introduc. Philos. Transact. N^o 483. p. 476—492.*

^c TH. SIG. BAYER. *chronolog. Scythic. in comment. acad. Petropol. tom. iii. p. 302.* Petropoli, 1732. STRAB. *lib. xv. p. 699.* QUINT. CURT. *lib. ix. c. 1.* M. VON STRAHLENBERG's *introduc. p. 42. not. (34).*

(A) Some of *Shem's* descendents also may be supposed to have settled in *Tartary, India, and China*; as *Elam*, one of his sons, fixed himself in *Persia*. *Couplet* deduces the *Chinese* nation in general from *Shem*, because *fem*, in

their language, signifies *life*. But neither this notion, nor the reason that is brought to support it, will, as we apprehend, meet with the approbation of the learned (1).

this opinion has not been universally received, though the greatest part of the learned have adhered to it, some affecting to deduce the *Chinese* from *Noah's* sons born after the deluge. But such a notion seems to run counter to scripture, as well as reason, common sense, and the nature of things. However, as it has been lately espoused by a writer of credit, we shall here give it a full and distinct consideration. It depends upon the supposition, that *Noah's* ark rested on an high mountain, or ridge of mountains, near *China*; which if we can overthrow, this hypothesis must fall to the ground of course. Now, that the ark could not have rested immediately after the deluge upon any high mountain near *China*, will, as we apprehend, most clearly appear from the following observations^a.

1. If the ark rested on any mountain near *China*, *Noah* probably lived three hundred and fifty years, and died, in that country. This seems agreeable to scripture^c, which takes no notice of any migration of *Noah* after the deluge; and consequently gives us reason to believe, that he lived and died at no great distance from the place where the ark rested. Nay, this is expressly asserted by the author now in view. But that *Noah* remained till his death in *China*, had a numerous issue there, and sent his antediluvian sons, with their families, after the deluge, to the westward as far as the banks of the *Euphrates*, where they arrived in eighty years after that most memorable event, as this gentleman supposes, will not easily be admitted by the learned. For this system is clogged with insurmountable difficulties, at least with such as it will be no easy matter to remove^d.

2. THAT the patriarchs *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, with their families, should have traversed the immense tract corresponding with part of *China*, the vast and almost impassable solitude of *Sba-mo*, *Great Bukbaria*, *Persia*, and the desert of *Sinjar*, the *Singara* of *Ptolemy*, and *Shinar* of *Moses*, in eighty years, is utterly improbable. The course of nature, and the gradual plantation of the world by the descendents of those patriarchs, will not admit of such a supposition. How absurd then must it be to suppose, with our author, that they marched from *China* to *Shinar* in ten or twelve years? For not only the length of the journey, but the face of the tract itself, composed at that time of woods, rivers, solitudes, and mountains, must render impossible such an expeditious migration. We may therefore conclude, that *Noah* was so far from residing three hundred and fifty years in *China*, as Mr. *Shuckford* believes, that he never saw any part of that agreeable region^e.

3. CHINA was not peopled till after the dispersion, and therefore *Noah* could not possibly have founded a monarchy there, so early as the aforesaid author pretends. This seems abundantly clear from scripture. *Moses* expressly affirms, that *the whole earth*, i. e. the whole race of mankind, *dwelt in the land of Shinar*, at the time of the dispersion; and that all the members of this great community were then of *one language, and of one speech*. Nor will it avail this writer to suppose, that *Moses* is here to be understood of the descendents of *Noah's* antediluvian sons only, and consequently not of his progeny in *China* after the deluge. For he had before asserted, that *of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, the whole earth was overspread*; i. e. that all nations upon earth deduced their origin from them. And, after he had enumerated the generations of their sons, he also affirms, that *by them were the nations divided in the earth after the flood*; or, in other words, that every individual of the human species ought to be considered as springing from them. In fine, nothing can be more full and explicit than the testimony of the sacred historian on this head, insomuch that there seems to be no possibility of evading the force of it^f.

4. No part of the earth was probably capable of cultivation immediately after the ark rested upon the mountains of *Ararat*. Several months, if not years, must be allowed for the perfect separation of the terrene from the aqueous parts. Some time, therefore, after that period must have elapsed, before *Noah* could have put in practice, had he before understood them, the first principles of agriculture; and more, before he could have brought a vineyard to such perfection as to produce even a moderate quantity of wine. But we find, that his three antediluvian sons, with their families, remained with him till after this happened. It cannot therefore with any colour of reason, be supposed, that they began their migration from *China* to the *Euphrates*, till at least twenty years after *Noah's* arrival on the mountains of *Ararat*. Nay, Mr. *Shuckford* believes them to have remained with their great ancestor in *China* seventy years, before they had any thoughts of advancing to the westward. This brings a fresh accession of strength to what has been already offered, in order to shew the absurdity of such a migration^g.

5. It does not appear from the *Chinese* history, nor indeed from any other, that wine was ever used, or even discovered, in *China* (A). But that it was made from remote antiquity, in

^a Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 117. ^c Gen. ix. 28, 29. ^f SHUCKFORD'S connect. vol. i. p. 103—107. & p. 98—103. ^e Idem ibid. Proleg. apud Golium in not. ad Alfragan. p. 72. Gen. xi. 2. ^h Ibid. ix. 19. x. 32. xi. 1, 2. ⁱ Ibid. viii. & ix. 20—28.

(A) We are told, indeed, by *De Halte*, that *I tyé Tsa*; and that this wine is still used in *China*. But invented the *Chinese* wine, in the reign of the emperor then it ought to be considered, that this wine is improperly

a in the countries bordering on the mountains of *Ararat*, supposing them in *Armenia*, we have sufficient proof. This seems manifestly to imply, if the authority of *Moses* be of any weight, that the latter of those regions bids fairer for the land of *Ararat* than the former ^k.

6. THE word *Ararat* is manifestly of *Armenian* extraction (B); whereas no term, name, particle, or diction like it is discoverable either in the language of the *Indians*, *Tartars*, or *Chinese*. The radix *arar*, in *Armenian*, signifies *he made*, or *he did*; and the substantive *ararads* denotes *work*, as likewise *the world*, *the earth*, &c. As the whole earth, therefore, or the whole race of mankind, arrived on the mountains of *Ararat*, after they had escaped the deluge, from this circumstance those mountains may naturally enough be imagined to have received their name. Nay, the *Armenians*, at this day, call the *Gordyæan* mountains *Ararat*, b *Arasad*, *Arar*, &c. and *Onkelos*, *Jonathan*, the *Syriac* and *Arabic* versions, &c. render the original הרי אררט *the Gordyæan mountains*. All which observations amount to a strong presumption, that the land of *Ararat* is not to be sought for near *China*, but in *Armenia* ^l.

7. THAT the land of *Ararat* was in the neighbourhood of *Affyria* and *Babylon*, may be clearly evinced from scripture. 1. The prophet *Isaiab* tells us, that *Adramelech* and *Sharezer*, after they had slain their father *Sennacherib* at *Nineveh*, escaped into the land of *Ararat*. From whence we may infer, that this country was adjacent to *Affyria*; which will hold true of the *Greater Armenia*, but by no means of any region at such an immense distance from that ancient kingdom as *China*. Nay, from this passage it may be farther inferred, that the land of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, in the reign of *Sennacherib*, was, in a great measure at least, independent on the *Affyrians*. For, had it been absolutely subject to them, it could not have served as a retreat or asylum to those princes, after they had embued their hands in their father's blood; and therefore the prophet could not, with any manner of propriety, have affirmed, that they *escaped* into it. This may possibly throw some light upon the *Armenian* history, and contribute towards the support of *Moses Chorenensis's* authority. 2. The prophet *Jeremiah* represents the kingdom of *Ararat* as part of the power which was to reduce *Babylon*, and at no great distance from that city. Which representation must be allowed incompatible with the remote situation of *China*, but perfectly agreeable to that of the *Greater Armenia*. He likewise seems here to suggest, that, when he penned this prophecy, *Ararat* was governed by a prince of its own, since it had then the title of kingdom. And in conformity to this d notion, it appears from profane history, that though the *Armenians* were at this juncture tributary to the *Medes*, yet they still remained under the government of their own kings, one of whose successors acted with *Cyrus* rather as a confederate than a vassal, at the reduction of *Babylon* ^m.

8. THE kingdoms of *Minni* and *Asskenaz* have been proved to be *Phrygia* and part of *Armenia* by the learned *Bochart*. Now these kingdoms, from the passage here cited, appear to have been in the vicinity of *Ararat*. As therefore one of them bordered upon *Armenia*, and the other may be considered as a part of that country, and were vastly distant from *China*, we may naturally suppose *Armenia*, but by no means *China*, or any neighbouring district, to have contained the scripture *Ararat* ⁿ.

e 9. THE *Medes*, *Elamites*, and people of *Ararat*, were the three principal nations appointed by God, according to the prophets above-mentioned, to destroy *Babylon*. And, according to profane history, the subversion of the *Babylonian* empire was effected chiefly by the *Medes*, *Persians*, and *Armenians*. Now it is well known, that the *Elamites* of scripture answered to the *Persians* of profane authors. The *Medes* also of scripture and profane authors appear to have been the same nation. The *Armenians*, therefore, of those writers must have been the inhabitants of the kingdom of *Ararat* mentioned in scripture; which seems to put the point we are now insisting upon beyond dispute ^o.

^k PLUTARCH. in Alexand. ARRIAN. l. vii. DIOD. SIC. l. xvii. STRAB. lib. xv. JELIAN. hist. var. l. ii. c. 41. ATHEN. deipnosoph. l. x. c. 12. GEN. ix. 20, 21. ^l THEOPH. SIGEFRIID. BAYER. mus. Sinic. tom. ii. Petropoli, 1730. AUGUST. PFEIFFER. oper. philolog. tom. i. p. 37. Ultrajecti, 1704. ONKEL. JONATH. Targ. Syr. ARAB. VERS. in GEN. viii. 4. HOFMAN. lex. univ. p. i. p. 160. ^m ISA. xxxvii. 38. MOS. CHORENENS. hist. Armeniac. l. i. c. 22. p. 59, 60, 61. Londini, 1736. JER. li. 27. XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. ii. iii. & vii. HERODOT. l. i. ⁿ BOCHART. Phal. l. i. c. 3. p. 22, 23. & l. iii. c. 9. p. 196, 197, 198. Francofurti ad Mœnem, 1681. JER. li. 27. ^o ISA. xiii. 17. xxi. 2. JER. li. 11, 27, 28, 29, 30. XENOPH. & HERODOT. ubi sup. & ant. PRID. connect. of the Old and New Test. vol. i. p. i. p. 116, 117. Lond. 1719. JER. xlix. 39.

properly so called, as being made of a particular kind of rice, and not the juice of the grape; whereas *Noah's* wine was the produce of the vineyard he himself had planted (3).

(B) That there was anciently a very large province in the *Greater Armenia* called *Ararat*, we are informed by *Moses Chorenensis*. This province, according to that historian, was divided into the following districts, or

lesser provinces: *Basenia*, *Gabelenia*, *Abelenia*, *Vahagunia*, *Arfarunia*, *Bagrevanda*, *Zalcota*, *Siracia*, *Vandandia*, *Aragazotia*, *Zacatia*, *Maseotia*, *Cogovitia*, *Assis*, *Niga*, *Cotæa*, *Malaza*, *Varaznunia*, *Dewna*, and *Sarur*. Mount *Ararat* was in this province, as well as the royal city of *Valarsapata*, which at present goes under the name of *Eriuan* (4).

(3) Du Halde, p. 146, 303. GEN. ix. 20, 21.

(4) Mos. Chorenens. geograph.

10. THE kingdom of *Ararat*, if any regard is to be had to scripture, could not have been far from the confines of *Elam* and *Media*. As therefore this circumstance well enough tallies with the situation of the *Greater Armenia*, but is utterly repugnant to that of *China*, it must be acknowledged, that the former region has a much better claim to the scripture land of *Ararat* than the latter ^a.

11. THE *Septuagint* version expressly calls the land of *Ararat Armenia*. This testimony, especially in conjunction with what has been offered, is of exceeding great weight, and even seems intirely to overturn Mr. *Shuckford*'s scheme. No wonder then, that the generality of learned men, who have been in any manner conversant with scripture, should place *Noah* and his family immediately after the deluge, in *Armenia*. Nor can it be denied, that both sacred and profane history, as well as the best interpreters of scripture, have concurred to establish such an opinion ^b.

12. THE principal argument drawn from Scripture, in support of Mr. *Shuckford*'s hypothesis, is of very little force. It is deduced from these words of *Moses*: *And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there*. From whence he infers, that the mountains, on which the ark rested, were in an eastern direction from the land of *Shinar*, and *Babylon*; which will hold true of those near *China*, but cannot, with any manner of propriety, be said of those in *Armenia*.

BUT, whatever our author may think, these words will by no means amount to an implication, that *the whole earth*, to use the phrase of the sacred historian, or all *Noah*'s posterity, must necessarily have migrated from *China* to the land of *Shinar*. They will by no means bear such a superstructure erected upon them. For though the land of *Shinar* was in a southern direction from *Armenia*, and in a western one from *China*, yet we are under no necessity of supposing, that *Noah*'s family constantly moved from the East, after they had quitted the place where the ark rested. On the contrary, that family not only might, but probably did, march from the mountains of *Ararat*, supposing them in *Armenia*, into that part of the tract afterwards called *Mesopotamia* to the east of the plain they afterwards occupied in the land of *Shinar*. This has been most clearly evinced by M. *Basnage*. In which case, they must be allowed to have *journeyed from the east*, as *Moses* is supposed by Mr. *Shuckford* to assert. But farther, the word מִקְדִּים *mikkedim* signifies sometimes *versus orientem*, towards the east, as appears from another passage in the book of *Genesis*, not far from that we have in view, where it is obviously to be taken in this sense. We say, obviously to be taken in this sense, since the situation of *Beth-el* and *Hai*, in respect of the plain of *Jordan*, will not admit of a different interpretation. So that we may suppose *Noah*'s family to have advanced to the land of *Shinar* immediately from a station to the west of that country, to which the members of this family had gradually directed their march from a more northerly quarter, without offering the least violence to Scripture ^c.

IT may not be improper here likewise, by way of digression, to observe, that our *English* translation ought to be emended in the first verse of the chapter just referred to. The word הַנִּגְבָּה which is there translated *into the south*, ought to be rendered *into the desert*. For *Abram* went up out of *Egypt*, not into the south, but into *Arabia Petraea*, or the tract including the solitudes of *Sur*, *Sinai*, *Paran*, &c. which was N. E. of *Egypt*. And that the word נִגְבָּה in *Hebrew*, as well as *Chaldee*, denoted a *wilderness*, *solitude*, *desert*, or *dry barren country*, is obvious to every one in the least acquainted with the *Oriental* languages. The *Septuagint* version likewise renders the word הַנִּגְבָּה here εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν, *into the desert*; which, notwithstanding the authority of the *infallible* vulgate, may be considered as an additional proof of the truth of our emendation ^d.

13. THE language of *China* is very different from the *Hebrew* of the *Old Testament*, tho' it must be owned, that an affinity between some of their roots or primitive words may be discerned. Now Mr. *Shuckford* intimates the *Chinese* to have retained the most obvious marks of the first language, and consequently (according to his principles) to be little or nothing different from that spoken by *Noah*. The same author also allows the antient *Hebrew* to have nearly approached the language of *Shem*, *Ham*, *Japhet*, and their immediate descendents, if it was not that very language. According to him, therefore, the tongue communicated by *Noah* to his postdiluvian descendents had no great affinity with that used by his antediluvian ^e

^a ISA. xiii. 17. xxi. 2. JER. li. 11, 27, 28. ^b SEPTUAG. in Isa. xxxvii. 38. Vid. Vet. Test. ex verf. LXX. interpret. secund. exempl. Vatican. Romæ edit. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1725. AUGUST. PFEIFF. ubi sup. tom. i. p. 37, 38. ^c Gen. xi. 2. SHUCKFORD'S connect. ubi sup. ^d BASNAG. in antiquitez Judaïques, ou remarques critiques sur la republique des Hebreux, &c. tom. ii. c. 2. p. 404—409. A Amsterdam, 1713. FULLER miscel. sacr. lib. i. c. 5. WALKER upon the creation and providence, c. 14. BOCH. geogr. sacr. lib. i. c. 7. FRIEDLBIUS sur Gen. xi. LOUIS DE WOLZOGUE in diction. Hebraïq. p. 569. A Amsterdam, 1712. Gen. xiii. 11. Vide etiam BASNAG. ubi sup. ^e Gen. xii. 1. LOUIS DE WOLZ. ubi sup. p. 378, 379. VAL. SCHINDL. lex pentaglot. p. 1064, 1065. Septuag. in Gen. xiii. 1. secund. exempl. Vatican. Romæ edit. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1725. Bibl. sacr. ad vetustiss. exemplar. castigat. Romæ; revif. p. 726. Lugduni, 1600.

a sons, which must likewise have come originally from him. An assertion this, favouring so strongly of absurdity, that it must greatly shake, if not utterly subvert, his whole scheme".

14. THE *Hebrew*, and all the *Oriental* tongues that are dialects of it, must be allowed, if Mr. *Shuckford* deserves any credit in the point before us, to be more remote from the language of *Adam* and *Noah*, or the primitive language, than the present *Chinese*. Nay, the present *Chinese*, according to him, is almost intirely the same with that language (C). Which notion, as we apprehend, does not only run counter to the whole stream both of sacred and profane antiquity, but likewise to reason itself. For the language of *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, or that of *Adam* and *Noah*, was spoken by the whole race of mankind till the dispersion; and that this was either the *Hebrew*, or a tongue nearly related to it, seems to appear from the first proper names of places, planters, and nations, used by the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Arabic* writers, in common with Scripture. Nor can any reasonable person believe the present *Chinese* to have agreed in most, if not all, points with the primitive language; since all languages are in a continual flux, and must necessarily undergo many alterations in the course of four thousand years".

15. THAT *Fo-bi*, the founder of the *Chinese* empire, and *Noah*, as this author supposes, were the same person, can never be proved. The account given us of that prince by the *Chinese* historians, must be allowed to be little better than a fiction; and consequently no great stress can be laid upon it. Nor, indeed, is either the *Chinese* history or chronology of the earlier ages of their monarchy worthy the attention of the learned. Their skill in astronomy, for some thousand years after the time of *Noah*, was so small and imperfect, that it did not enable them to calculate an eclipse, nor indeed prompt them to make any celestial observations, the surest, if not only certain guides in chronological inquiries. And therefore the history of their first reigns can be considered only as a confused jumble of facts, or rather a narration of fabulous events, heaped together without any order or connection; so that we cannot expect to meet with much truth in it. But even admitting, that the fabulous *Chinese* history of *Fo-bi* (for it deserves no better an appellation) seems remotely to allude to some circumstances of *Noah*'s life recorded in holy writ, what are we to infer from thence? Not that *Noah* was the first emperor or monarch of *China* (for this will by no means follow), but that he was the great ancestor of the *Chinese*, who retained some faint and obscure notions of him. And did not the antient *Chaldeans*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Arabs*, *Etruscans*, &c. do the same? Such a faint traditional knowledge of *Noah* and the deluge seems to have been common to all the politer nations, both of the antient and modern world; and according to the excellent *Grotius* (D), amounts to no inconsiderable proof, that they were all originally descended from him*.

16. AFTER *Moses* had enumerated the generations of the sons of *Noah*, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, he adds, *These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations: and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood. And the whole earth was of one language, and one speech.* Which passage manifestly implies, that *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*'s families made up the whole race of mankind; and consequently that what has been advanced concerning *Noah*'s postdiluvian progeny in *China* is a downright fiction. Nor will the patriarch's advanced age, when he came out of the ark, permit us to believe, that he had a numerous issue, after the flood, either in *China*, or any other country. Whereas *Fo-bi*, if we will believe the *Chinese* historians, governed some time a considerable, not a powerful nation. The authority, therefore, of these very historians is so far from sup-

* DU HALDE, LE COMPTE, &c. Vid. etiam TH. SIG. BAYER. mus. Sinic. Petropoli, 1730. SHUCKF. ubi sup. p. 112—124. JOAN. WEBBER. apud August. Pfeiffer. ubi sup. p. 690. BASNAG. ubi sup. p. 424—433. SAM. BOCHART. in Phal. & Chan. pass. aliosq; scriptor. quamplurim. w SHUCKFORD, ubi sup. Gen. xi. 1. BOCHART. SHARIF. AL EDRISI. ABU'LFED. PFEIFFER. ubi sup. p. 545, 546, 547, 548, & 689—694. BUXTORF. dissert. de ling. Ebr. orig. sect. 33. MAYER. phil. sacr. p. ii. p. 300. AUGUST. PFEIFFER. ubi sup. p. 41. & p. 690. * SHUCKF. ubi sup. p. 102, 103. MART. MARTIN. Sinic. hist. p. 21—24. COUPLET. præf. ad Sinic. chronol. FOURM. res. crit. sur hist. anc. peupl. vol. ii. LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, PFEIFFER. ubi sup. p. 690. ANDR. MULLER. disq. de Chataia, p. 39. HORN. arc. No. p. 3. CONFUCI. KIRCH. JOAN. GRAVII tabul. epochar. subjunct. Ulugh. Beigh. epoch. Philosoph. Transact. N° 483. p. 476—492. STILTINGFL. orig. sacr. BOCHART. HUG. GROT. de veritat. relig. Christian. lib. i. sect. 16.

(C) Mr. *Shuckford*, indeed, seems to intimate, that the present *Chinese* might have received some additions and improvements, as well as the most antient *Hebrew*; and even insinuates, that there might have been some agreement between them. But, as he immediately subjoins, that the present *Chinese* is only a first and uncultivated essay, insomuch that it is hardly possible to con-

ceive any other tongue to have been prior to it, he makes it almost intirely the same with the primitive language (5).

(D) *Grotius* is supported by the testimonies of *Berosus*, *Abydenus*, *Philo*, *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Lucian*, *Melo*, *Nicholaus Damascenus*, and several other antient authors (6).

(5) *Shuckf. ubi sup. p. 122, 123, 124.*

(6) *Beros. apud Joseph. cont. Ap. lib. i. Abydenus apud Euseb. de præp. evang. lib. ix. c. 12. Philo de præm. & porn. Alexand. Polyhist. apud Cyril. adv. Julian. lib. i. Diod. Sic. lib. i. Plutarch. de solert. animal. Lucian, de Dea Syr. Mol. apud Euseb. de præp. evang. lib. ix. c. 19. Nic. Damasc. apud Joseph. ubi sup. Francisc. Marian. Viterbiens. de Etrur. metrop. p. 152. Romæ, 1728.*

porting Mr. *Shuckford* in the point before us, that it evidently tends to the subversion of his hypothesis^y. a

17. It seems more natural to suppose, that *Noah* and his sons remained together, till they had overstocked with inhabitants the spot on which they first settled, or were dispersed by God himself, than that they separated from one another, before either of those events happened. We may, therefore, reasonably presume, that they all lived together till the dispersion; after which they began to spread themselves over the earth. But this has been set in so strong and clear a light by the sacred historian, that a bare perusal of him is sufficient to obviate every objection that has of late been offered to the common opinion^z.

China scarce known to the antient Greeks and Persians.

CHINA therefore and *Tartary* were probably peopled by the descendents of *Magog*, *Meshech*, and *Tubal*, as has been already observed; though when any of these first reached those vast and remote regions, it is impossible to determine. The prodigious distance of *China* from *Shinar* and *Armenia* more than insinuates, that no powerful monarchy or empire could have been formed in the first of those countries, till many ages after the dispersion, notwithstanding what has been so positively advanced to the contrary of late by some of the *Jesuits*. That neither *China* nor *Tartary* were known to the *Israelites*, or indeed any of the neighbouring nations, in the time of *Moses*, must be allowed probable, since he has passed over in silence the posterity of *Magog*, *Meshech*, and *Tubal*; from whence we may at least infer, that those regions then were very thin of inhabitants. Neither *Homer* nor *Herodotus* has dropped any thing which can induce us to believe, that either of them ever heard of the *Chinese*; nor do any of the antient *Persian* historians supply us with the least hint relative to this nation, before the declension of the *Persian* empire. All which has no small tendency to overthrow the sentiments the *Chinese* have entertained of the high antiquity of their empire, as well as the indefatigable and utmost efforts of some of the *Jesuits* to support it^a. b

China called Kathay by the Tartars.

It has been remarked by some authors, that the western *Tartars* call *China* *Kitay*, *Kathai*, *Kathay*, or *Kathay*. Now, that this name was in use among the *Asiatic Scythians* in the time of *Alexander the Great*, may be proved from *Curtius* and *Strabo*. For the *Sophitican* kingdom, mentioned by *Curtius*, is called *Cathea* by *Strabo*. It comprehended, according to *Von Strahlenberg*, *Tibet*, or *Thibet*, *Tangut*, and part of *China*. As the *Mungals* and *Kalmucks* pretend, that their *Dalai Lama* had his residence, some thousand years ago, in the country of *Tangut*, one of his predecessors not improbably resided there in the time of *Alexander the Great*. The *Greeks*, according to the same author, called the *Lamas*, or priests, in *Tibet*, *Tangut*, &c. (E) *sophists*, because they were then greatly addicted to predictions, prophecy, and chiromancy, as they have all along been to this day. Indeed, properly speaking, the *Tartars* apply the name of *Kathay* only to the northern part of *China*, and the kingdoms of *Tibet* and *Cboten*. The little knowledge *Alexander* had of these regions he derived from the *Indians*^b. c

Who the Seres were.

SOME take the *Seres* of the antients to have been the *Chinese*, or at least a part (F) of that very remote nation; but others are of a different opinion. *Cellarius*, who has given us the best system of the antient geography, does not bring this controversy to a decision. He only says, *Alii ut in Scythia, ita etiam in Seribus locandis mire variarunt, Others have assigned the Scythians, as well as the Seres, very different situations*. Dr. *Prideaux*, with the generality of learned men, believes the *Seres* to have been the same people with that remote eastern nation called at present the *Chinese*; and we have in a former part of this work declared our approbation of this opinion. On the contrary, M. *Von Strahlenberg* seems not disposed to admit the *Seres* to have had so remote an easterly situation as the *Chinese*. But in this we e

^y Gen. x. 32. xi. 1. ix. 28, 29. M. MARTIN. Sinic. hist. KIRCH. Chin. illustrat. LE COMPTE, SHUCKF. & C. ^z Gen. ix. x. xi. ^a M. MARTIN. COUPIET, FOURMONT, DU HALDE, & C. ^b PAUL. VENET. DU HALDE, & C. STRAB. lib. xv. p. 699. QUINT. CURT. lib. ix. c. i. DIOD. SIC. lib. xvii. BERCKEL in Steph. p. 435. n. 26, 27. VON STRAHLENBERG'S introduct. p. 42. not. (34).

(E) Perhaps some of our readers will not so readily come into this notion of M. *Von Strahlenberg* concerning the reason of the name *Sophitis*, or *Sophitian*. For we are told by *Strabo*, that *Sopithes*, or *Sopithis*, from whom this tract was called the kingdom, or empire, of *Sopithis*, or *Sophitis*, was sovereign of the country, when *Alexander* pushed on his conquests in *India* (7).

(F) *Ptolemy* connects *Sirica*, or the country of the *Seres*, with *Scythia extra Imaum*, to which it was adjacent. According to him, and the author of the antient geographical table agreeing with him, it was bounded on the west by *Scythia extra Imaum*, on the north and east by the *Terra incognita*, and on the south

by *India extra Gangem*. It therefore seems to have answered to part of the country called by the *Tartars* *Kathay*. *Ptolemy* mentions *Damra*, *Asmirza*, *Isfeda*, *Serica*, *Throana*, *Thogara*, *Daxata*, and other towns in *Serica*; but scarce any in *Scythia*. This seems to be an argument of the superior politeness of the *Seres*, in the time of that geographer. We shall say nothing farther of the situation of the *Seres*, since that cannot be determined from the antients; but at present content ourselves with observing, that they have been taken notice of by *Mela*, *Horace*, *Virgil*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, as well as the authors above-mentioned (8).

(7) *Strab.* l. xv. p. 699. (8) *Ptol.* lib. i. *Plin. nat. hist.* lib. vi. c. 17, & alib. *Hor.* lib. i. od. 12, & alib. *Virg. Georg.* ii. v. 121. *Pomp. Mel.* lib. ii. c. 11. *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. xxiii. c. 23.

a take that ingenious gentleman to be mistaken. For, according to *Florus*, the ambassadors sent by the *Seres*, with presents to *Augustus*, were four years on their journey; which is a full demonstration of the immense distance of their country from *Rome*; and, if *Pliny* may be credited, the river *Lanos*, the *Lena* of the moderns, to the east of some districts in *China*, ran through part of the territories of the *Seres*. It is probable, that the *Seres* possessed part of the tract comprehending the kingdoms of *Kashgar* and *Tibet*, the countries of the *Kalkas*, *Mungals*, &c. or *Chinese Tartary*, and even certain districts of *China* itself. Nor do we believe, that the word *Seres* (G) ought to be considered as the proper name of any one particular nation. It seems to be a term of *Tartar* extraction; the *Uzbeks* calling merchants living in cities *Sær* or *Sært*, which others comprehend under the name of *Bukhars*. These

b *Særtes*, or *Seres*, are now vassals, citizens, and merchants, settled in three different regions; first without the *Chinese* wall, under the *Chinese* jurisdiction, where they are called *Koton*, secondly, among the *Uzbeks*, who give them the denomination of *Særtes* or *Seres*; and thirdly, in the kingdom of *Kashgar*, where they have the appellation of *Bukhars*. They carried on a trade with the *Scythians* from very remote ages, and consequently were in the earlier times greatly addicted to commerce; which perfectly answers the character given of them by *Pliny*. The *Seres* were antiently famous for their silken manufactures (H), they having first used the way of making silk from the web of the silk-worm. Hence *Serica* became the name of silk, and *Sericum* of a silken garment, both among the *Greeks* and *Romans* ^c.

c SOME authors have imagined, that the *Chinese* were known to the *Jews* in the time of the prophet *Isaiah*, above seven hundred years before the birth of CHRIST. They found their opinion upon the following words of that prophet. *Behold, these shall come from far: and lo, these from the north and from the west, and these from the land of Sinim.* But that *Sinim* here should denote the *Chinese*, can by no means be allowed. For, 1. *Bochart* renders it probable, that *Sinim*, in this passage, is to be understood of the inhabitants of *Pelusium*. 2. That the *Sinim* were not remote from *Phœnicia*, may be collected from *St. Jerom*, and the sacred historian. 3. The prophet here having the conversion of the gentiles in view, in order to express the universality of that conversion, mentions the four primary quarters of the world, east, west, north, and south; to the last of which answer the *Sinim*. Now *China* is not to the south, but to the east of *Judæa*. 4. The *Sinim*, or *Sinæi*, received their name from the *Sini* of *Moses*, descended from *Canaan*. From them the desert of *Sin* and mount *Sinai* were so called; they lying to the south of *Judæa*, near that desert and mountain, according to *Grotius*, with whom *Kimchi* and *St. Jerom* agree. So that all conclusions drawn from the identity of the Scripture *Sinim* and *Chinese* must be deemed frivolous and chimerical ^d.

As for the form of the government prevailing antiently in *China*, of this we have not much to say. Nothing material relating to it has been handed down to us by any of the *Greek* or

^c CHRISTOPH. CELLAR. *geograph. antiq.* lib. iii. c. 24. sub fin. PRID. connect. par. ii. lib. viii. sub fin. UNIV. hist. vol. iii. 267. VON STRAHLENBERG'S *introduc.* p. 9. L. FLOR. lib. iv. c. 12. PLIN. *nat. hist.* lib. vi. c. 17. VON STRAHLENBERG'S *map of Russ. and Gr. Tartar.* and *introduc.* p. 111, 112. PLIN. *ubi sup.* c. 22. Vid. etiam SUTTON. in *Octav.* c. 21. OROS. lib. vi. c. 21. TACIT. *annal.* lib. ii. c. 33. LAMPRID. in *Elagab.* EUTROP. lib. vii. VOSS. in *etymologic.* sub voc. *Sericum*, & de idololatria, lib. iv. c. 90. & SALMAS. in not. ad *Tertullian de pal. ad Solin.* & ad *histor. August.* ^d ISA. xlix. 12. OSOR. AR. MONTAN. CORNELL. A LAP. HORN. *anc. No.* p. 53, 441. ANDR. MULLER. *dissert. de Chataia*, p. 94. WAGENSEIL. *tel. ign. Sat.* p. 573. HIERONYM. KIMCHI. Vid. etiam FORER. in loc. DRUS. *observ.* lib. ii. c. 7. GROTIUS. in loc. & AUGUST. PFEIFFER. *oper. philologic.* tom. i. p. 380. *Ultrajecti*, 1704.

(G) This likewise most clearly appears from the words *Scythians*, *Gæd-Tschudi*, *Ma-Tschudi*, *Ta-gougi*, *Ma-gougi*, the same as *Gog* and *Magog*, or *Gojim* and *Ma-Gojim*, all of which are appellatives, and seem never to have been applied to any one particular nation (9).

(H) From the *Seres* both silk and its name came to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. After *Alexander* had conquered *Persia*, silk was brought into *Greece*, and from thence into *Italy* in the flourishing times of the *Roman* empire. But, as the *Persians* took care to keep this manufacture a long while wholly to themselves, silk was sold for its weight in gold for many ages in all these western parts. But at last, the emperor *Justinian* found means to have vast quantities of silk-worms eggs brought to *Constantinople* out of *Persia*, which enabled him to set up the manufacture in his own dominions. From these eggs have been propagated all the silk-worms and

silk trade, which have been ever since in several parts of *Europe*. The antients were so ignorant how silk was made, that they imagined it to grow on the tops of trees; but it has now been known for a great number of ages, that though cotton is produced from trees, silk is made only of the web of the silk-worm. The women only, among the *Romans*, for a long while, wore silk; and it was thought a great instance of luxury and effeminacy for a man to have any part of his garments made of it. Hence we find, that, in the beginning of *Tiberius's* reign, a law was made, that no man should defile or dishonour himself by wearing silken garments. Afterwards the men made use of silk and linen, and sometimes woolen, intermixed, which they called *subsericum*; and, in process of time, some of them, all silk, going among the *Latin* writers by the name of *holosericum*.

(9) M. Von. Strahlenberg's *introduction*, p. 42—52.

Roman (I) authors. However, that it was monarchical (K), we have all the reason in the world to believe. The *Chinese* historians are unanimous in this point, and have given us a long series of their kings or emperors from *Fo-hi* to the present time. Nor can any thing be more agreeable to reason than such a notion, this species of government having taken place in the East, from the earliest ages. Besides, as the *Chinese* have never permitted foreigners to settle among them, but constantly and perpetually kept themselves unmixed with other nations, we may reasonably suppose, that they have all along invariably retained this form of government. Now there is no monarchy at present upon earth more despotic than that of *China*. The emperor is vested with absolute authority, and, to appearance, is a kind of divinity; the respect which is paid him amounting to a sort of adoration. His words are like so many oracles, and the least of his commands as implicitly obeyed as if they came down from heaven. None are suffered to speak to him but on their knees, not even his eldest brother; or to appear before him with ceremony in any other posture, unless he gives orders to the contrary. Only the lords who accompany him are permitted to stand before him, and to bend one knee when they speak to him. We may therefore presume, that the Mandarins, and principal officers, with the utmost alacrity, ever since the time of *Shi-wang-ti*, have always given the same public marks of veneration for their emperors, in order to maintain that servile subordination essential to every despotic government. From whence the absolute and unlimited authority of those monarchs may be as fairly deduced, as from the express testimony of any antient historian^e.

Laws.

THAT the *Chinese* emperors for the most part ascended the throne by hereditary right, appears from the nature of their government; though both those monarchs and the dependent princes sometimes broke in upon the succession. However, their first monarch *Fo-hi*, who was born in the province of *Shen-si*, was elected by his countrymen on account of his rare qualities, and superior merit. With regard to laws, as the will of the prince was the rule or measure of his subjects obedience and submission, our readers will not expect us to be prolix upon them. However, as the *Chinese* have at present many salutary political maxims and institutions, wearing the face of laws, we doubt not but something of this kind was current among them, even in the earlier ages. But we shall have an opportunity of discussing this point more fully in the modern history of *China*, to which such a discussion will more properly belong^f.

^e MAR. MATIN. *Sinic. hist. COUPLET, LE COMPTE, FOURMONT, DU HALDE, &c.*

^f *Iidem* *ibid.*

(I) In general, we are told by *Diodorus Siculus* and *Quintus Curtius*, that the subjects of the *Sophitian* kingdom were a wise people, famous for the excellency and regularity of their government; and that their kings, at least for some time, were elective, may be inferred from *Onesicritus* in *Strabo*. For that author relates, that upon the death of any of their princes, they chose the handsomest man among them for his successor. As for the situation of the *Sophitian* kingdom, or *Catheia*, it is a point in which the antients are not agreed; some placing it between the *Hydaspes* and the *Acefinis*, and others to the east of the latter river. Be this as it will, it is certain that neither the kingdom of *Sophites*, or *Sophitis*, a petty *Indian* prince, according to *Strabo*, nor the particular tract called by this last author *Catheia*, whether these were the same, or distant regions, could possibly have been *China*; as being both to the west of the *Ganges*. *Berckelius* therefore, and *Von Strahlenberg*, seem to have been mistaken, when they make the *Kathay* of the *Tartars* to be the same country with the *Catheia* of *Strabo*. This last kingdom, or province, belonged to *India intra Gangem*, and was traversed by *Alexander the Great*; whereas that prince never reached the borders of *Tangut* and *Tibet*. But, if we suppose, that *Kathay*, or *Catheia*, extended in the time of *Alexander the Great* as far as the *Hydaspes*, and that the *Sophitian* kingdom was a province of it, which may possibly have been the case, then we must allow the afore-said gentlemen to have been in the right; though perhaps the reason assigned by the latter of them for the name *Sophitian* will not so readily gain the assent of some of our readers (1).

(K) *China* at first seems to have been a country of no larger an extent than the province of *Shen-si*; for *Fo-hi* was born there, and elected king, or emperor, by the

people of that province. Nay, in the days of *Confucius*, it was circumscribed by much narrower limits than at present. At first several petty princes, heads of tribes, or phylarchs, exercised a sovereign authority in this country, as well as others. But, when the people became very numerous, and their neighbours formidable, it was found expedient, and even necessary, for the public safety, to elect a person to preside over them, to whom they might have recourse on all extraordinary occasions. So we find *Cheedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, to have presided over several reguli, or phylarchs, who, notwithstanding this, exercised a sovereign authority in the district where they held their residence. In like manner, at the siege of *Troy*, all the petty *Greek* princes obeyed the orders of *Agamemnon*, whom *Homer* represents as king of kings; and that this form of government prevailed antiently in *Arabia*, *Numidia*, *Etruria*, *Tartary*, &c. has been already evinced. The first emperors of *China*, therefore, were not entirely despotic, except on some pressing emergencies, though they had the power of convening the feudatory princes, who might have been considered either as their parliament, or privy-council. They also sat at the head of that illustrious assembly, officiated solely in sacred matters, and were dignified with other marks of distinction, which engaged the people to pay an implicit obedience to them. This form of government continued several ages in *China*; but, at last, all the reguli, or phylarchs, were subdued by the emperor *Shi-wang-ti*, and totally stript of their authority. Nor could the primæval form of government, which, at first, likewise prevailed in all other countries, be ever afterwards restored in *China*; but the political system introduced by *Shi-wang-ti* has continued without interruption to this very day (2).

(1) *Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Quint. Curt. lib. ix. c. 1. Strab. lib. xv. p. 699. Berckel. in Steph. p. 435. n. 26, 27. Von Strahlenberg's introduet. p. 42. not. (24). Petropolitan. tom. vii. p. 366—373. Petropoli, 1740.*

(2) *Sig. Bayer de Confucii libro Chun tseu, in comment. acad.*

THE first planters of *China*, instructed by tradition, inspired their children, and, through them, their numerous posterity, at least for several ages, with proper and becoming sentiments of the Supreme Being. They taught them to fear and honour the Sovereign LORD of the universe, to observe the fundamental precepts of the first descendents of *Noah*, and to live according to the principles of the law of nature engraven in their hearts. Of this we find traces in those antient and valuable books, which the *Chinese* call by way of eminence, *The Five Volumes*; being the canonical or classical books of the highest rank, which they look upon as the source of all their science and morality ^a.

THE chief object of their worship, then, at first, was the Supreme Being, the LORD and Sovereign Principle of all things, whom they adored under the name either of *Shang-ti*, that is, *supreme emperor*, or *Tyen*, which with the *Chinese* signifies the same thing. *Tyen*, say the interpreters of THE FIVE VOLUMES, *is the Spirit that presides in heaven, because heaven is the most excellent work produced by this First Cause*. Sometimes the word is also taken for the material heaven, the sense being to be determined by the subject to which it is applied. The father the *Chinese* called the *Tyen* of the family, the viceroy the *Tyen* of the province, and the emperor the *Tyen* of the kingdom. They also honoured, but with a subordinate worship, inferior spirits depending on the Supreme Being; which, according to them, presided over cities, rivers, mountains, kingdoms, provinces, particular persons, &c. and nearly answered to the demons and genii of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* ^b.

BUT though *Shang-ti*, or *Tyen*, was at first the primary, if not sole, object of their worship, yet in after ages they seem to have addressed their vows and homage to the visible material heaven; or, at least, to a celestial *Virtue*, void of understanding, and inseparable from heaven itself. Nor ought we to be surprised at such a transition from the worship of the Creator to that of the most beautiful part of the material world in *China*; since the first species of idolatry that prevailed among the *Egyptians*, *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Phœnicians*, *Arabs*, &c. resembled this of the *Chinese*, as might be clearly evinced from a great variety of authors, would the limits we have here prescribed ourselves permit ^c.

THAT the *Chinese* had at first very rational notions of *Tyen*, or the Deity, appears from one of their canonical books, going under the appellation of *Sbu-king*. He is therein stiled the father of the people, solely independent, almighty, a being who knows the most hidden things, even the secrets of the heart. He is also there represented as watching over the government of the universe, so that no event can happen but by his orders; as holy without partiality, pleased with the virtue of mankind, superlatively just, punishing wickedness in the most signal manner, even in kings, whom he deposeth, setting up others in their room, according to his will and pleasure. It is likewise there said, that public calamities are the warnings which he gives for the reformation of manners; and that these calamities are followed by acts of mercy and goodness. The first sages of the *Chinese* nation did not only acknowledge a future day of punishment, but had also their minds influenced by the persuasion, that *Tyen*, by prodigies and extraordinary appearances, gives notice of approaching miseries, wherewith the state is threatened. His intention herein, according to them, is to excite men to a reformation of manners, as the surest way to appease the impending wrath of heaven ^d.

THE *Sbu-king* continually inculcates a just dread of the Supreme Being, as the most proper curb for the passions, and the most effectual remedy against vice. It likewise represents all pious suggestions, and holy thoughts, as inspired by *Tyen*, the source of goodness, order, and perfection. According to the same book, *Tyen* has an absolute dominion over the wills of mankind, in order to conduct them to his own wise and just ends; though he rewards and punishes men by means of one another, without any detriment to their liberty ^e.

As the antient *Chinese* ascribed to *Tyen* power, providence, knowledge, justice, goodness, and clemency, and acknowledged, that the most wicked man, by making use of the assistance *Tyen* offers him, may attain to the most exalted pitch of virtue, they honoured him with worship and sacrifices, and by the practice of every virtue. They likewise affirmed, that all external adoration is vain and insignificant, if it does not proceed from the heart, and is not animated by the inward sentiments ^f.

THE emperor was the only person to whom the function of offering sacrifices to *Tyen* belonged. But as *Tyen*, according to the early *Chinese*, views from heaven every thing done on earth, has given us a soul capable of reflection, and loves virtue, it was not thought sufficient for the priesthood to be joined to the royal dignity in the person of the emperor. But it was moreover judged necessary, that he should be either upright or penitent; and that, preparatory to the

^a MART. MARTIN. Sinic. hist. lib. i. c. 1. Vid. etiam DU HALD. pass. ^b MART. MARTIN. Sinic. hist. ubi sup. Univ. hist. vol. i. p. 34.

^c Lib. Sinens. dist. SHU-KING apud DU HALDE, ut & ipse DU HALDE ibid. Vide etiam POCOCKII not. in spec. hist. Arab. p. 138. GOLII not. ad Alfragan, p. 251. MAIMONID. in moreh nevoch. HOTTING. hist. oriental. lib. iv. c. 8. THO. HYDE relig. vet. Perf. pass. aliosq; script. quamplurim.

^d MART. MARTIN. & Univ. hist. ubi sup. Vide etiam SHU-KING apud DU HALDE, ut & ipsum DU HALDE ibid. ^e SHU-KING, ibid. ^f SHU KING & DU HALDE, ubi sup.

exercise of his pontifical function, he should expiate his faults with fasting and tears. The antient sages believed, that mankind could not fathom *Tyen's* councils and designs; but that even the minutest and most secret of their actions lay open to his all-seeing eye. They were also convinced, that he examines all our actions, and has erected a tribunal in our own consciences, whereby we are judged ^a.

THE emperor was looked upon as the only proper person to observe the primitive rites, and render publicly solemn homage to *Sbang-ti*, as being his adopted son, and the principal heir of his grandeur on earth. To sacrifice to the first Being of the universe, required, in the opinion of the antient *Chinese*, no less than the most exalted person in the empire; to the end that, the emperor thus humbling himself, in the presence of his court, by the sacrifices offered in the name of the empire to the Master of the world, the sovereign authority of the Supreme Being might still shine more resplendent, and appear exalted above any equal. Other antient kings, presiding over countries nearer our part of the world, had the priesthood annexed to the royal dignity in them, as has been observed by several eminent authors ^b.

THE *Chinese* seem to have remained in the primitive religion, or the religion of *Fo-bi*, till the reign of *Sbau-bau*, when nine *chu-bew*, or feudatory princes, endeavoured to force their subjects to offer sacrifices to evil spirits. They disturbed houses, according to some *Chinese* writers, with these spirits, and greatly terrified the people with their delusions. But *Chwen-byo*, nephew of *Whang-ti*, who succeeded *Sbau-bau*, extirpated the race of these nine inchanters, appeased the minds of the people, and restored order to the sacrifices ^c.

BUT though the canonical books above-mentioned, especially the *Shu-king*, place the souls of virtuous men near *Sbang-ti*, yet it does not appear, that they have spoken clearly of the punishments in the life to come. The *Chinese* in the earlier ages, as well as at present, had a very confused and indistinct notion of the creation of the world. Nor had they any clear idea of the soul, and its operations, either in a conjunct or separate state. But that they believed it to exist after its separation from the body, and were convinced of the certainty of apparitions, has been put by *Confucius* himself beyond all manner of doubt ^d.

IT is probable, that, before the time of *Confucius*, idolatry had found its way into *China*; nay, *Confucius's* revival of the antient doctrine supposes this. Several ages after his death, the idolatry of *Fo*, which had before sprung up in *India*, was introduced into *China*. After the conquest of *Egypt* by *Cambyse*, the *Egyptian* priests dispersed themselves over *India*, *Tartary*, and even *China* itself. To their hieroglyphical representations of the *Egyptian* deities are owing those monstrous idols, which from that time to this have been adored in *India*, *Tartary*, *China*, and other remote eastern nations. But we shall expatiate more largely on this head in a proper place ^e.

Customs.

THE *Chinese* have at present a great variety of customs (L) peculiar to themselves, many of which were undoubtedly the produce of the earlier ages; but few of these we can trace to their respective sources. However, the following we take to be as old as the first ages of the *Chinese* monarchy, and therefore shall beg leave to insert them here. 1. In the reign of *Fo-bi*, the men and women began to go cloathed in a different manner. 2. A law or custom then commenced, by which no man could marry a woman of the same name, whether related or not; which custom is so strictly observed at this day, that no one can take a wife of the same name, although removed twenty generations, or of a different family. 3. The music invented by *Fo-bi* was performed on an instrument called *kin*, the upper part of which was convex, to represent the heavens, and the under part flat, to represent the earth. 4. The *Chinese* sowed only five sorts of grain, during the reign of *Shin-nong* their second emperor. 5. The emperor, immediately after his elevation to the throne, humbled himself so far as to plough a few furrows, and offered the produce of his tillage to *Tyen*. This custom prevailed almost from the beginning of the *Chinese* monarchy. 6. In the time of *Fo-bi*, the *Chinese* sacrificed six sorts of animals, some say seven, to *Tyen*, and solemnly offered those victims twice a year at the two solstices, when all the tribunals, as well as the shops, were shut up. 7. The people on those ^f

^a SHU KING & DU HALDE, ubi sup. Gen. c. xiv. v. 18.

^b Idem ibid. Vide etiam VATABL. & GROT. annotat. ad

^c MART. MARTIN. Sinic. hist. lib. i. p. 32, 33. COUPL. & DU HALDE pass.

^d SHU-KING apud DU HALD. MARTIN. Univ. hist. ubi supra, &c. Vid. etiam CONFUCIUM apud DU HALDE, p. 646, 647.

^e CONFUCIUS apud DU HALD. ubi sup. ut & ipse DU HALD. ibid. ATHAN. KIRCHER. Chin. illustrat. p. 131—133.

(L) The following customs prevailing antiently among the *Cathcans* are mentioned by *Strabo*. 1. Every male child was examined by a proper judge, at two months old; and, if found handsome, and of a form similar to that of the generality of its countrymen, it was brought up, otherwise immediately destroyed. 2. They painted their beards with a great variety of

colours, looking upon this as a singular ornament. 3. The young people chose themselves husbands and wives, without the intervention of their parents. 4. When any woman survived her husband, she was reduced to ashes with his corpse. But this last custom, and perhaps the others too, rather belonged to the proper *Indians*, than any of the *Tartars* or *Chinese* (1).

(1) *Strab. lib. xv. p. 699, 700.*

- a days were not permitted to undertake any journeys, but obliged to spend them in joining with the prince to honour *Shang-ti*. 8. Besides the solstitial sacrifices, *Shin-nong*, who succeeded *Fo-hi*, added two others at the equinoxes. 9. The antient *Chinese* offered the first-fruits to *Shang-ti*, as early as the days of *Shin-nong*. 10. The *Chinese* took great delight in magic and enchantments, according to their own historians, towards the end of the reign of *Shau-hau*, as has been already observed. 11. The priesthood was united to the crown, that the emperor alone might be enabled to offer sacrifices to the LORD of heaven, by *Chwen hys*, the fifth monarch of *China*. 12. It was ordained by that emperor, that, if the prince was hindered from exercising the function of pontif, by age or sickness, some Mandarin or great man should perform that duty in his stead. 13. The *Chinese* allowed polygamy, but some confined themselves to the use of a few wives. This was introduced among them by *Ti ko*, or *Kau-sin*, the sixth emperor of *China*. We might here mention an infinity of other antient customs, some of which had the appearance of laws, still in force among the *Chinese*. But, as the time of the commencement or institution of these customs is not to be determined with any precision, and as they still prevail in the vast empire whose first state we are at present considering, it will be proper to defer taking notice of any of them till we come to the modern history of *China*.

THAT the antient language of the *Chinese* was pretty nearly related to the Hebrew, and the other tongues which the learned consider as dialects of it, notwithstanding what has been advanced to the contrary, we own ourselves inclined to believe. *Ludovicus Thomassinus*, *Philippus Massonius*, *Olaus Rudbeckius*, and *Augustus Pfeifferus*, seem to have proved this almost to demonstration; though *M. Bayer* does not come so readily into their opinion. However, he does not deny either the truth or probability of that opinion, nor has he thought fit to urge any thing against the instances they have produced in favour of it. It is true, a great number of words in the present *Chinese* seem not deducible either from the Hebrew, or any other language; but then these may be considered as an accellion to the primæval terms used in *China*, which were exceeding few, and undoubtedly favoured of the primitive tongue. But, to evince more clearly the point in view, we shall here beg leave to examine the first class of roots, or the primigenial roots, of the *Chinese*, and shew them to be of Hebrew extraction. For, as the *Chinese* consider these as the first and most simple words of any in their language, the characters representing them being the most simple of all, and making part of the composition of all the others, nothing can be more strong and conclusive than the argument here drawn from them. These primigenial roots we have been supplied with by *M. Bayer* himself, in his curious *Lexicon Sinicum*, for which he has justly merited the thanks of the whole learned world.



1. YE denotes *one* or *unity*, and appears to have been derived from the Hebrew *אין* *hu* or *yu*, *he*, *this*, *that*, or *the same individual*; which afterwards might naturally enough come to signify *one thing*, or *one individual*.
2. KUEN or QUEN signifies *the relation between a superior and an inferior*. It may be supposed to have been at first the same word with *אין* *gun* or *cun*, equivalent to *likeness*, *relation*, *affinity*, &c.
3. KIVE, *crooked*, *a crooked book*, *connection*, &c. This is at first sight deducible from the Hebrew word *כף* *caf* or *cif*, *curvity*, *crookedness*, &c.
4. FOE, *the radical moisture*, seems to answer pretty exactly to the Hebrew *פאה* *faa* or *fee*, which sometimes corresponds in signification with *קצב* *ketsab*, *bound*, *limit*, *end*, *extremity*, *root*, or *radix*, &c.
5. PIE, *the innate heat of animals*, may have been originally the same word with *פיה* *fiab*, or *pia*, *warm* or *hot embers*, which not a little resemble the natural heat of animals.
6. CHU, *an ensign*, or *mark of honour*, *power*, *empire*, &c. may be considered as the same word with *גו* or *גו*, *gub gu* or *cub cu*, denoting *eminence*, *excellence*, *pride*, *pomp*, &c. unless we would rather look upon it as agreeing with *כוח* *cub* or *cu*, *strength*, *power*, *riches*, *valour*, &c.
7. YE, *one thing*, has a character something different from that representing the first of these primigenial words; but that both of them were originally no other than the Hebrew *אין* above-mentioned, cannot well be denied.

* MART. MARTIN. COUPLET, FOURMONT, DU HALDE, &c.

† LUDOVIC. THOMASSIN. glossar. univers. Hebr. PHILIP. MASSON. apud Th. Sig. Bayer. mus. Sinic. in præfat. p. 30, 31. OLA. RUDBECK. de avc Sclau. Upsalis, 1705. AUGUST. PFEIFFER. oper. philologic. tom. i. p. 44, 45. Ultrajecti, 1704. THEOPH. SIGEFRIID. BAYER. mus. Sinic. tom. ii. Petropoli, 1730. Vid. etiam tom. i. p. 103—107, BAYER. tom. ii. p. 89. VAL. SCHIND. lex. pentaglot. p. 427. Hanovix, 1612. SCHIND. lex. p. 294. BAYER. ubi sup. SCHIND. lex. p. 884, 885. BAYER. ibid. SCHIND. ubi sup. p. 1415, 1416. 1378. 1639. Vide etiam JON. c. ii. v. 7. & Targ. in loc. BAYER. ibid. SCHIND. ubi sup. p. 1427. BAYER. ubi sup. SCHIND. lex. pentaglot. p. 289. 843. BAYER. ubi supra. SCHIND. p. 427.

HERE it is to be observed, that *bu* or *ye* seems more naturally to have been applied a first to *this* or *that* determinate individual, than to *unity*, or *any one thing* or *individual*; that *cun*, *likeness*, *resemblance*, *affinity*, &c. must have been prior to *kuen*, *one particular relation* founded upon likeness, affinity, &c. that *cif* or *caf*, *crookedness*, is more simple than *kive*, *a crooked book*, *connection*, &c. that *sea* or *see*, *a root* or *radix*, does not exhibit so complex an idea as *foe*, *radical moisture*; that *pie*, *the innate heat of animals*, does not convey so obvious and rude an idea as *pia*, *hot embers*; and lastly, that *chu*, *a mark* or *token of power*, must, in the nature of things, have been posterior to *cu* *strength* or *power* itself. Which if our readers think proper to admit, they will likewise probably allow the affinity between these most primitive *Chinese* roots and the *Hebrew* not only to be an irrefragable argument of the surprising agreement of the latter language with the most antient *Chinese*, but likewise of b its superior antiquity, a point that has hitherto been pretty much controverted among the learned c.

Writing.

OF the *Chinese* manner of writing we shall hereafter give our readers a full and ample account. However, at present it may not be improper to observe, that, as other nations had, almost from the beginning, alphabets consisting of a certain number of letters, which, by their various combinations, formed syllables and words, the people we are now considering had never any alphabetic characters. They at first, in the beginning of their monarchy, communicated their ideas by drawing on paper the natural images of the things they would express; which answered to the rude picture-writing of the *Mexicans*. Afterwards they used ænigmatical figures and symbols, which corresponded with the hieroglyphical character of c the *Egyptians*. As an infinite number of objects could not be represented by drawing (such as the soul, the thoughts, the passions, beauty, virtues, vices, the actions of men and animals, &c.), they by degrees composed more simple figures, and invented many others to express those things that do not come within the verge of the senses. The aforesaid simple figures were formed from the hieroglyphical and symbolical characters. There were at first only the outlines of those characters; but afterwards they received many considerable alterations. So the sun, which the *Chinese* called *Ge*, was at first represented by this figure , which in process of time became , retaining still the appellation of *Ge*. The Fathers *Martini* and *Kircher* supply us with many more instances of this kind, which at present we are not willing to transcribe. We must therefore beg leave to refer our curious readers to those learned authors, d for farther satisfaction in this particular d.

M. BAYER, in some measure, opposes this notion, when he asserts the present *Chinese* characters to resemble the *Roman* marks published at the end of *Gruter*, said to be invented by *Ennius*, but finished by *Perfannius Philosophus*, *Seneca*, and others, which contain nothing hieroglyphical or symbolical in them. But these have no connection or colligation among themselves, like the *Chinese* characters, whose most complex figures are composed of certain strokes that are visible throughout, as has been demonstrated by Father *Du Halde*. In the mean time, that the modern *Chinese* characters are truly hieroglyphical, notwithstanding what M. *Bayer* insinuates to the contrary, appears from hence, that they consist of simple letters, which retain the signification of the primitive characters; as also because human institution has affixed e to the modern figures the same ideas that the first symbols naturally exhibited. To which we may add, that every *Chinese* letter has at present its natural signification, which it always preserves, though joined with others. We might dwell longer upon this topic, did we not think, that it ought to be resumed, and expatiated upon, in the modern history of *China*, to which it more properly belongs e.

Arts and Sciences.

IF we will believe the *Chinese* themselves, they were, even from the remotest antiquity, the wisest and most learned people in the world. Their first princes, according to them, invented agriculture, music, physic, astronomy, and, in short, every art that tended either to improve the mind of man, or civilize him, and make him a fit member of society. They pretend also, that their ancestors cultivated, with great ardour, magic, natural philosophy, f ethics, and theology. As for navigation, commerce, and the mechanic arts, they believe their progenitors to have been better versed in them than any other antient nation. But that these are all vain pretences, appears very plainly from their ignorance when the jesuits first came among them, notwithstanding some of that society have transmitted to *Europe* very partial and fulsome accounts of them. It is also manifest from the fragments of their most antient classical canonical books, that have been communicated to us, and from the figure they at present make in the republic of letters. But this point we shall more fully discuss in a future part of this work f.

c Vid. JOAN. WEBBER, SHUCKFORD, &c. d MART. MARTIN. Sinic. hist. lib. i. c. 22, 23. ATHANAS. KIRCHER. Chin. illustrat. par. vi. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. p. 225—237. Vid. etiam COUPL. DU HALDE, &c. e TH. SIG. BAYER. grammat. Sinic. lib. ii. p. 89—98. Petropoli, 1730. COUPL. DU HALDE, &c. f MART. MARTIN. LE COM. COUPL. DU HALDE, &c. pass.

- a THE *Chinese* seem to have been antiently, as well as at present, of a mild, humane, and modest disposition, and greatly addicted to commerce; for, that this was the character of the *Seres*, we learn from *Pliny*. Nor, indeed, can we suppose, that the *Chinese* have much varied in their genius and disposition, since they have always industriously avoided intermixing themselves with foreigners, and have never suffered any considerable colonies from other nations to settle among them. That this has been one of their political maxims, ever since their acquaintance with the *Europeans* commenced, may be inferred from the accounts given us by the missionaries, the advices in our public prints, and many relations of modern travellers. The same dislike to foreigners discovered itself in the *Seres*, according to *Pliny*, who mentions it as an instance of their great inurbanity. Nor, indeed, can it be considered
b in a different light by the members of any polite and civilized nation^s.

The history of the Chinese, from their origin, to the commencement of the first dynasty called Hya.

- SOME of the *Chinese* philosophers maintain the eternity of the world, and others make it the mere effect of chance, or nothing more than the production of a fortuitous concurrence of atoms. However, as we have already observed, their ancestors acknowledged a First Cause, and had some notion, though in the main it was very perplexed and confused, of a future state of rewards and punishments. They likewise believed the existence of good and evil spirits, as also of tutelary genii, or guardian angels, particularly those that presided over cities. Their historians make mention of a deluge as happening about three thousand years before the birth of Christ; but nothing can be collected from them relating either to the cause or extent of it. The sentiments many of them entertained about the cosmogony, or creation of the world, we have taken notice of in the first volume of our Antient History; and therefore should be guilty of a repetition, did we insert them here. Some of their writers make *Puoncu* (A) the first man to have reigned in *China*. He was succeeded by *Tyen-boang*, in whose time the heavenly spirit diffused itself over the world, and contributed greatly towards (B) inspiring mankind with a sense of humanity, and a disposition to the practice of all social virtues, after it had destroyed the great dragon, which had thrown both heaven and earth into confusion. This prince, according to the aforesaid writers, invented those two orders of letters, of which the *Chinese* afterwards framed their sexagenary cycle. A *Chinese* author tells us, that he had thirteen successors of one family; but these seem only to have been thirteen heads of families, or chiefs of tribes, that were cotemporary with him. *Ti-boang* mounted the throne after the death of *Tyen-boang*, who was famous for his astronomical observations, for his distinguishing the day and night by their respective names, and for his assigning thirty days to each month. Thirteen princes came after him, of whom nothing memorable is related; so that they were probably persons of the same rank and dignity with the chiefs of tribes above-mentioned. *Gin-boang*, with nine princes of his family, was next
d advanced to the throne. He divided his dominions into nine parts, one of which he permitted his subjects to dwell upon, but assigned them the other eight solely for cultivation. He first formed the body of his subjects, who were before unconnected and dispersed, into a regular society, as *Phoroneus* did the people of *Argos*. His reign the *Chinese* consider as the golden age; and believe, that the aforesaid partition gave rise to geometry. *2'eu*, or *Yu*, who followed *Gin-boang*, first taught his people to build huts or cottages of wood, to defend themselves from the inclemency of the weather, and the fury of wild beasts. He likewise improved their skill in agriculture; and, by shewing them the method of striking fire out of flint, taught them to dress their meat. *Suju*, his successor, is said to have been an excellent astronomer, and to have introduced the doctrine of the five elements first among
e the *Chinese*. He is likewise reported to have invented knotted cords, which served instead of characters, and taught his subjects the use of them. Though the *Chinese* were still ignorant of the use of money, he instituted fairs, for the propagation and augmentation of commerce. To

^s PLIN. nat. hist. lib. vi. c. 17. MARTIN. COUPL. DU HALDE, &c.

(A) It appears from *Bayer* and *Menzelius*, two of the greatest critics in *Chinese* literature that have hitherto appeared in the world, that the word *Puoncu*, *Puon ku*, or rather *Puen ku*, is not the proper name of a man, but signifies the highest antiquity, or that immense duration which preceded the creation of the

world. This will appear from what we shall observe towards the close of this history (1).

(B) This passage seems remotely to allude to the fall and recovery of man; as well as to the expulsion of the wicked angels out of heaven, and their seduction of our first parents, when in a state of innocence (2).

(1) *Menzelius apud Bayer. comment. origin. Sinicar. p. 267, 268, 269, 270, &c. Petropoli, 1730.*

(2) *Historicus Sinensis apud Mar. Martin. Sin. hist. lib. i. p. 16, 17.*

this he was prompted by four of his great officers, men famous for their consummate abilities, a whom he had appointed to preside over four of his principal provinces^a.

THIS is the account given by the *Chinese* historians of the princes who lived in *China* before the foundation of their great monarchy by *Fo-bi*, whom all agree to have been at the head of their emperors. So that whatever has been advanced by some authors, in order to carry the origin of their monarchy up higher, is of no great weight, if it ought not to be considered as a manifest fiction. However, we judged it not improper to communicate to our readers what the *Chinese* say of themselves, even in the times preceding *Fo-bi*, since there is something entertaining, and probably some faint emanations of truth, in what even the most barbarous nations have by tradition received from their ancestors concerning their own original^b.

Fo-hi.

1. FO-HI was born in the province of *Shen-si*, or, as others write it, *Xen-si*. His mother, walking upon the bank of a lake near *Lan-tyen*, a city of *Shen-si*, saw a vast print of a man's foot upon the sand there; and, being surrounded by an *iris* or rainbow, she became impregnated, and in due time was brought to bed of *Fo-bi*. He was elected by his countrymen to govern them, on account of his superior merit, and called by them *Tyen-tse*, that is, *the son of heaven*. This name they gave him, not because they believed him to be of divine extraction, but to denote, that he was more favoured by heaven than the rest of mankind, since he had received from thence those exalted and transcendent qualities which raised him to the throne^c.

As the *Chinese* have placed this prince in *Shen-si*, one of the most western provinces of *China*, it seems from hence to follow, that, in the opinion of that nation, the first planters of *China* came thither from some western region; which very well accords with holy writ. We are told, that *Fo-bi* was a most profound mathematician, a famous legislator, and taught his subjects first to surround cities with walls. In order to distinguish families from one another, he first gave them names; and, perceiving that the knotted cords above-mentioned were unfit for publishing his laws, and transmitting his documents to posterity, he invented the eight *Qua*, to remedy that defect. These consisted of three lines each, which, differently combined, make sixty-four, and serve as symbols for expressing every thing that occurs^d.

THESE eight *Qua* or symbols, whose lines are either whole or broken, signify certain general things or elements, on which depend the generation and corruption of particular things. One represents heaven, another the earth, the third thunder and lightning, the fourth mountains, the fifth fire, the sixth the clouds, the seventh water, and the eighth the wind. He taught them how to make use of these famous symbols; and to give the greater credit to his new laws, pretended, that he had seen them inscribed on the back of a dragon-horse, which rose from the bottom of a lake. He called it a dragon-horse, because it was shaped like an horse, with the scales and wings of a dragon. It is no wonder, that *Fo-bi* on this occasion should have recourse to a miraculous or extraordinary appearance, to give the greater weight and authority to his institutions, since other antient legislators, the better to accommodate their laws to the taste of the vulgar, ascribed the political systems they had framed to some celebrated divinity. M. *Bayer* believes, that, of the lines of which the *Qua* consisted, the *Chinese* formed their most antient simple characters, and of them the more complex. Thus, for example, of the lines representing *fire*, the character denoting that element was afterwards formed; from those pointing out the *waters of the mountains*, the character standing for those waters had its origin; and so of the rest. But this we take rather to be a fancy, than a notion built upon any solid foundation; nor indeed does the ingenious author himself consider it in a very different view. *Kircher* and *Martini*, when they look upon the antient *Chinese* characters as either deduced from the natural images of things, or ænigmatical figures and symbols, in our opinion, approach nearer the truth; tho' here, as in all other dubious points, where something plausible may be said on each side, we leave our readers to determine for themselves^e.

FO-HI chose on this occasion a dragon, or dragon-horse, to be his assistant, because that animal was looked upon as fortunate, or a lucky omen, by the *Chinese*. From this prodigy, having gained great reputation among the people, he is said to have created Mandarins, or officers, under the name of *the Dragon*. He called one, whose employment was to compose books, *the Flying Dragon*; another, who was appointed to make the kalendar, *the Latent Dragon*; a third, who had the inspection of buildings, *the Inhabiting Dragon*; a fourth, who had the charge of relieving the people, *the Dragon Protector*; a fifth, who had the care of the lands, *the Terrestrial Dragon*; and a sixth, who was to procure a communication between springs, was denominated *the Dragon of the waters*. Hence we may assign a reason, why

^a MART. MARTIN. Sinic. hist. lib. i. p. 11—21. Univ. Hist. vol. i. p. 34, 35. COUPL. DU HALDE, &c.

^b MARTIN. COUPL. DU HALDE, ubi sup.

^c Ibidem ibid. FOURM. refl. sur hist. anc. peupl. vol. ii.

^d MARTIN. COUPL. DU HALDE in Fo-hi.

^e Ibidem ibid. Vide etiam ATHANAS. KIRCHER. Chin.

illustrat. p. 225—228. TH. SIG. BAYER. ubi sup. p. 96, 97, 98.

a the emperors of *China* always carried a dragon in their banners. The imperial dragon was allowed five claws to each foot, but that used as a symbol by a private person only four. It was a capital crime for any subject to use the imperial dragon as a symbol on any occasion^f.

FO-HI also instituted marriage, and all the connubial laws. He likewise obliged the men and the women to wear different habits, and confined men to women of different names. He also invented music, as has been already observed, and had nothing more at heart than to give public marks of a religious veneration for the Supreme Being. He bred, in a domestic park, six sorts of animals to serve as victims in his sacrifices, which he offered twice a year, at the two solstices, when the tribunals, as well as the shops, were shut up. Having established a prime minister, he divided among four Mandarins the government of his dominions. According to some, he sat an hundred and fifteen years upon the throne, and, after his death, was buried at a place called *Chin*; but the most sensible of the *Chinese* avow, that the length of his reign is unknown^g.

2. SHIN-NONG, the second emperor, invented many implements proper for tillage, and taught his subjects to sow five sorts of grain. This great benefaction so endeared him to them, that they gave him the name of *Shin-nong*, or *Celestial Husbandman*. He also communicated to them the art of making salt of sea-water, discovered the salutary and noxious qualities of many medicinal plants, and is considered by the *Chinese* as the author and prince of physic. He likewise introduced, or, at least, extended, commerce, and appointed public markets. c Whilst this monarch was wholly employed in promoting the happiness of his subjects, a tributary prince, named *So-sha*, withdrew from him his allegiance. But he was soon dispatched by his own people, who voluntarily submitted to the mild and just government of *Shin-nong*. *Martini* tells us, that he reigned an hundred and forty years, which seems not to be confirmed by the generality of the *Chinese* historians; and that he was at last cut off by a dependent prince, who refused to obey his orders. Be that as it will, he was looked upon by posterity as a religious prince, since he appointed two additional sacrifices at the equinoxes. By the first he intended to influence *Shang-ti* in favour of agriculture; and, by the other, to return thanks for the harvest, the first-fruits being then offered to him. He likewise cultivated with his own hands the field which furnished him with corn and fruits for these sacrifices. He is said by d some authors to have died at *Cha-hyang*, a place depending on *Chang-cha*, called at present *Cha-lin-chew*, and under the jurisdiction of *Chang-cha fu*, the capital of the southern part of the province of *Hu-quang*^h.

3. WHANG-TI is represented by Father *Martini* as a rebel, who, after he had slain his lawful sovereign *Shin-nong*, ascended the throne. Other historians place seven emperors between *Shin-nong* and *Whang-ti*, to wit, *Lin-que*, *Cheng*, *Ming*, *I*, *Lay*, *Li*, and *Yu-wang*. The last was deposed, and perhaps the rest were no more than tributary princes. Be that as it will, the best *Chinese* historians place only *Fo-bi*, *Shin-nong*, and *Whang-ti*, among the first emperors to whom arts and sciences owe their rise and progress. A regulus dependent on *China*, named *Chi-yew*, upon the revolt of other tributary princes, appeared in arms against the emperor *Yu-wang*, e deposed him, and, in conjunction with the other princes, placed *Whang-ti*, then but twelve years of age, upon the throne. *Fu-pau*, the mother of *Whang-ti*, being frightened with a noise of thunder, brought him forth on a mountain called *Swen-ywen*. He spoke almost as soon as he was weaned from the breast. In his infancy he discovered a great deal of wit and address; in his youth a sweet and engaging disposition; and, in his manhood, an uncommon depth of judgment and sagacity. He fought three battles with *Chi-yew* above-mentioned, and defeated him; but was prevented from pursuing him by the thickness of the fogs. But, having contrived a card which shewed his soldiers the south and the other three cardinal points, after the last action, he came up with the rebels, and put their leader to death. Some say, that, on the card, were engraven the characters of the *rat* and the *horse*, and underneath a needle to point f out the four quarters of the world. Could this be depended upon, it would appear, that the *Chinese* had something like the use of the compass, from the remotest antiquity, provided this prince preceded Christ above two thousand six hundred years, as Father *Martini* seems to believe. But the fact, as related, has so much the air of a fiction (it being impossible for such a compass to direct a victorious army in pursuit of a flying enemy out of sight), and the high antiquity assigned *Whang-ti* by *Martini*, and others, has so small an appearance of truth, that no manner of stress is to be laid upon either of them. Besides, had so useful a secret as the compass been discovered in so early an age, we cannot bring ourselves to believe, that it would ever have been lost. But, that it was lost for many ages, if *Whang-ti* invented it, can by no means be deniedⁱ.

^f MARTIN. & DU HALDE ubi sup. TH. SIG. BAYER. comment. origin. Sinic. p. 288—295. in mus. Sinic. tom. ii. ^g MARTIN. & DU HALDE. ubi sup. ^h MARTIN. COUPL. DU HALDE in *Shin nong*. TH. SIG. BAYER. comment. orig. Sinic. p. 298, 299. ⁱ MART. MARTIN. Sinic. hist. lib. i. p. 25—32. DU HALDE in *Whang-ti*.

AFTER this, *W'hang-ti* levelled several mountains, cut through others, made great roads a to facilitate commerce, and extended the limits of his empire. According to some authors, it was bounded on the east by the ocean, on the north by antient *Tartary*, on the south by the river *Kyang*, called among the *Chinese* the son of the sea, which served as a barrier to *W'hang-ti's* dominions. He created six *ko-lau*, or prime ministers, and made *Tsang-kyay*, one of them, his mandarin historiographer. *Te-nau*, another, had the charge of composing the *kya-tse*, or cycle of sixty years. It had on one side ten characters, named *Tyen-kan*, and on the other twelve, called *Ti-chi*. The former had the denomination of the ten roots; and the latter that of the twelve branches. Every year was marked by two of them, that is one of each sort, which were so combined, that the same two signs never came together till the cycle was expired. The *Chinese* at present call this cycle *Lo-she-wba-kyä*, that is, *the construction of sixty con-* b *versions*^k.

YONG-CHENG, another of the *ko-lau*, having discovered the pole-star, and others in its neighbourhood, received orders to form a sphere and kalendar; but the figure of this original sphere is not known. He also attained to great skill in fore-telling the changes of the weather and air. *Li-chew's* office being to regulate numbers and measures, he invented the following method to cast up any sum. He took a little box, divided into two parts, crossed with several iron wires, thro' which passed little balls. On every wire in the upper division he placed only two balls, each standing for five; but every wire of the lower division, being much larger, had five balls, each of which stood for one. When he reckoned from right to left, the numbers multiplied the same as in cyphering with us. This method of casting accounts, especially in the sexagenary calculus, Father *Martini* seems to prefer to any used in *Europe*. c With regard to measures, the same *Li-chew* determined the dimension of a line by a grain of millet, and reckoned ten lines to an inch, ten inches to a foot, &c. The various ways of ranging these grains, which are of an oval figure, have occasioned a diversity in the measures under different dynasties. *Ling-lun*, the fifth prime minister, had the care of improving music, in consequence of which, he took upon him to explain the order and arrangement of the different tones; and lastly, *Yong-ywen*, the sixth, in pursuance of the orders he received, made twelve copper bells, which represented the twelve months of the year. A farther account of the sexagenary cycle and calculus here mentioned will come in more naturally, when we give a description of the present state of *China*; but, in the mean time, our learned and curious d readers may consult the Fathers *Martini*, *Noel*, &c. who have been very minute and circumstantial on this head^l.

W'hang-ti afterwards invented the cap or bonnet called *myen*; several habits and ornaments suitable to his high dignity; and a variety of useful instruments, such as machines to pound rice, kitchen-stoves, &c. He also found out the art of dyeing, having had this suggested to him by the feathers of the pheasants, as well as various colours of birds and flowers. His own robes were blue and yellow, to imitate the colours of the sky and earth; and, in allusion hereto, some pretend he had his name conferred upon him, *W'hang-ti* signifying *the yellow emperor*. He caused bridges to be built over rivers, and coffins to be made for the dead. Barks also with oars he invented the construction of, and taught his subjects how to make bows and arrows; e as well as flutes, fifes, organs, trumpets that imitated the voice of the dragon, and drums that resembled thunder. Waggon, with oxen and horses to draw them, before his time, were not known in *China*. He drew models for building, and caused a palace to be erected, named *Ho-kong*, where he sacrificed to the Sovereign Lord of Heaven. In order to facilitate trade, he coined money, which, from the figure of a knife-blade upon it, he called *kin-tau*. Physic likewise, if he did not discover, he made a great progress in: his empress also communicated to the people the manner of rearing silk worms, of spinning their webs, and of making cloaths thereof. He caused his country to be divided into *chew* (C); and erected several principalities, wherein he built cities. The empress, according to *Couplet*, taught the *Chinese* the art of dyeing. We are told by the same author, that his seat was at *Cho-chew*, in the province of f *Pe-che-li*; and that he appropriated the yellow colour to the emperor. He is also said to have invented astronomy, music, and musical instruments; also arms, nets, chariots, architecture, the art of making earthen ware, measures, weights, &c. and to have written several books on the method of discovering diseases by the pulse. The *Chinese* tell us, that eighty-five emperors

^k *Iidem*, *ibid.* COUPL. præf. *ibid.* p. 14. TH. SIG. BAYER, *ubi sup.* p. 299—303. chron. monar. Sinic. p. 1, 2. MARTIN. DU HALDE, BAYER, *ubi sup.*

^l COUPL. tab.

(C) Every one of these *chew* consisted of ten *she*, every *she* of ten *tu*, every *tu* of ten towns, every town of five streets, every street of three *bo-ki*, every *bo-ki* of three *tsing*, every *tsing* of nine *king*, and every *king* of an hundred *mu*. The *mu*, according to his appointment, was

two hundred and forty paces in length, and one in breadth. The whole country he divided into an hundred principalities, to every one of which he allotted an hundred *li* (3).

(3) *Du Halde's in W'hang-ti.*

a of three imperial families, which continued two thousand four hundred fifty-seven years, derive their pedigree from *Wbang-ti*. This emperor shewed a greater zeal for *Sbang-ti* than his predecessor. For, in order to prevent being hindered by bad weather, from making the usual sacrifices to him in the open field, he built a large temple, wherein they might be offered under shelter in all seasons, and the people instructed in their principal duties. Without the south gate of his metropolis was a vast inclosure of arable land, which furnished the corn, rice, and other fruits appointed for the sacrifices; and, without the north gate, was another great inclosure full of mulberry-trees, wherein were nourished abundance of silkworms. The same day that the emperor went to till the ground with his principal courtiers, his empress *Lwi-tsu* repaired to her mulberry-grove with the ladies of her court, encouraging them, by her example, b to make silks and embroidered works, which she set apart for religious uses. *Wbang-ti* died on the mountain *King-shan*, and was interred in the province of *Shan-tong*, in the fortieth year of the second cycle, aged an hundred and eleven years, whereof he reigned an hundred. His memory is even to this day held in the highest veneration among the *Chinese* ^m.

4. THE empire becoming elective, the son of *Wbang-ti* was by election raised to the throne. *Shau-hau*. He performed the duties of religion with great fervour and devotion; which induced *Wbang-ti* to consent, that he should succeed him, with the title of *Shau-hau*, that is to say, young *Fo-bi*. For, from his infancy, he had been a zealous imitator of the virtues of the first founder of the empire, *Tay-hau Fo-bi* ⁿ.

It is reported, that the *Fong whang*, a very extraordinary bird resembling the phoenix, c appeared at his coming to the crown. This was looked upon as an happy omen; because the *Chinese* say this bird never appears but when good kings are upon the throne. The *Fong-whang*, according to the *Chinese* way of painting it, is like an eagle; but differs from that bird in the wonderful variety of its colours ^o.

DU HALDE affirms, that, from the appearance of the *Fong-whang*, this emperor took the hint to distinguish his officers by the figures of divers birds, which they wore on their cloaths. This custom is still observed. Those of the *literary mandarins* were embroidered with birds in gold, as a mark of their dignity; those of the *mandarins of war* were adorned with such rapacious animals as dragons, tigers, lions, &c. which they considered as symbols of military fierceness. As the aforesaid bird had appeared in the reign of *Wbang-ti*, the *Chinese* considered d it as the forerunner of happiness; but, had it not been seen for a long time before, they would have looked upon it as portending the extinction of the imperial family, and great commotions in the empire ^p.

SOME of the Mandarins of the new creation, called *kyew*, were obliged to assemble the people; others governed the five sorts of artificers; and others presided over the tillage, as well as the manners of the people. This prince reformed the measures for grain, had a drum to beat the watches, cleared the chanel of rivers, and smoothed the roads over the mountains. He also invented a new sort of music, that, as the *Chinese* pretend, united spirits with mortals, and reconciled the high with the low; from whence he received the name of *Ta-ywen* ^q.

THE emperor *Shau-hau* increased the pomp and solemnity of the sacrifice offered to *Sbang-ti* e by harmonious concerts of music. The greatest part of his reign was peaceable and quiet; but the last years of it were disturbed by the conspiracy of nine *chu bew*, or feudatory princes, who endeavoured to overturn the established system of government. According to some authors, these nine reguli, whom some have called *kyew-li*, disturbed the order of sacrifices, terrifying the people with spectres and goblins; which gave rise to superstitions, and brought the empire into great danger. *Martini* makes *Kyew-li* to have been a single impostor, and to have frightened the people with his delusions. The same author likewise insinuates, that he introduced idolatry and polytheism among the *Chinese*. *Shau-hau* died during the aforesaid troubles, after he had reigned eighty-four years, and gained the esteem and love of his subjects, by the mildness and goodness of his disposition. He was born, reigned, and was buried, at f *Kyo-few* in the province of *Shan-tong*; and, though he left four sons, *Chwen-hyo*, either the nephew or grandson of *Wbang-ti*, was chosen for his successor ^r.

5. THE people, towards the close of *Shau-hau*'s reign, began to intrude into the sacred Chwen-hyo, ministry, each family affecting to have sacrifices among them; which abuse *Chwen-hyo* reformed, by annexing the priesthood to the crown, and ordaining, that none but the emperor should offer solemn sacrifices to the LORD of Heaven. He extirpated the race of the nine inchanters, who were the principal authors of the late tumults. He appeased also the minds of the people, and restored order in the sacrifices. Having reflected on the inconvenience of assembling an active restless people in the same place where the emperor came to sacrifice, he separated the place of instruction from that of sacrifices, and established two Mandarins, elected from among

^m Idem ibid. ABDALLAH ABU SAID BEIDAUÆUS in hist. Sinic.

p. 32, 33. DU HALDE in *Shau-hau*. COUPL. ubi sup. p. i.

HALDE ibid. Vid. etiam MARTIN, ubi supra.

ⁿ MART. MARTIN, Sinic. hist. l. i.

^o MARTIN. & DU HALDE, ubi sup.

^p DU

^q Idem ibid.

^r MARTIN. & DU HALDE, ubi sup.

the sons of the deceased emperor, as presidents. One of these was charged with the whole ceremonial, and the other took care of the instruction of the people. He likewise settled rules for choosing the victims, ordering that they should neither be lame nor defective, nor of any other animals but the six kinds appointed by *Fo-bi*. He moreover commanded them to be well fed, and of a colour agreeable to the four seasons wherein they were offered. The *Chinese* say, that this emperor was an excellent astronomer, and that he changed the method of calculating and observing the celestial motions. As these motions were to be viewed at a distance, he invented an instrument to give a more adequate idea of them; but the figure and construction of this we are ignorant of. We are told, that, in this emperor's reign, there happened a most remarkable conjunction of five planets in the constellation *Sbe*; but a *Chinese* astronomer has remarked, that this was only an hypothetical conjunction^a.

CHWEN-HYO regulated the kalendar also, ordering that the year should begin the first day of the month, wherein the conjunction of the sun and moon should fall nearest the 15th degree of *Aquarius*; whence he is called the father and author of the ephemerides. He pitched on the time when the sun was in the middle of that sign; because then the earth is adorned with flowers and plants, the trees resume their verdure, and nature seems to be in her bloom. He likewise appointed one Mandarin to preside over the mines, another over the waters, forests, &c. and afterwards raised them to the most important posts in the empire. *Chwen-hyo* reigned seventy-eight years, died in a very advanced age, and was interred at *Pu-yang*. His seat was at the town of *Wba*, in the province of *Mallet*. *Ti-ko*, or *Kau-sin*, the emperor *Shau-bau*'s grandson, succeeded *Chwen-hyo*, whose numerous descendents had afterwards several little provinces conferred upon them, whereof they were kings, or tributary princes^b.

6. *TI-KO* was raised to the throne by the suffrages of all the orders of the state; and was addicted to the worship of *Shang-ti*, and the religious observation of the ceremonies, as much as any of his predecessors. The great devotion of this prince, and his empress *Twen Kyang*, was rewarded with a son called *Hew-tsy*, from whom sprang a glorious posterity, dignified with a great number of emperors^c.

TI-KO is greatly extolled by the *Chinese* writers, as a prince of a penetrating judgment, who examined all things himself, and entered into the minutest particulars. He was extremely popular, had a sincere affection for his subjects, and was a most bountiful and munificent prince. He established masters to teach the people virtue, and invented vocal music. *Hyen-ho* was the first who composed songs by his order. Flutes, both direct and transverse, drums, bells, and other musical instruments, were first made by his direction. He caused that music to be played, which he named *Lu-ing*, that is, *the beauty of heaven, earth, and the four seasons*. He took four wives, and introduced polygamy among the *Chinese*. By the first of these he had a son named *Ki*, whose descendents founded the dynasty of *Chew*; by the second *Sye*, whose posterity founded that of *Shang*; by the third *Yau*; and by the fourth *Chi*, who succeeded him in the government of the empire. He fixed his residence in the province of *Ho-nan*, upon the spot where the city of *Yen-su* stands. His brothers and their sons he created sovereign princes in the province of *Se-chwen*, and died in the thirty-second year of the sixth cycle, aged 105, after he had reigned seventy years^d.

Chi. 7. *CHI*, who swayed the scepter after the former emperor, was the son of *Ti-ko* by his fourth wife *Chang-ti*, who seemed to possess no good qualities worthy of the throne. At first, however, the people conceived some opinion of his merit, and not without reason, according to Father *Martini*. But afterwards he made his authority intirely subservient to his brutal pleasures. As he indulged himself in the use of women, and intoxicating liquors, without limitation, the tributary princes, who were accustomed to obey wise emperors, could not bear his licentious and dissolute conduct. Having, therefore, in vain admonished him to reform, they deposed and banished him, setting his brother *Yau* on the throne. He is said to have reigned eight years, having been dethroned in the fortieth year of the sixth cycle, and is not reckoned by Father *Martini* among the emperors^e.

Yau. 8. *YAU* is considered as the first legislator of the *Chinese*, and the model of their sovereigns. Virtue, according to the writers of his nation, was natural to him, and nothing was wanting in him to form a complete and perfect character. He not only became a pattern for all his successors, but brought the sciences to their utmost perfection; which, according to the *I king*, he could never have done, and that within the first sixty years of his reign, if it had not been for the extraordinary assistance of *Tyen*. In fine, he was the delight of his subjects, his reign having been so amiable, that the *Chinese* philosophers usually enforced their maxims of morality from their uniformity with the conduct of this emperor, and his two successors; which conformity, once proved, gave them an indisputable authority^f.

^a MART. MARTIN. Sinic. hist. lib. i. p. 33, 34, 35. DU HALDE in *Chwen-hyo*.

^b Ibidem ibid.

^c MART. MARTIN. ubi sup. p. 35, 36. DU HALDE, in *Ti-ko*.

^d Ibidem ibid. Vid. etiam COUPLER.

ubi sup. p. 2.

^e MART. MARTIN. Sinic. hist. lib. i. p. 36.

^f DU HALDE in *Chi*. COUPLER ubi sup. p. 37.

^g CONFUCIUS apud Mart. Martin. ubi sup. p. 37. ut & ipse MARTIN. ibid. Lib. Sinic. dict. SHU-KING apud Du Halde, ut & ipse DU HALDE in *Yau*.

THIS emperor, taking great pleasure in observing the heavens, ordered *Hi* and *Ho*, two eminent mathematicians, to examine carefully the motions of the celestial bodies, and also to make proper instruments for such observations. By their assistance, he regulated the twelve lunar months, and re-established the intercalated ones, which returned seven times in nineteen years. He is said to have erected six supreme tribunals, which still subsist; and, by the reputation of his singular virtue, to have drawn several neighbouring nations into his dominions. In order to make room for these, he attempted to drain the plains which were overflowed, by opening a passage for the waters to the sea. After this, he associated with him in the empire one *Shun*, an husbandman, whose virtue, probity, and patience, under the severest trials, joined to the confidence which all good men reposed in him, and to an infinity of other excellent qualities, rendered him worthy of the throne. His empress had the care of breeding silk-worms, and brought the silk manufactures to a surprising degree of perfection. We are told, that, in the reign of *Yau*, the sun did not set for ten days; and that the *Chinese* were then afraid of a general conflagration. Various serpents of a monstrous size are likewise said about the same time to have appeared. *Yau* lived twenty-eight years in perfect harmony with his new colleague, to whom he had given both his daughters in marriage, and died in the hundred and eighteenth year of his age, after he had reigned ninety years, according to *Martini*, or an hundred, if we will follow *Du Halde*. The people, who had experienced in this truly amiable prince all the love and tenderness of a parent, mourned for him three whole years².

9. *SHUN*, though of mean extraction, was appointed by the late emperor his sole heir, to *Shun*. the exclusion of all the princes of the blood, and even in opposition to all the remonstrances of the successor himself, who did not think himself qualified to be placed at the head of so great an empire. Immediately after his accession, he paid his solemn homage to *Shang-ti*, and afterwards enacted those wise laws, whereon the government of the empire is founded. He created Mandarins, and gave excellent precepts relating to the five principal duties, of the king and the subject, father and children, husband and wife, elder and younger brothers, and of friends among themselves. As his example gave great weight to those precepts, his subjects were intirely influenced by them. He was, therefore, justly reckoned one of the most excellent *Chinese* law-givers, as well as his predecessor. Soon after *Yau's* decease, *Shun* trusted the government to his ministers, and shut himself up three years in that prince's tomb, the more d freely to vent his grief for the loss of a monarch whom he considered as his father. But, having discharged his duty of piety and gratitude towards *Yau*, he took possession of the imperial palace, and received the homage of all the tributary princes. Finding abundance of gold and jewels in the palace, he caused a sphere to be made exhibiting the seven planets; each of which was represented by the precious stone most suitable to it. He always honoured philosophers and men of learning with his favour and protection. The provinces he visited every year; and, in his progress, rewarded or punished the reguli with so much justice, that he gained the esteem and admiration of all his people³.

DURING his reign, agriculture flourished, and plenty every-where prevailed. For which end he forbade the governors, under severe penalties, to exact a day's work from any husband- e man, as this must naturally tend to discourage industry, and obstruct the progress of tillage. He filled all the important posts in the state with none but persons of merit and capacity; nay, by one of his ordinances, he permitted any of his subjects to set forth on a table, exposed to public view, whatever could be found blameable in his own conduct. Lastly, in the choice of a successor, he consulted the good of his people, by giving them another prince like himself in the person of *Yu*, though this was done to the exclusion of his own family⁴.

WE are told by *Martini*, that the *Tartars*, for the first time, in this prince's reign, made an irruption into *China*; but that they were soon obliged to retire into their own territories. *Yu*, before he was adopted by *Shun*, had recovered the drowned lands above-mentioned; which his father had not been able to effect. After thirteen year indefatigable labour, he f levelled mountains, turned the great rivers into their natural chanel, drained the lakes and marshes, confined several rapid torrents between banks, and divided the lesser rivers into different canals, which terminated in the sea. By this means he enlarged the provinces, and rendered them more fertile; which important piece of service greatly contributed to his advancement, as well as his singular merit⁵.

SHUN lived seventeen years after he had raised *Yu* to the throne, which is said to have happened in the fifty-fourth year of the second cycle; and died in the tenth year of the following one, being an hundred and ten years old. He was buried in the province of *Shen-si*, and vastly regretted by all his subjects. He has been greatly celebrated by the famous *Confucius*, and the *Li-ki*, as well as the best *Chinese* writers of all succeeding ages⁶.

² MARTIN. COUPL. & DU HALDE, ubi sup.
HALDE in *Shun*.

³ Idem ibid.

⁴ MART. MARTIN. Sinic. hist. lib. i. p. 43—47. DU

apud Martin. in *Yaus*, Sinic. hist. lib. i. p. 37.

⁵ MART. MARTIN. & DU HALDE, ubi sup.

⁶ CONF.

Lib. Sin. dict. *Li-ki* apud Du Halde, ut & ipse DU HALDE ibid.

As the most authentic *Chinese* historians seem to agree, that their chronology, before the time of *Yau*, who associated *Shun* with him in the empire, is by no means to be depended upon, and as those historians seem not to have used the computation of cycles before the reign of that prince; we are hereby sufficiently authorized to conclude our history of the antient *Chinese* with the death of *Shun*. For this another reason, also, of no small weight, may be assigned: The crown of *China* became hereditary in the family of *Yu*, who succeeded *Shun*; and the *Chinese* dynasties, of which that called *Hya* was the first, immediately commenced upon that prince's accession. As those dynasties, therefore, still continue, the commencement of them, by an *European* historian, may be considered as a new æra, at which the modern history of *China* will very naturally begin. In the mean time, to the preceding account of the antient *Chinese*, we shall beg leave to subjoin the following reflections ^a.

Much of the early Chinese history fabulous.

1. THE *Chinese* history, from the time of *Fo-bi* to the death of *Shun*, has in the main manifestly the air of a fiction. The great progress those two monarchs, as well as all the intermediate princes, made in some one at least of the liberal arts, if we suppose them to be as antient as many of the missionaries, together with the *Chinese*, pretend, is utterly improbable. The number of people there must have been in *China*, according to the aforesaid history, during the reigns of all those monarchs, will also, upon the above-mentioned supposition, as well as the superior politeness of that people, to every sober and intelligent person, appear absolutely incredible. The fabulous incidents likewise, with which the history of those reigns is interspersed, and which are obvious to every one who peruses the foregoing account, let this point beyond dispute. So that as the greatest part of the *Chinese* memoirs of all the emperors of *China*, preceding *Yu*, have the principal distinguishing characteristics of a fiction, they cannot well be viewed in any other light than that in which we are here considering them. ^b

Chinese chronology to the reign of *Yu* false.

2. THAT the *Chinese* chronology to the reign of *Yu* is very inaccurate, not to say false, most clearly appears from the foregoing history. Nor can all the efforts of some of the missionaries overturn this glaring truth. For, not to insist upon the certainty of the *Hebrew* chronology, to which the generality of the learned seem willing to adhere, the history whose authority supports it, favours greatly of fiction, as is allowed even by the most rational *Chinese*, and missionaries themselves. We say the history, whose authority supports it; since in reality the *Chinese* chronology to the reign of *Yu* is void of every other support. For nothing besides that authority can be urged in favour of it, except the testimony of *Confucius*, and other antient writers, the opinion of the *Chinese*, and their astronomical observations. Now the testimony of *Confucius*, and other authors who lived many ages after these early princes, that the history of them was extant in their time, and that it was then commonly believed they had existed, will by no means prove the reality of such existence, nor consequently evince their high antiquity. The opinion of the *Chinese* will indeed prove their zeal for their own antiquities, but by no means evince the genuineness of them. And as for astronomical observations, the *Chinese* were incapable of making any, at least with tolerable precision, till many ages after the death of *Shun*; and, even had not this been the case, they might have feigned solar and lunar eclipses, planetary conjunctions, &c. in order to please, flatter, and amuse their emperors. For such false conjunctions often occur in the *Chinese* history, especially at the change of dynasties; and, as for eclipses, we find none mentioned by the *Chinese* writers, before the second year of the fourth cycle, in the reign of *Chong-kang*, about sixty years after the death of *Shun*. So that the *Chinese* chronology, for the period we have here considered, must be looked upon as indefensible ^c.

The celestial observations of the Chinese frequently fictitious.

3. To confirm what is here submitted to the judgment of the learned, we must beg leave farther to remark, that some of the earliest celestial observations of the *Chinese* are full as romantic as any thing else that occurs in their history of the nine first emperors. Of this several instances might here be produced; but at present we shall confine ourselves to one only. Father *Martini* informs us, that, according to the *Chinese*, in the reign of *Yau*, the sun was observed not to set for ten days; which rendered the people apprehensive of a general conflagration. Now will any person be so sanguinely disposed in favour of *Chinese* veracity, as to suppose this a real observation? And, if not, will it not shake the authority of their other observations, especially when they exceed all belief, or at least are not founded upon a proper degree of probability? Nothing, therefore, can be more uncertain and chimerical than the conclusion drawn from the eclipse that is said to have happened in *China* 2155 years before the birth of Christ, in support of a fabulous and romantic antiquity ^d.

Chinese historical period of time begins after *Yu*.

4. FROM what has been advanced it will follow, that the *Chinese* historical period of time must have commenced at least considerably later than the reign of *Yu*. Nay, Father *Fouquet*, Bishop of *Eleutheropolis*, has obliged the learned world with a table, that fixes the æra of the *Chinese* history, so far as it is genuine, about four hundred years before Christ; and he even affirms, that some, not without strong reasons, believe, that it might be brought lower still. ^e

^a MAR. MARTIN. ubi sup. p. 47. DU HALDE in introduct. & alib.

^f Vid. not ad DU HALDE. in

^e MAR. MARTIN. ubi sup. p. 37. P. PREMARE in lett. edifiant. tom. xix. p. 403.

a He allows, indeed, the *Chinese* nation to be almost as old as the deluge; but denies, that their history deserves much credit, if we ascend higher than four hundred years before Christ. Nay, M. *Fourmont* observes, that this opinion pretty much prevails at present among the missionaries. The table above-mentioned was published at *Rome* in 1729. It contains three large sheets, and is intituled *Tabula chronologica historiae Sinicae, connexa cum cyclo qui vulgo Kia-tse dicitur*. The founders of the *Kang-mo*, or great *Chinese* annals, who are the most esteemed of all the *Chinese* historiographers, are also of the same sentiments ^b.

5. This likewise in some measure appears from what we have advanced in the history of the *Tartars*. It has there been rendered probable, that a great part of *China* was very thinly peopled, if not quite void of inhabitants, so late as the year before Christ 637, when the *Scythians*, under the conduct of *Madyes*, made an irruption into the *Upper Asia*. From whence it will follow, that little credit is due to those annals which make *China* to have been a powerful empire above two thousand years before. For, that it was then absolutely uncultivated, upon the former supposition, there is not the least reason to doubt. This argument might be pushed farther, and insisted upon in a more copious manner, were there any need of it; but, as this is not the case, we think it sufficient just to have hinted it to our readers here ^c.

6. We are informed by some *Chinese* historians, followed by Father *Martini*, that the *Tartars* first made an irruption into *China*, in the reign of *Shun*. If this be admitted, it will absolutely overturn the high antiquity of *Shun*, and his predecessors, as well as the authority of those historians in the point before us. For, the *Tartars* never committed any hostilities against the *Chinese*, even according to their own historians themselves, before the time of *Ogus Khan*. Now, from what has been already observed, no one can suppose that prince to have been prior to *Madyes*, and consequently to have preceded Christ above six hundred and forty years. Nay, supposing the *Tartars* to have been the descendants of the proper *Scythians*, which we think cannot well be denied, they could not have penetrated into *China* till many ages after *Madyes*; since the *Scythians* themselves only began to make a figure in the reign of that prince, having been before confined to a small extent of territory near the eastern bank of the *Volga*. Nor can we think it probable, that the name of *Tartar*, or *Tatar*, was known even among the *Chinese* till long after the *Scythians* made themselves masters of the *Upper Asia*; which conquest their later posterity have not scrupled to extend even to *China* itself. But such a romantic turn as this is common to all the eastern writers, especially those of not a very antient date; and therefore no manner of stress is to be laid upon it. We might here expatiate more largely upon the point in view, did we not choose to reserve a full and particular discussion of it for the modern history of *China* ^d.

7. But though the greatest part of the *Chinese* history, to the commencement of the first dynasty, is apparently fabulous, yet still in this there may be discerned some faint glimmerings of truth. This has been clearly deduced by *Bayer* and *Menzelius*, two most eminent critics in *Chinese* literature, from the beginning of the book intituled *Siao ul lun*, or, in *Latin*, *Origines Sinicae*. These learned men have found some affinity between the *Puen ku*, or *Puoncu*, i. e. the first antiquity, as also the *Tay ku*, i. e. the highest antiquity of that book, and the vast ocean of eternity that preceded the creation of world. The former believes, that the WATER, or LIQUID MASS, of the *Siao ul lun*, terminating the highest antiquity (or eternity preceding the creation of the world), and separating it from time, as well as the system that followed, resembles the chaos of *Ovid*, and the *tobu vabobu* of the sacred historian. The *Tien hoam xi*, *Ty hoam xi*, and *Gin hoam xi*, i. e. The august family of heaven, the august family of earth, and the august family of men, of the *Siao ul lun*, that immediately come after the LIQUID MASS, M. *Bayer* proves to denote the creation of the heavens, of the earth, and of man. Nor are we to be surpris'd at the expression of *hoam xi*, the august family, when it is applied to the heavens, and to the earth; since the greater part of the pagan world, in the earlier ages of idolatry, believed the heavens, the earth, and the celestial orbs, to be animated by spirits, or intelligences of a middle nature between men and the Supreme Being. In like manner the *nien gin*, or nine men, of the august family of men, mentioned by the *Siao ul lun*, according to M. *Bayer*, point at the nine antediluvian generations preceding *Noah*, who may be considered as the second father of mankind. In the aforesaid book, *Fo-bi*, who is placed at the head of those generations, is said to have had for his wife one *Niu-Kua*. Now *Kua*, or *Qua*, can by no means be deemed remote from *Chava*, or *Chaua*, *Adam's* consort; which seems to imply, that *Adam* and *Fo-bi* were the same person. *Fo-bi* is represented as having the head of a man, but the body of a serpent. Now among the antients a serpent was the symbol of a man or people sprung out of the earth. This repre-

^b FOURMONT. refl. critiq. sur. hist. anc. peupl. tom. ii. p. 402. Vid. etiam not. ad DU HALD. in introduct. sub fin. ^c See the history of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moguls*, towards the beginning and the end. ^d MART. MARTIN. ubi sup. p. 46. HERODOT. lib. i. THEOPHILUS SIGEFRIIDUS BAYERUS de origin. & prisce sedib. Scythar. Comment. acad. scient. imperial. Petropolit. tom. i. p. 385—424. Petropoli, 1728. & tom. iii. p. 295—350. Petropoli, 1732. ABUL GHAFI BAHADUR KHAN'S genealogic. hist. of the *Tatars*, part. ii. c. 2. MIRKHOND, & D'HERELLE. Biblioth. orient. p. 685

sentation, therefore, intimates *Fo-bi* to have had such an original; and consequently seems to imply, that the earliest *Chinese* were informed, by tradition, that God *formed man of the dust of the ground*. We are told, that *Wbang-ti*, or *Hoam-ti*, appointed *Ta nau*, or *Ta nao*, to form the sexagenary cycle; and that he was the inventor of barks, or small vessels. Now, as from the *Chinese* series of antediluvian generations above-mentioned it appears, that *Wbang-ti*, or *Hoam-ti*, may be supposed to have answered to *Noah*, we may consider the name *Ta Nao*, or *great Nao*, and the *invention of barks*, alluding to the construction and use of the ark, as pointing at the same patriarch. In fine, these, as well as other instances that there occur, amount to a plain proof, that something of truth may be extracted even from the fabulous history of the *Chinese*; and that this nation had some obscure traces of the cosmogony, the origin of man, the universal deluge, and other points handed down to us in the clearest light by the sacred historian¹.

The Chinese have corrupted their own antiquities.

8. It appears from hence, that the *Chinese* of later ages have greatly corrupted their own antiquities. The traditional notions they had received from their earliest ancestors relating to the cosmogony, the creation of man, the deluge, and the antediluvian world, they have ridiculously applied to the ancient state and monarchy of *China*; by which they have brought the history of their nation, especially the first part of it, into contempt, among the sober and rational part of mankind. However, all other nations have, in some respects, done the same thing. The *Chinese* have also reduced to their sexagenary cycle many transactions, handed down to them by their first progenitors, which happened long before the invention of that cycle, and by this means introduced great confusion into their chronology. Nor are we to be surprised at this, since they did not begin to compute their years according to that cycle, till long after the discovery of it; as the commencement of the *Olympic* games did not serve for an epoch to the *Greeks* till many years after that event happened; nor the restoration of *Rome* by *Romulus* to the *Romans* till the age of either *Fabius Pictor*, *Cato*, or *Varro*; nor, lastly, the birth of Christ to the *Christians* till the time of *Dionysius Exiguus*. In fine, that the *Chinese* annals cannot be depended upon, may be inferred even from *Confucius* himself, who more than hints the inaccuracy of them; nay, that many of the oldest materials for such annals had been destroyed before he wrote. The present ancient memoirs, therefore, that are obtruded upon us by the Jesuits and the *Chinese*, must be allowed modern (D) productions, in comparison of the times to which they pretend to relate; so that scarce any thing certain can be deduced from them, though some faint emanations of truth may now-and-then appear^m.

What we are to think of their most ancient historical memoirs.

9. As the *Chinese* were almost totally ignorant of every branch of literature, when the Jesuits first came among them, what credit can be deemed due to their accounts of things preceding even the historical period of the *Greeks*, who were a learned, curious, and rational nation? Their great philosopher *Confucius* complains of a want of genuine historical memoirs in his time; and yet now the Jesuits, in conjunction with the modern *Chinese*, pretend to give a clear and authentic history of the monarchs of *China*, who lived two thousand years before

¹ TH. SIG. BAYER. *mus. Sinic.* tom. i. in præfat. p. 69. & tom. ii. MENZELIUS apud Bayer. *comment. origin. Sinicar.* p. 267, 268, 269, 270, &c. Petropoli, 1730. ABDALLAH ARU SEID. BEIDAU. *hist. Sin.* Lib. Sin. dist. SIAO UL LUN apud Bayer. *ubi supra*, p. 259—267. POCOCK. *not. in specim. hist. Arab.* p. 138. GOLII *not. ad Alfragan.* p. 251. MAIMONID. *in more nevochim.* HOTTINGER. *hist. oriental. lib. iv. c. 8.* HYDE *relig. vet. Persar. hist. cap. i. p. 2, 3, & alib.* Univ. *hist. vol. vii. part i. p. 247, 248.* HERODOT. *in Cli. DIOD. Sic. & LUCIUS AMPELIUS apud Bayer. ubi sup. p. 291. Gen. c. ii. v. 7.* MAR. MARTIN. *hist. Sinic. lib. i. p. 29.* DU HALDE *in Wbang-ti.* ^m TH. SIG. BAYER. *ubi sup. p. 324.* CONFUCIUS apud Bayer. *ubi sup. p. 328, 329. ut & ipse BAYER. ibid.*

(D) In confirmation of what is here advanced, it may be observed, that neither we nor the *Chinese* have any thing more than fragments of the classical or canonical books, and those, as it is natural to suppose, greatly corrupted. The emperor *Shi-wang-ti*, in the year before Christ 213. ordered all the copies of books in the empire, except those written by lawyers and physicians, to be burnt; which was done accordingly. Nay, in order totally to destroy the memory of every thing contained in them, he commanded a great number of learned men, the next year, to be buried alive, that they might not find out a method of transmitting to posterity the historical memoirs of the empire, which he was resolved to annihilate. He was inspired with this resolution by a vanity peculiar to himself. For, being in reality the first absolute emperor of *China*, he was desirous of burying all the acts and exploits of his predecessors in oblivion, that his own achievements might shine with the greater lustre. This emperor also, in order to prevent the sudden incursions of the

Tartars, as he gave out, but probably to indulge the same unaccountable vanity, built a wall from the sea to the extremities of the province of *Shen si*, the reality of which stupendous work would be now disbelieved, were it not still in being. *Pu-ti*, seventy-three years after the death of *Shi-wang-ti*, having collected all the scattered fragments of historical memoirs that had, with the utmost difficulty, been preserved, obliged his subjects with an edition of these fragments. But it is probable, that they met with the same fate on this occasion that happened to the fragments of the *Sibylline* verses burnt with the *Capitol*, in the civil war between the senate and *Marius*, at *Rome*. The latter, collected from various parts, were undoubtedly so corrupted, as to retain scarce any resemblance of the originals; and the former, as we have great reason to believe, have had so many interpolations and corruptions foisted into them, that they agree in few particulars with those ancient productions whose names they bear (4).

(4) Th. Sig. Bayer. *de Confucii libro Chun-chieu, in comment. acc. l. Petropolit. tom. vii. p. 366, 367. Petropoli, 1740.* Du Halde *in Shi-wang-ti & in Pu-ti. Tacit. annal. lib. vi. c. 12.*

a that philosopher. Nothing certainly can be more absurd than such a pretension (E); and yet it would be unjust to deny every thing those fathers have related of the antient *Chinese*, since *Abdallah Beidauæus*, a *Persian* author, who wrote the history of *China* in the beginning of the fourteenth century, confirms some articles to be met with in them. We must, therefore, observe a medium between the two extremes which at present divide almost the whole literary world, and allow that the most antient historical memoirs of the *Chinese* are not intirely void of truth, though in the main they scarce merit the attention of the learned ^a.

^a TH. SIG. BAYER. ubi sup. p. 29, 30, & alib. CONFUCIUS ubi sup. ABDAL. ABU SEID. BEIDAU. apud Bayer, pass. ut & ipse BAYER. ubi sup. p. 316.

(E) This most evidently appears from the translation M. Bayer has given us of the *Chun çieu* of *Confucius*. This contains a most rude, jejune, and imperfect account of the *Chinese* dynasties and reguli preceding the age in which he lived, that deserves not the name of an history. M. Bayer, therefore, very justly puts it upon a level with the rude memoirs of the better sort of farmers, and citizens, which contain nothing more than a plain and simple account of the most obvious and common events. Nor were the earlier *Greek* and *Roman* annals a whit more perfect or entertaining, according to *Tully*, and *Sempronius Asellio* in *Gellius*. Now, supposing the *Chun çieu* to be really as old as *Confucius*, it was written about five hundred years before the birth

of Christ. And, if the greatest and most learned man in *China* at that time was no better qualified to write history, or then had no better materials for one, what can we think of the *Chinese* historians or historial memoirs of the remotest ages? But there is the greatest reason to believe, that this book is far from being genuine, or coeval with *Confucius*. For the emperor *Shi-wang-ti* destroyed all the historical memoirs in *China* about 267 years after the death of *Confucius*; and therefore but little of his historical works is probably now remaining. This single observation is sufficient to overthrow the authority of those romantic accounts of the first emperors of *China*, which the modern *Chinese*, and their adherents, would impose upon the world (5).

(5) Th. Sig. Bayer. de *Confucii libro Chun çieu*, in comment. acad. Petropolit. vol. vii. p. 399—402. Petropoli, 1740. Cic. de orator. lib. ii. Sempronius Asellio apud Gell. noct Attic. lib. iv. c. 18.

CHAP. I.

The Empire of China.

SECT. I.

A general view of the Chinese empire.

b **T**HIS vast and opulent empire is situate on the most eastern verge of *Asia*; and comprehends, as hath been already hinted, the kingdom of *China*, properly so called, and the *Chinese*, or, as it is sometimes styled, *Great Tartary*. We have, in the foregoing Introduction, for the sake of those that have not the octavo edition of this work, prefixed a short account of its foundation, antient state, extent, religion, laws, &c. as far as it could be attained from antient authors and records ^a; and have brought down their history to their ninth monarch *Shun*; in whose family the crown being become hereditary, we thought it the properest period to begin the modern one ^b. In those early days this monarchy was confined within narrow bounds, or perhaps within the compass of one single province ^c; whose first colonies, having once plated themselves in it, seem to have taken such care to bear all the avenues to it from the rest of mankind, as never to be opened to any but ambassadors from other states; by which means they had not only all possible opportunities of extending their dominions, founding their government, and improving arts and sciences from the earliest times; and having so far spread themselves, as to become the noblest and largest monarchy hitherto discovered ^d, and to be justly esteemed the richest, largest, and most populous, of any that is now governed by one prince. Its whole extent, from the fortress of *Caypim*, in the province of *Pe-king*, situate under the 41st degree, to the most southern part of the island of *Hay-nan*, under the 18th degree of north latitude, is 23 degrees, from north to south. There are several other ways of extending its length and breadth to more advantage, which the reader may see in the margin (A). However, according to the best and latest surveys, ^e

Its situation, extent, &c.

Antient state.

Growth.

Form and extent.

^a See before, Introduction, p. 491, & seq.
^d DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 1.

^b Ibid. p. 510.

^c Ibid. p. 498 (K).

(A) To compute the whole extent of this large country in length and breadth, the former must be taken from the north-eastern frontier-town of *Xagywen*, in the province of *Lyau-tong*, unto the last city of that of *Yunnan*, called *Chyen-tyen*; and then its greatest length will be about 400 *German*, or 1600 *English* miles; to which if we add the island of *Hay nan*, which likewise belongs to *China*, and lies south of *Quang-tong*, or *Canton*, two

degrees, or 120 miles, more must be added to its length. Its breadth may be also stretched to a greater extent, by measuring it from the town of *Nimpo*, a seaport town in the province of *Che-kyang*, to the utmost boundary of that of *Se-chuen*, or *Su-chuen*; by which it will amount to about 315 *German*, or 1269 of our miles. And if it be measured from the town of *Tau-chuan*, situate on the utmost eastern verge of *Lyau-tong*, on the

surveys, it is found to be not of a circular, but oval figure, extending most from north to south, as was hinted in the note; and that its least extent, which way soever measured in a straight line, amounts to 360 leagues, of 20 to a degree, or to 60 of our miles^a. The more recent writer gives it still a greater extent; viz. 34 degrees from north to south, or 680 leagues; and considerably above 300 from east to west, even where it is narrowest; so that, according to him, the whole circuit of it extends above 1800 leagues†; but upon what new discoveries he founds his dimensions, we are not told.

Boundaries. CHINA is bounded on the north by *Tartary*, from which it is parted by the famous *Chinese* wall, of which we shall give a fuller account in its proper place; and, on the east, by the eastern or *Chinese* ocean; on the south, by the southern or *Indian* sea; and, on the west, by a vast sandy desert, and a long ridge of inaccessible mountains, which divide it from western *Tartary* and the kingdoms of *Tibet*, &c. It contains fifteen provinces (exclusive of that of *Liautong*, which is situate without the great wall, though under the same dominion; each of which might, for their largeness, fertility, populousness, and opulence, pass for so many distinct kingdoms. Their names and site are as follows: 1. *Shen-si*; 2. *Shan-si*; and, 3. *Pe-che-li*; which extend themselves on the north, along the *Chinese* wall. Four more are situate along the eastern ocean; viz. 4. *Shan-tong*; 5. *Kyan-nang*; 6. *Che-lyang*; and, 7. *Fo-kyen*. Four others stretch themselves towards the south and west; viz. 8. *Quang-tong*; 9. *Quang-si*; 10. *Yu-nan*; and, 11. *Se-chuen*. The four last, viz. 12. *Ho-nan*; 13. *Hu-quang*; 14. *Quey-chew*; and, 15. *Kyang-si*; take up the middle part: of all which, as well as of that of *Liau-tong*, we shall give a fuller account in a proper place, according to their order (B).

Provinces. As *China* extends so far from south to north, as from the second to the fifth climate, so must its temperature vary accordingly. The difference of the length of its days is little more than four hours; the longest, in the most northern parts, being about fourteen hours and three quarters, and the shortest, in the most southern, about ten hours and three quarters; and the nights proportionably^c. It is, however, generally reckoned very moderate, except only towards the north, where the cold is extremely piercing, not so much from its northern fire, as from the ridges of mountains that intersect those parts, and are vastly high, and mostly covered with deep snows. Even in those parts which run under the tropics, the winds that blow thither from the large and mountainous parts of *Tartary*, make the cold weather exceeding piercing and severe during the three, and sometimes four, winter months (C). The southern parts

^a DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 2. See also MAGAILLAN, LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, & al. † *Id. de la Chine*, vol. i. p. 52.

part ii. ch. 2. sect. 2.

^c Vid. MAGAILLAN, LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, & al. GORDON gram.

frontiers of *Korea*, quite to that of *Tsing-tau*, on the most western part of the province of *Shen-si*, it will be still considerably wider (1).

Father *Le Compté*, who supposed the *Chinese* empire to be circular, gave it still a more extensive breadth; tho' he agreed, in the main, as to its length. But it hath been fully proved by new surveys to be of an oval form; and, consequently, that its breadth, where broadest, came short of its length by somewhat above a fourth part (2); that is, that it extends itself so much farther from north to south, than from the to west (3).

(B) It will not be improper here to apprise our readers, once for all, that in the orthography of these provinces, and all others, proper names of men, cities, &c. (which are so differently spelt by all the authors who have written of this country) we have followed the judicious *English* translator of Father *Du Halde*, who hath taken no small pains to reduce it, as near as was possible, to the *English* idiom (4), both in the maps, and in the body of the work. The power and sound of the *Chinese* letters, vowels as well as consonants, differ so vastly from those of *Europe*, that those authors have split themselves into an almost irreconcilable, as well as unintelligible, dissonance, in endeavouring to convey those sounds, which can only be taught by the ear, by such letters of their respective alphabets as they thought came nearest to them: so that, considering the vast difference of pronunciation between most *European* nations, it was impossible for them to convey those sounds, without spelling them each according to the peculiar pronunciation of his own country: and hence proceeds that vast difference of writing the same name between the *Spaniards*, *Portuguese*, *English*, *French*, *Italians*, *High* and *Low Dutch*, &c.

What adds still more to this variety, is the number of letters or sounds, peculiar to the *Chinese*; to which

none of our *European* alphabets afford us any thing equivalent, or even approaching to. This peculiarity, moreover, extends itself not only to vowels and consonants, but much more with respect to some of their gutturals and compound letters; instances of which the reader may see in great numbers in the preface above-mentioned. But, with respect to the gutturals, we shall beg to subjoin a singular one, which that ingenious author hath not taken notice of, but which hath been a pregnant cause of this variety of spellings.

The *Chinese* language abounds in gutturals, which few of our polite *Europeans* have. One of them, in particular, is so deep and harsh, that neither the *Hebrew*, *Chaldean*, *Syriac*, *Greek*, or any other tongue, except perhap the *Arabic*, have any thing answerable to it. This the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* expressed, as well as they could, by their X, which, with them, is pronounced gutturally, though nothing so deep. But as that letter hath a quite different sound among other *European* nations, each of them was forced to substitute some other for it, such as seemed to them to come nearest to the original; some by a k, others by a c, others by ch, &c. And hence, to prevent all confusion and misunderstanding, as much as possible, we shall not only confine ourselves to the orthography above-named, as the most adapted to our *English* pronunciation; but shall likewise, whenever it differs so much from any other authors quoted in the sequel, give those names according to their own way of writing it, that there may be no doubt about our meaning the same person or place.

(C) This would hardly be credited, were it not confirmed to us by most travellers that have visited those parts at the cold season, and particularly by Father *Le Compté*; who, in the relation he gives of his journey from *Nimpo* to *Pe-king*, assures us, that the frost was so

(1) See *La Martiniere*, *Geogr. Dict. sub voc. Chine*.

(2) *Id. ibid.* *Du Halde*, *Magailan*, & al.

(3) *Du Halde*, p. 2.

(4) See his preface to that work, p. 2. & seq.

a parts, on the other hand, must be supposed to be exceeding hot and dry, the nearer they draw towards the tropic, or extend beyond it ; but those heats are the more easily borne by the help of their fine cooling grottoes, groves, cooling shades, and other refreshing retirements to which they repair during the heat of the day ; at which time there is the same universal silence, and cessation from business, as if it was midnight. These southern parts have indeed neither frost nor snow ; but they are much troubled with storms, and violent rains, about the time of the equinoxes, especially the autumnal, which is all the winter they have ; all the rest of the year being crowned with a serene sky, and a most delightful verdure. Upon the whole, it is universally owned by those who have visited that large empire, that where nature has been most unequal in the distribution of her gifts, the *Chinese* industry hath so far supplied that defect, by levelling whole ridges of mountains in some provinces, and raising of artificial ones in others ; by providing proper fences against excessive colds in some, and heats and droughts in others ; and by varying their agriculture, their manuring, planting, and sowing, according to the different soils and climates, that every spot almost of that vast territory produces more than enough to make its inhabitants rich and happy, and the whole country delightful and fertile, populous, healthy, and opulent ; all which is farther improved by the vast number of canals cut from one river to another, and the innumerable carriages they keep up by land, by which each canton may easily communicate its own peculiar product to all the rest, as we shall see more fully in the sequel.

UPON all these accounts, the *Chinese* entertained such extraordinary notions of themselves and country, that they looked upon all the rest of the world, and its inhabitants, with the utmost contempt (D), especially till they became better acquainted with the *Europeans*, or even till their last conquest by the *Tartars*. We have formerly spoken of the various names which antient authors, and the neighbouring nations, gave to this country ², that of *Cong-qua*, by which they themselves style it, signifies *the kingdom of the middle*, they supposing it to be situate in centre of the world : to this they not only joined the names of the head of each dynasty, as often as the government passed from one family to another, an account of which the reader will see in the following note (E) ; but added likewise some pompous title to the *qua*, which signi-

² See before, Introd. p. 496, & seq.

severe in *January* and *February*, that he was forced to lie by till the ice could be broken for his passage over the river *Hoambo* ; which, though one of the largest in *China*, was then almost frozen over (5).

(D) The advantages which they had over those neighbouring nations they knew or heard of, appeared so considerable to them, that they looked upon themselves as the only favourites of heaven, and all the rest of mankind as barbarians, whom they represented as dwarfs, monsters, and contemptible creatures. They looked upon their country to be placed in the centre of the earth ; and themselves as the only people who had a human form, size, and shape : whilst all the other nations, or kingdoms, which they made to amount to seventy-two, were scattered about in small islands, without any order ; the biggest of which, according to their maps, was not so large as the least of the *Chin se* provinces ; and these were stuck up round their empire (to which they gave a quadrangular form), as so many nut-shells, or small satellites attending on their great planet, and designed only to serve and adorn it. They gave indeed the preference to their four neighbouring kingdoms of *Tartary*, *Japan*, *Tong-king*, and *Korea* ; whom, though they still styled barbarians, they imagin'd to have some considerable improvements by their vicinity to *China* ; but as to the rest, they were looked upon as outcasts into the extreme parts of the earth, as the dross and refuse of nature ; and characterised them accordingly, in their maps, with such emblems as were aptest to inspire their nation with disdain and contempt of them (6).

It was therefore no small matter of wonder to them, when, upon their coming acquainted with the *Europeans*, they not only found them as polite and rational as themselves, but far superior to them in all kinds of learning : neither could they conceive how it was possible for them to have arrived to such a perfection in all sciences, without the assistance of their own writings ; so that they, who, till then, had looked upon themselves as the only

people whom heaven had blessed with eyes, whilst all the rest of mankind were left to grope in the dark, were now forced to allow the *Europeans* to have one eye at least (7).

(E) We have formerly given a short account of the first dynasty, from *Fo-hi* and his eight successors, down to *Shun* (8). The others, in number, twenty-two, together with the number of emperors belonging to each family, and the number of years they reigned, may be seen at one view in the following table :

Dynasties.	Emperors.	Years.
1. <i>Hya</i> — — — —	17	458
2. <i>Shang</i> — — — —	28	644
3. <i>Cheow</i> — — — —	35	873
4. <i>Tsin al Chin</i> — — — —	4	43
5. <i>Han</i> — — — —	25	426
6. <i>Heu-han</i> — — — —	2	44
7. <i>Tzin, or Chin 2d</i> — — — —	15	155
8. <i>Song or Scun</i> — — — —	8	59
9. <i>Tzi or Chi</i> — — — —	5	23
10. <i>Lyang</i> — — — —	4	55
11. <i>Chin, al. Kin</i> — — — —	5	32
12. <i>Sawi, Soui</i> — — — —	3	29
13. <i>Tang, Tam</i> — — — —	20	80
14. <i>Heu-lang</i> — — — —	2	16
15. <i>Heu-tang</i> — — — —	4	13
16. <i>Heu-tzin</i> — — — —	2	11
17. <i>Heu-han</i> — — — —	2	4
18. <i>Heu-cheu</i> — — — —	3	9
19. <i>Song, or Soum</i> — — — —	18	319
20. <i>Twen</i> — — — —	9	89
21. <i>Ming, or Mim</i> — — — —	17	276
22. <i>Tzin, Chim</i> — — — —	2	53

this last now reigning. So that *China* had to its original name of *Chong-qua* the appellative of each one of those dynasties added to it, whilst the government continued in it ; as *Chong-qua-hya*, *Chon-qua shang*, *Chong-qua-cheu*, &c. (9).

(5) Letter 1st, ad fin. Vid. & Martini, Magaillan, Du Halde, & al. (6) Martini, Magaillan, Du Halde, & al. Vid. et Le Compte, letter 5. (7) Le Compte, ubi sup. & al. sup. citat. (8) See before, Introd. p. 503—510. (9) See Du Halde in English, p. 145, & seq. & al. sup. citat.

China whence
so named. a
fies a kingdom; such as, *Tum-ming-qua*, the kingdom of brightness or perfection; *Tyen-chin-qua*, the kingdom of purity; *Tyen-bu-qua*, or the kingdom which contains all that is under heaven; and others of the like import. The *Tartars*, though they naturally hated the pompous pride of the *Chinese*, are yet fond of those swollen titles, since they have made themselves masters of that noble kingdom, and become less and less averse to the softness, ease, and luxury, of their new subjects. As to the name of *China*, which some derive from *Cina*, or *Tsin*, one of the antient monarchs; and others from their silk, which is called *Chin*^a; it is most likely the *Europeans* brought it first from *Persia*, or *India*, whither that commodity was first imported, and where it is called *Chin*, or *Tsin*^a.

When first discovered by the Europeans. b
WHAT imperfect notion the antients had of this vast empire, and what commerce they had with it, we have elsewhere endeavoured to shew^k. The first *European* traveller that we know of, who visited it, was *Fra. Paulo*, a *Venetian*, more commonly known by the name of *Paulus Venetus*, or *Paul the Venetian*, about the end of the thirteenth century. But his swollen account of the great cham, or emperor; of his capital, which he calls *Cambalu*; and other extraordinary particulars which he related of that country; not only led his readers to imagine, that he there prescribed the empire of *Tartary*, but that the greatest part of it was too exaggerated to deserve any credit, or a better character than that of a fine romance. The whole, however, was afterwards sufficiently verified by the discovery of *China* by the *Portuguese*; when it plainly appeared, that it was this noble empire he had been describing; and that *Cambalu*, by the particular account he had been giving of it, was no other than the *Chinese* metropolis, now called *Pe-king* (F). Since which time, the more they have become acquainted with *China*, the better they have been satisfied of the faithfulness of that *Venetian* traveller. c

The Chinese surprised at their learning and politeness. d
The Europeans no less so at that of the Chinese. e
ACCORDINGLY, when the *Portuguese* first discovered this country by sea, above 200 years ago, they were so surprised at the beauty and opulence of it, as well as at the ingenuity and politeness of its inhabitants, so far beyond what they had observed in any other country they had hitherto met with, they scarce knew whether they ought to believe their own eyes: and indeed they had so much more cause to be surprised at it, as they found them a people that live wholly within themselves, and who consequently had received no helps or improvements from any other nations: neither could their first accounts of them meet with any greater credit here in *Europe*, than those of *Paulus Venetus* had done before, till they were confirmed by a cloud of other eye-witnesses, whom either curiosity, commerce, or religion, invited into this new and surprising world; especially since the year 1580, when the pope began to send, and hath continued pouring, a great number of *Jesuits* and other priests into it, in order to bring as many of that polite nation as he could into the pale of his church. Nor were the relations of these last so universally credited (especially as many of them appeared not only exaggerated, but even in a greater measure romantic, at least in whatever related to religion, or their numerous conversions), till we had them, or at least a great part of them, further confirmed by persons of other nations and religions, and less liable to be suspected. So that, upon the whole, it was no less matter of wonder to the *Europeans*, than to the *Chinese*, to find a part of the world, at such a distance from them, so like themselves in learning and politeness; while all the vast tracts that lay between them, are still so far inferior, not to say opposite to them, in both respects. It must be owned, however, that the *Chinese* found as much superior to them in the liberal sciences; witness those vast improvements they have made to them by the assistance of the missionaries, and of that vast apparatus of instruments which have been sent to them from *France*, and other parts: but, in point of richness, opulence, fundry manufactures, handicrafts, and, to say nothing of their excellent agriculture lately mentioned, and the many excellent ways they have of fertilizing and improving even their most barren lands, it will be hardly denied that they exceed any country in *Europe*; all which will more fully appear in the sequel. f

China, how divided. THE *Chinese* empire hath been long since divided into northern and southern; the former of which, commonly known among the *Indians*, *Persians*, *Russians*, &c. by the name of

^a NAVARETTA MARTINI Hist. Sinic. lib. vi. sub init. the English translation of DU HALDE, p. 1. not. (E).

Vid. et LA MARTINIÈRE, & al. sup. citat. ⁱ See

^h See before Introd. p. 496. & seq.

(F) It is now generally acknowledged, that *Cathai* is the northern part of *China*; and *Cambalu*, the capital of it, to be the same city as is now called *Pe-king*; which name, signifying the northern court, in opposition to *Nang-king*, which is the southern one, was doubtless given it when the *Chinese* monarchs were obliged to remove their court from the latter to the former, in order to be more at hand to suppress the inroads which the *Tartars* were continually making up-

on them from that side. It appears moreover, from the relation of the *Russian* embassy to *China*, Anno 1653, that the *Muscovites* still call that northern part of it *Chatai*, or *Kathai*, and its metropolis *Cambalu*, or, according to some others, *Cambalet*, which names signify the city of God (11). We shall have further occasion to speak of them both, when we come to the division of that empire, and the description of the city of *Pe-king*.

(11) *Texeira*, & al. Vid. et hist. des Tartar, D'Herbelot sub *Khatbai*, & Martiniere sub *Cambalu*.

Chatai,

- a *Chatai*, or *Katai*, contained six of its provinces; and the latter distinguished by the name of *Mangi*, which contains the other nine. *Cambalu*, or, as it hath been since called, *Pe-king*, was the capital of the one, and *Nang-king* that of the other¹. We have already given the name and situation of these provinces which compose this vast territory; and shall only observe here, that, as they divided the whole heavens into 28 constellations, so they did their provinces; each of which latter they placed under one of the former, without leaving any of them for the rest of the globe. To each province they allowed not only an unreasonable length and breadth; but likewise dignified them with some swollen title, answerable to those which they gave to the empire in general. They have indeed been taught since, by the *Europeans*, a better sort of astronomy and geography, and how to judge more truly of the rest of the world; but it must be owned, that, till then, the great advantages they enjoyed above those few nations they knew, might naturally enough inspire them with that partial value and opinion they had of their own.

Their great advantages over other nations.

- THEIR country is so divided by art and nature from the rest of the world, as if designed to have been still contained within its own limits; being bounded, as was lately hinted, on the east and south, by the ocean; on the west, by deserts and inaccessible mountains; and, on the north, by a wall of such length, height, and strength, that it is justly esteemed the greatest piece of art that the world can boast of: so that the coasts along the sea being defended either by prodigious high rocks, shelves, and small islands, or by a vast number of sea-ports equally strong and commodious; and their frontiers on the west and north by fortified towns, castles, and other fortresses, and large garrisons; it seems as if the *Chinese* monarchs had had no other view than to secure themselves from all foreign invasions, without any design of enlarging their dominions beyond those limits. Their history hath however shewn us, that they were mistaken in both their reckonings; since they have not only been more than once conquered by the *Tartars*, under whose dominion they now are, and themselves have also been obliged to extend their conquests into some of the *Tartarian* provinces, in order to prevent the frequent and dreadful incursions they made on them from that side, notwithstanding their strong barrier; all which sufficiently shews the shortness of human forecast; since it was their too great confidence in these, and some other advantages we are going to mention, that lulled them into that state of luxury and indolence which made them fall so easy a prey into the hands of their warlike neighbours, when they the least thought of it, or were least able to make head against them.

How defended.

- ANOTHER advantage, for which this country has been famed from the earliest times, was, the vast number of its inhabitants. It doth not indeed appear to us to have been so soon peopled as the *Chinese* records affirm; much less to have been so immensely populous so few ages after the flood as is there pretended; but, that it became so in process of time, there is not the least doubt to be made, if we consider either the vast quantity and largeness of their cities, towns, and villages, which, in most provinces, are so thick, and close to each other, that the whole seems but one continued town, and all of them swarming with inhabitants; every one employed in some manufacture, trade, or some kind of traffick or work; or their roads from place to place, which are crowded with passengers night and day, with coaches, carriages, wag-gons, and sometimes with whole caravans, all of them employed in carrying on some useful commerce, and in conveying all sorts of merchandizes, provisions, and other wares, from one end of the kingdom to the other; or the vast standing armies that are kept in constant pay, and the numerous garrisons they are forced to maintain on their frontiers and sea-ports; or, lastly, from the registers that are regularly kept both of their forces, and of the rest of the nation.

Vast number of inhabitants.

- ACCORDING to these, we are told by some authors, that the number of families, exclusive of soldiers, and those that pay no taxes to the government, amounted to 11,502,872; but, including the army, the whole number of males was computed to amount to 59,788,364: the army, then, consisted of 902,054 men, who guarded the frontiers, and 989,167 horses, always ready for auxiliary forces, besides 767,970 men kept in their garrisons^m (G). To these *Niewhoff*, quoted in the last note, adds 564,200 horses more, maintained by the emperor, to supply his troops, or to serve for posts and messengers on public and extraordinary occasions. For these, as well as for the accommodation of the Mandarins, and other officers of the court, that are sent to different parts of the empire, there are reckoned 1145 inns, or places of entertainment: so that, upon the whole, to speak in the style of one of

Army.

Horse, &c.

¹ Vid. not (F), & auct. ibid. citat.

^m MACAILLAN, LE COMPTE, LA MARTINIERE, & al.

(G) This prodigious account is in a great measure confirmed by *Niewhoff*, who attended the *Dutch* embassy into *China*; and who tells us, that, at that time,

the registers made the number of families to amount to 10,090,792; and that of the fighting men to 55,410,476, including horse and foot, garrisons, &c.

their natives (H), *the Chinese empire is so immensely populous, that its inhabitants are not to be computed by thousands, but by millions*; and, if we may believe the accounts of some of the Jesuit missionaries, some of their capital cities contain little less than two millions of inhabitants^o.

Barges that supply Pe-king.

Vast numbers living on the water.

Number of their cities and fortresses.

Their different ranks.

Military ones.

Castles.

Towns, &c.

THE very number of barges, and those very capacious ones, appointed by the government for the conveyance of provisions, silks, rice, and other necessaries, from the southern provinces to the metropolis of *Pe-king*, amount to 9999; which number is strictly kept up, not so much out of a superstitious fondness for that number, if we may believe those writers, as because it carries a much greater sound, than if, by the addition of one more, they were to make it a complete 10,000. Thus much may suffice to give our readers an idea of the populousness of this vast empire: we might indeed add to it the many myriads of families which live almost continually on the water along the coasts, on the rivers and canals; and carry on a considerable traffick on their large flat-bottom boats, or, as they call them, floating villages; and are resorted to from those that live at land in such vast crowds, that they appear like so many fairs kept on that element: but these we shall find a more proper occasion to speak of in the sequel.

WE lately hinted, that this country doth so abound with cities, that a man is scarcely got out of one, but he enters into the suburbs of another. We shall defer, however, the further description of them, till we come to speak of the several provinces they belong to: in the mean time, as we are now upon the subject of the strength and populousness of this vast empire, it will not be amiss to give our readers the sum of them at one view, and according to their rank: together with their other fortresses and strong-holds, as they are scattered through the whole; some within the heart of the provinces, to guard the roads; others on the mountainous parts, to suppress the robbers and freebooters; and a third sort to guard the frontiers on the west and north side, especially on the latter, against the *Tartars*. The number of them, as it was taken by Father *Magaillan*, out of a *Chinese* book, compiled by an expert Mandarin for the use of the government, is as follows: Walled towns, 4402; and these are divided into two orders, viz. civil and military, of which 2045 belong to the former, and 2357 to the latter. The civil are again divided into three different ranks, stiled by the *Chinese* *Fû* (or, as they pronounce that word, *Foo*), *Chew*, and *Hyen*; of which, 175 are reckoned of the first rank, stiled *Fû*; 270 of the second, or *Chew*; and 160 of the third order, or *Hyen*.

THE militaay ones are distinguished into seven different ranks; of which, 629 are reckoned of the first, 560 of the second, 311 of the third, 300 of the fourth, 150 of the fifth, 100 of the sixth, and 300 of the seventh. Father *Le Compte* tells us, that 1000 of these only are reckoned of the first rank; and that their strength rather consists in their situation, and numerous garrisons, than in the stoutness of their out-works^p (I). Some of those military cities are assigned to the soldiery; together with a quantity of land to their neighbourhood, for their maintenance. As to the castles on the coasts, which are computed at 439; several of them are very large, and come little short of walled cities for the number of their inhabitants; and all of them strong by nature and art, and defended by good garrisons: besides which, they reckon no less than 2022 towns, or boroughs, along the sea-coasts, most of them equal in bigness to walled towns. The inland towns and villages, we are told, are almost numberless, and every-where crowded with inhabitants. From all these the emperors receive an immense income, as will be seen in the sequel; there being but thirty-two that are wholly exempt from taxes; and these, being governed by their own lords, or petty kings, are however obliged to pay a kind of homage, or perhaps some small tribute to the court^q.

^o NAVARETTA, DION-KOO. GEMEL, MARTIN, & al. sup. citat.
^p Ibid. & p. 2 lett. 1. MAGAILLAN, KAO, & al.

^q LE COMPTE, ubi supra, letter 3

(H) The writer here meant was called *Dionysus Kao*, a *Chinese* convert, who had been employed by some of the court Mandarins to write an accurate survey of the then state of *China*. His account was since brought into *Europe* by his excellence Mr. *Ixbrandt Ides*, who was sent ambassador from the late czar, *Peter the Great*, to the court of *China*, Anno 1694, and is highly recommended by him (12).

(I) It may not be amiss to observe here, that *Kao* the *Chinese*, mentioned in the last note, doth differ from our Mandarin in the number of these cities, and makes the whole number of them to amount to but 1700; and *Navaretta* only to 1536, that is, 148 of the first rank,

239 of the second, and 1549 of the third. Other authors differ still more from him, and from each other; which shews either that they took their account from different surveys, or perhaps from report, or that there may have happened some changes in the ranks of those cities. We have followed that of the Mandarin above-mentioned, on the authority of Father *Maguillan*, as being the most likely to be authentic, and being the most agreeable to the newer accounts published by *Du Halde*; as will further appear, when we come to give the number of them belonging to each distinct province.

(12) *Russ. ambass. p. 115, & seq. Lond. edit. 4to, 1706.*

- a To this vast number of their cities and fortresses, and the immense one of its inhabitants, if we add their prodigious wealth, brought in by such a vast quantity of hands continually employed either in a foreign or domestic commerce, in a great variety of rich and curious manufactures, and ingenious handicraft trades; in the cultivating of the most fertile, or improvement of the most barren, lands; in digging up of gold, silver, copper, and other metals and minerals, from the bowels of their many rich mines, besides a great variety of diamonds, and other precious stones; if to these we add the excellent situation of it for commerce, the richness and vast extent of it abroad, the many navigable rivers and numberless canals for carrying it on at home; the infinite variety of their carriages both by land and water; the healthiness and serenity of their climate, and industry of the inhabitants, the encouragement given to it, as well as to the arts and sciences, by its politic government, and the happy genius of the nation for promoting and improving every kind and branch of them; or, lastly, the vast power and riches of the sovereign, the excellence of their laws and government, and the remarkable fondness of the people for that as well as for antient laws, customs, religion, &c.; it will no longer appear surprising, that an empire, which enjoyed such a vast number of advantages, should have maintained itself in such a height of wealth and splendor during such a long series of ages. The wonder will rather be, how they came, after so long and glorious a continuance, to degenerate so far from their valour and politics, as to suffer their whole country to be over-run and conquered, and their monarchy overturned, in almost as few years as it had stood thousands. But, before we come to speak of that strange event, and the changes it hath wrought in that vast empire, it will be necessary, according to our usual method, to give a general description of the country, and of every thing that is most remarkable in it.

S E C T. II.

A topographical description of the fifteen provinces of China.

- d **T**H E situation, limits, extent, and division, of the Chinese empire, have been shewn at the beginning of the last section; where we mentioned its being divided into fifteen provinces, viz. six styled northern, and nine southern (exclusive of that of *Lyau-tong*, which, being situate without the wall, will be spoken of in a more proper place); the other fifteen are reckoned in the following order:

1. THE province of *Pe-che-li*, alias *Lipa-fû*, but most commonly called, from its great metropolis, *Pe-king*, which is now the seat of the empire, is bounded on the east by the yellow sea; on the north, by the great wall which divides it from eastern *Tartary*; on the west, by the province of *Sban-si*; and, on the south, by those of *Sban-tong* and *Ho-nan*. It is now the first and chief of the whole empire; and extends itself, in a kind of triangular form, from the 36th to the 41st degree of latitude, and from the 113th to the 119th of east longitude. It is divided into nine districts, each of which is under its capital city, styled by the Chinese *Fû*, or city of the first rank; from which a number of other cities depend (A), viz. 20 of the second rank, or *Chew*; and 120 of the third, or *Hyen*; besides a great many large towns, and villages without number^a.

- f THIS province, though the most northern next to that of *Lyau-tong*, in the whole empire, is blessed with a very clear air; and, though excessive cold in winter, enjoys a very serene sky, which is seldom overcast with any clouds, even during that hard season. The rains are not very frequent; but that defect is amply compensated by the fruitful dews. The country affords but little rice; but abounds with other grains, pulse, and variety of cattle.

^a LE COMPTE, ubi sup. letter 3. DU HALDE, p. 65, & seq. & al. sup. citat.

(A) It will be necessary here to observe, once for all, that every province in the Chinese empire is divided into a number of districts or jurisdictions, called by the Chinese *Fû*, or city of the first rank. On these depend a lesser sort of districts, named *Chew* and *Hyen*, because each of them depend on their respective *Fû*, as here our bailiwicks, or inferior courts, do on the superior ones. The president of the supreme court is styled *Chi-fû*, or governor of a city of the first rank, the next in order *Chi-cheu*, and the last *Chi-Hyen*. Hence in every *Fû* there is always a *Quan-Fû*, or Mandarin with the title of *Chi-fû*, and at least another with that of *Chi-Hyen*. But in the great cities of all, whose terri-

tories are so large as to be divided into two inferior districts, each of these have their particular *Chi-Hyen*.

When mention is made here of a *Hyen*, or city of the third rank, the reader must not suppose it to mean a district of a small extent, there being many of them of 60, 70, or even 80, leagues in circuit, and which pay several millions into the emperor's treasury (1). Neither must it be imagined, that those other towns, which are excluded from any rank, are inconsiderable ones, there being many of them as large as cities; the reason of their being denied that title, is, because they are encompassed with neither walls nor ditches, as the cities are (2).

(1) See Du Halde in English, p. 2.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 67. Vid. et Le Compte, lett. 3. & al.

The inhabitants are stout and warlike; but are more unpolished and ignorant than in the southern provinces. The rivers are often frozen, more or less, here, from *November* to *March*; and yet the weather is nothing so piercing as it is in *Europe*, under the same climate.

Its cities.

General view of them.

THIS province reckons about 140 cities, amongst which those styled *Fû*, or of the first rank, are *Pe-king*, *al. Shun-tyen-fû*, the metropolis of the whole, under which are twenty-six districts, or cities of the second and third rank; *viz.* six of the former, and twenty of the latter; whose names we shall not trouble our readers with, much less with their description, which would swell beyond our bounds. It will be sufficient to add here, to what we have said of their largeness, opulence, and populousness, that they are for the most part built of a square or oblong-square form, as much as the ground would permit. Their walls are high, thick, and strong, adorned with lofty towers. The gates are spacious, deep, and stately; and the great streets strait and broad, and intersected with others which cross them at right angles, and both sides filled with houses. The squares, or piazzas, are wide, and adorned with noble structures; and some of them, as well as some of their streets, with triumphal arches, and other decorations; particularly, with stately towers, some round, others octagonal, from six to nine storeys high, embellished with galleries, carvings, gilding, and variety of other ornaments (B).

Shops finely set out.

Streets dusty and dirty.

THE city-walls are mostly high and strong, and encompassed with broad ditches, some dry, and others, filled with water. As for their edifices, especially their public buildings, such as their temples, palaces, monasteries, &c. they are more remarkable for their vast extent, than for their magnificence. Their private houses are likewise large, but low, few of them exceeding one storey in height, and without any windows towards the street. The shops are delightfully set out with all their rich merchandizes, such as china-ware, silks, japan cabinets, screens, and other such goods, with great variety of gold and silver work, jewels, and all other commodities both domestic and foreign. Before each door stands a pedestal, to which is fastened a board, from 20 to 22 feet high, on which is either carved, painted, or gilt, the shopkeeper's name, his sign, and some of his principal wares, with these words at the foot, *Pû-hû*, in large characters, that is, he will not cheat you. This double row of pilasters, set up at equal distances, yields likewise a very agreeable prospect^b. The misfortune is, that those streets that are not paved (and few of them are so in *China*) prove so dusty in dry and windy weather, that it is not only very offensive to the vast crowds that continually throng them, but hurtful likewise to the fine merchandizes that are exposed; in so much that they are obliged to cover them with some sort of cloths, to prevent their being spoiled. These clouds of dust, which are still increased by multitudes of horses, chaises, carts, waggons, and other carriages, not only stick upon their silken clothes, and spoil the fine lustre of them, especially those made of satin, which they commonly oil, to give it a better gloss; but penetrate even into their very houses and closets, though they have no windows towards the streets: so that, take what care they will, their furniture is quite covered, and the people almost choaked, with it. They do indeed endeavour to prevent it as much as possible by frequent watering of the streets; but they either soon get dry again, or else become dirty and miry. In rainy weather they are still more incommodious on that account; so that, winter or summer, they are very troublesome, and even unhealthy, to walk in. This great inconvenience is not confined to their inferior cities, but runs through all their most considerable ones, and even to the very capital itself^c, as the reader may see by the description we are going to give of it.

Cities of the first rank.

1. Pe-king described.

THE cities of the first rank in this province are, 1. *Cbun-tien-fû*, since called *Pe-king*; 2. *Pau-ting-fû*; 3. *Ho-kyen-fû*; 4. *Cbing-ting-fû*; 5. *Shun-te-fû*; 6. *Quang-ping-fû*; 7. *Tay-ming-fû*; 8. *Yung-ping-fû*; 9. *Swen-wha-fû*.

1. SHUN-TYEN-FU, since styled *Pe-king*, or the northern court, on account of its being become the imperial residence, and metropolis of the whole empire, is pleasantly situate on a large and fertile plain, under the 40th degree of north latitude, and 117° 30' of east longitude, about twenty miles south from the great wall. It was formerly of a square figure, and about four leagues in compass: but, since the conquest of the empire by the *Tartars*, the *Chinese* being excluded out of it, and permitted to build a new one adjoining to it, it is now of an oblong square form, and about six leagues or 3600 paces in circuit; or rather

^b LE COMPTE, ubi sup. letter 3. DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 64.

^c Ibid. ubi sup. LA MARTINIÈRE, &c. al.

(B) We shall, for the satisfaction of our readers, find a proper place for giving them a sketch of one or two of the most curious of them, by way of sample, when we come to speak of their artificial rarities; as likewise for describing some few of their most considerable cities, public structures, &c. in the course of this section, so as to give them a sufficient idea of the rest;

as they, generally speaking, observe pretty much the same symmetry in their form, buildings, &c. That of *Pe-king*, especially, which is the metropolis of this province, and the present seat of the empire, deserving a more particular notice, will be described at the close of this article, and the others in their course.

^a is become two cities, the old one of which is called the *Tartar*, and the other the *Chinefe*, Old and new city. town; and this last, though the least, is reckoned the most populous (C).

THE walls of both cities are stately and strong, being computed by some 40, by others The city walls. 50, cubits high, which quite obstruct the sight of their finest and stateliest edifices, and are thick enough for several men on horseback to ride abreast upon them: they are moreover flanked with stately towers, at the distance of a bow shot from each other, and all kept in good repair; a horseman may ascend those of the new city by means of a ramp, or flow ascent; and in several places there are houses built to serve for a corps de garde; and some of the towers are capacious enough to lodge a corps de reserve.

^b THE gates are nine in number; three on the south front, and two on the other three sides. Stately gates. Their structure is altogether magnificent, and beyond any thing we see in *Europe* (if we except the architecture). They are of a surprising height; and inclose a spacious court within four stout walls; over two of which, *viz.* on the city and country side, are built stately lodgings, or rather castles, which yield a very noble prospect, being about eight or nine storeys high, each storey being perforated with windows and loopeyholes. The lowest storey is a large hall for the officers and soldiers, who are either upon duty, or going to be relieved; and before some of those gates, in the city of *Ching-ting-fu*, is seen a spacious area, or parade, about 360 feet, encompassed by a semicircular wall of the same height with those of the city.

^c THE streets are spacious and beautiful to a great degree, being all laid out with the line, Noble streets; and most of them at least a league in length, and about 120 feet wide, with shops for the most part on both sides; but the houses, which are but one story high, bear no proportion thronged with people. with the largeness of the streets: however, they are very spacious within, and so crowded with inhabitants, that it is surprising to see what a number of families they hold. This makes the city to be so thronged with people, as well as horses, mules, camels, asses, carts, waggons, &c. that many of our great cities in *Europe* are said to look like solitudes, in comparison with them: insomuch that people of quality are forced to have men on horseback to clear the way before them; and the very tradesmen chuse to ride in their chaises, not only to break through the crowds, but likewise to avoid the dust and dirt of the street (D).

^d What is more surprising, is, that, among those vast throngs of men, there is not a woman to be seen. The streets, as every-where else, have all their proper names, and the great Their names. ones of all some pompous one: such as, the street of the king's relations, of the white tower, and the noblest of all is styled the street of eternal rest.

(C) Father *Le Compte*, who measured it by the emperor's order, reckons it to be about four times as big but as *Paris*: as the houses are but one storey high, the streets very wide, and the imperial palace in it, together with its parks, gardens, canals, &c. take up a vast extent of its ground, he doth not take it to lodge a much greater quantity of inhabitants than that *French* capital; though he owns, at the same time, that the inhabitants of *Pe-king* hardly take up half the room in their lodgings that the *Parisians* do: he computes, however, upon the whole, that each of those capitals contain about two millions of people (3); which, if true of *Pe-king*, is near double the number at least of what will be found either in *Paris*, or even in *London*, which is allowed the bigger, and the more populous, of the two (4).

(D) We lately took notice, that most cities in *China*, for want of being paved, labour alternately under these two inconveniences: which is not a little surprising in a country seemingly so well regulated in every thing else, and much more so to see so noble a metropolis as this is more plagued with them than any other; at least this was the condition in which Father *Le Compte* found it when he was there (5). However, we are informed that it hath been rectified since (6); and that not only every citizen is obliged to sweep before his door, but that the very soldiers are employed to keep the new city clean, even when the emperor is absent; so that it is chiefly the old city, which, by reason of the narrowness of its streets, is more neglected, and left to lie in mud and dirt.

As to the city in general, there may indeed be many causes assigned for its being more crowded and thronged than any of the rest, besides the vast number of its inhabitants.

For, 1. Great multitudes of people daily resort thither from all the adjacent parts for many miles round, who bring all manner of provisions to its market.

2. As no river comes up to the city, all kinds of merchandizes, and all manner of other necessities, that are pouring into it from morning to night, must come thither by land carriage, which fills their streets with continual droves of carts, waggons, and beasts of burden; insomuch that, at the opening of the city gates in the morning, they are so thronged with them, that many of them must wait some hours before they can get in.

3. The great concourse of quality that flock to the court, and the great retinue that attends them, the Mandarins, and other officers, in their formalities, the princes of the blood, and other persons of distinction, who are always escorted with a numerous train of horsemen and servants, do all contribute more or less to fill up the streets, so as to make the city appear more full of inhabitants than it really is.

To all these we may add the vast numbers of carmen, porters, chairmen, and other people, that ply the streets; and a much greater of handicraftsmen, such as taylor, smiths, brasiers, carpenters, &c. who are obliged to go about in quest of business: for, as few of them work at home, but at their customers houses, great crowds of them must be supposed to turn out daily in such a city as this, and help to increase the throng; especially as many of them, either for want of better employment, or natural indolence, will stand staring in large groups at every juggler and mountebank they see; or listening to fortune-tellers and ballad-singers, who are to be met with in every part of the town.

(3) *Le Compte*, ubi sup.
ibid. letter.

(4) See *Maitland's and other surveys of London*.

(5) See *Le Compte's*

(6) See *Du Halde*, p. 67.

Form.

THIS last, which runs from east to west, is terminated at the north end with the walls of the imperial palace; and, on the opposite side, with the city tribunals, and the palaces of men of quality. Its breadth is computed about sixty yards, and its length above a league and a quarter; and is adorned on each side of the finest edifices. All the great streets, which run in a strait line parallel with the walls from gate to gate, have their corps de garde; where the soldiers, with swords by their sides, and whips in their hands, keep watch day and night; and chastise, without distinction, all that cause any disturbance, and confine such as make any resistance. There is the same watch kept in the lesser or cross streets, which terminate in the great ones, and are shut up at each end in the night with wooden cross-bar-gates, thro' which the watch in the greater streets may see all that pass in the lesser: and both cities are kept under such strict regulations, that, except the great hurry of the day, occasioned by the throng lately mentioned, which ends with or soon after it, every part of the town is kept under the greatest discipline and quietness, peace and safety (E).

Guard.

Suburbs.

BESIDES the old and new city above-mentioned, every side hath likewise a capacious suburb without the walls, of which that on the west side is the largest. The streets in these are built much after the same manner as those within, being parallel to each other, and to the city-wall, and crossing each other at proper distances: so that, if these be added to the rest, the circuit of *Pe-king* may be computed to extend about 25 miles. The private houses, both within and without the walls, are low, but deep and long, and mostly built with brick, and covered with glazed tiles; which, when the sun shines upon them, make such a glittering as is painful to the eye. They make but an indifferent shew without, except in their fine shops; but are exceeding neat and convenient within, though neither richly nor elegantly furnished, and most of them crowded with families.

Houses.

Plenty of all things.

WHAT is the most surprising of all, in this great city, is the plenty and cheapness of all sorts of commodities and provisions; especially considering its vast concourse and number of its inhabitants, and that it is situate in one of the most barren spots in the empire. But it must be remembered, that all the merchandizes and treasures of the *Indies*, &c. are transported hither from all parts by means of the eastern or yellow sea, and of the royal canals: that several thousands of the emperor's vessels, besides a much larger number of others belonging to private persons, are continually employed in supplying both court and city with every thing that can be wished for, either for the support or pleasure of life; so that it is a common saying among the *Chinese*, that though nothing grows about *Pe-king*, it never knows the want of any thing. The governor of the city is the person who has the direction not only of the soldiery and guards; but his jurisdiction extends over all the people, in whatever concerns the civil state, and the public peace and safety (F).

How supplied.

The governor's office.

Public edifices.

IT is time now to speak of some of the public buildings which adorn this metropolis; such as the imperial palace, temples, monasteries, &c. We begin with the first of them, as being the most spacious and magnificent of all, and one of the greatest curiosities in the whole empire.

The imperial palace described.

IT is situate in the very heart of the *Tartar* city, fronting the south, as all the public buildings there generally do; and is, properly speaking, a prodigious group of edifices, vast courts, gardens, parks, ponds, &c. all surrounded with a stately brick wall, of an oblong square form, and considerable height; and about twelve *Chinese* li's, or furlongs, in compass. This wall hath battlements along the curtains, and is adorned at each angle with little pavilions; and over each of the gates is another pavilion, stronger and more lofty than the former, and surrounded with a gallery supported by pillars resembling our peristyles; and

(E) Each watch is obliged to patrolle all the night in their respective streets, as soon as the signal is given for the shutting of them up at night; so that no quarrel or disturbance can happen, or even people pass unperceived. None are suffered to walk in the night, except they give a good account of their errand; such as fetching a physician, surgeon, or midwife, or being sent about the government's business. Even these last, if their answer is such as gives the officers any cause of suspicion, when questioned by him, are confined in the guard-room till the next morning, and then brought before a proper judge. The officer of the guard likewise, that is kept on the high pavilions over the city-gates, and beat the watch on large kettle-drums, having full view of all the streets, is obliged to send some of his subalterns to examine the quarters belonging to the gates where they are posted. All these are kept under such strict discipline, that the least neglect of

duty is severely punished the next morning, and the officers broken for it; and what keeps them still more on their guard, is, that the governor of the city, who is likewise obliged to go the rounds, often comes upon them when they least expect him (7).

(F) This grand officer, who is a *Manchew Tartar*, is styled *Kyu-men-ti-tu*, or general of the nine gates, and hath a quantity of ministers under him, answerable to his great post. And such strict discipline is observed under him, both by the soldiery and citizens, that one shall hardly hear, in several years, of an house being broken open, or a man murdered; which is so much the more to be admired among such an infinite multitude and mixture of *Tartars* and *Chinese*; all which is owing to the excellent order which is kept under him, which makes it next to impossible for any such crimes to be committed, and the authors escape their due punishment (8).

(7) *Le Compte, ubi sup. Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 67. & al.*

(8) *Ibid. & Du Halde, ubi supra.*

a this last is properly the palace, because it contains all the apartments of the emperor and his family.

THE outward wall which surrounds the inclosure above-mentioned, is fifteen li's, or furlongs, in circuit; and the space between it and the inner is chiefly taken up with the houses or apartments of the chief officers of the emperor's household, with the several tribunals, treasury, storehouses, wardrobes, and eunuchs belonging to it. These last, in the time of the Chinese monarchs, we are told, amounted to 10,000; and were at length become so powerful and corrupt, that they proved the main cause of their ruin: for which reason the wiser Tartars have so suppressed them by degrees, that there is but an inconsiderable number left of them, who are now looked upon as an useless and dangerous weight to a court. *The outer inclosure, and its apartments. Eunuchs suppressed.*

b To some of those officers is committed the care of providing necessaries for the service of the prince; while others are to preserve good order, decide the differences, or even punish offences committed by the domestics of the imperial family. These apartments are spacious and stately; but those of the inner inclosure much more so, being adorned with parks, gardens, sumptuous baths, pleasure-houses, halls of state, the whole embellished with every thing that is delightful and magnificent; particularly an artificial lake, of about a mile and quarter in compass, full of variety of fish, and surrounded with sumptuous buildings, gardens, baths, &c. *Inner apartments described. In artificial lake.* In the middle of it is the imperial, and a number of other barges, for the court to take the diversion of fishing. Each facade of the double inclosure hath a lofty gate, or rather three gates, one in the middle, and one at each end; the former of which is the most lofty and rich, and is only opened to the emperor: and the others stand open from morning till night, to all comers and goers. Each gate hath a draw-bridge, and a proper guard (G); and none are admitted to go over them but Mandarins, officers in the highest posts, or such as bring an ivory ticket from them, specifying the business they are sent thither for. *The gates strictly kept.*

THE great hall of audience, or, as it is styled by them, *the hall of the great union*, is a lofty building, about 130 feet long, and of an almost square form; the cieling of which is all of carved work, varnished with green, and adorned with gilt dragons in bas-relief. The pillars that support the roof are about six or seven feet in compass, and embellished with a kind of raised work made of paste, and japanned over with vermilion. The pavement is covered with a kind of tapestry, and the walls are washed with a fine shining white, but without hangings, looking-glasses, branches, or any other sort of ornament. The throne stands in the centre of the hall; and consists of a lofty alcove, very neat, but neither magnificent in ornaments or inscriptions, except that it bears the word *Shing*, which some writers have translated *holy*, though it more properly signifies *excellent, most wise or perfect*. On the platform before it stands a very large and thick vessel of brass, wherein are burnt some fine perfumes during the whole ceremony; and candlesticks, cast in the shape of birds, are made to hold a number of lighted flambeaux. On this platform, which is continued northward beyond the hall of audience, are reared two lesser halls, which are hid by the former; one of them is a handsome rotunda, with windows all around, and wining with varnish of divers colours; and here, they say, the emperor reposes sometimes, either before or after the audience, and changes his clothes. *Hall of audience. The throne. Lesser halls behind the great one.*

BUT the most magnificent of all is, that which they style the innermost court of all; and in which the emperor and empress, his wives of the second rank, and some of his favourite concubines, live, in all imaginable splendour and delight. This court is not only the most magnificent, but the loftiest of all; as the others are raised one higher than the other, the nearer they approach to this. The ascent to it, from the next, is by a flight of six steps on all sides, surrounded by a noble balustrade, adorned with lions, dragons, and other embellishments. In this last quadrangle, amongst other insignia of the Chinese magnificence and luxury, stands a tower of gilt brass, fourteen or fifteen feet high, finely wrought, in which were constantly burnt the most costly gums and perfumes, the smoke of which came out at a great number of little holes or windows of curious workmanship, and dispersed itself all over the palace: but whether the Tartarian monarchs keep up this custom constantly, or only in

* LE COMPTE, letter 2. MARTINIERE, sub voc. Pe-king, DU HALDE, p. 67, & seq. & al. plur.

(G) Some authors have affirmed, that the emperor's elephants stand guard at these gates; which custom, we are since told, hath been left off, or, which is perhaps more likely, was only a mistake: for these creatures are lodged within the palace, in two very noble apartments, or courts, the one for the summer, and the other for the winter; these last are not only smaller, but are kept warm like stoves, without which they could not bear the rigour of the season.

As for the guards of the palace, they have no other

arms than their broad scymetars, and are nothing so numerous as they were in the time of the Chinese monarchy, the Tartars seeming to despise a great deal of that pomp and political grandeur. However, they have always a vast number of Mandarins, and other officers of distinction, attending the emperor at all audiences, and other solemn occasions; and who pay him such a profound respect by their awful distance, gestures, and prostrations, as come very near to a kind of adoration of him (9).

(9) *Le Compte & Du Halde, ubi supra.*

times of audience, and on other solemn occasions, we cannot be certain. And thus much shall suffice for this superb edifice : those who want a fuller description, may read it in the authors last quoted.

The pagods, or temples.

NEXT to the imperial palace, the pagods, or temples, are the most splendid and magnificent, and in the greatest number, both in the city, suburbs, and parts adjacent : and, indeed, both *Chinese* and *Tartars*, nobles and people, are so superstitious, that they rear and adorn these structures, at immense charges, and with vast numbers of costly statues. The roofs are particularly remarkable, for the lustre of their yellow tiles, numberless figures of dragons, lions, and other creatures, curiously wrought, painted, and gilt, and other decorations, after the *Chinese* taste, and some of them sumptuous and costly, beyond description. It is observable, however, that some of those that belong to the *Tartars* are abhorred by the *Chinese*, and *vice versa* (H). Those that are in the country about, commonly stand on eminences, either natural, or reared up artificially, with a great deal of cost and labour, and, by their height, and sumptuous ornaments, yield a most delightful prospect. As it would be endless to dwell upon a description of them, we shall give a sketch of one of the last sort in the margin (I), and content ourselves with describing here that of the sun ; which is a very curious edifice, not only on account of its richness and grandeur, but as it is that to which the emperor repairs once a year, at the entrance of that planet into the winter solstice ; not with that pomp, splendor, and numerous retinue, that usually attends him on other solemnities, but in a plain homely dress ; without gold, jewels, or even the yellow garments, which colour is peculiar to the imperial family.

the temples of the sun ;

THIS vast and noble pile of building stands about half a mile from the east gate of the city, and is surrounded with a wall, near a mile in circuit. Within this inclosure, are reared several stately apartments, and groups of lofty trees, and in the centre a spacious round hall, of a considerable height. The dome, or roof, is supported by eighty-two columns, curiously painted with gold and azure, representing the sky. Hither the emperor repairs, at the season, and in the homely garb, above-mentioned, and sacrifices a great number of bullocks, rams, goats, hogs, &c. The whole ceremony is performed in a proper manner, to express the deepest humility. The three other temples, for the other cardinal points, are no less curious and rich, and stand at the same distance without the wall, each at its proper point of the compass from it ; and in these are likewise performed some particular ceremonies, at the sun's entrance into each of those cardinal signs. Besides these, they have also a number of others, for the sun, moon, the seven planets, twelve signs, twenty-eight constellations ; and an infinite variety of others, both public and private, which we have not room to mention ; and shall conclude this head with a remarkable ceremony, which is performed yearly, at that which is called the temple of the earth, and by every new monarch, upon his accession to the throne ; and is as follows :

of the earth.

A remarkable ceremony performed by the new monarchs.

IMMEDIATELY after his coronation, he is conducted, with all the royal formality, to this temple, which stands on the west side of the city, and at a small distance without the wall. Here he divests himself of his imperial robes, and cloaths himself in the habit of a common ploughman ; and, in this humble guise, proceeds, with his numerous retinue, to a spot of ground, kept for that purpose, within the cincture of the temple. Here he finds a plough, finely varnished and gilt, to which two oxen, with gilded horns, are fastened ; and taking the plough in his hand, drives it the length of two or three furrows. Whilst he is at this laborious exercise, his empress, attended with her ladies, prepare some homely dish for his dinner, and bring it to him, into some private apartment, in the most ordinary vessels, and sit down and eat with him. This excellent custom is of *Chinese* extract, and great antiquity,

(H) This is partly owing to the difference of their deities, statues, and way of worship. But what is most shocking to the *Chinese*, is, that the *Tartars* have some of their idols carved, or painted, naked ; for the former profess an utter aversion to all such nudities, either in temples, houses, or in any other way ; and, upon that account, were highly offended at the dress of the *Europeans*, as discovering too much of the nakedness of the body ; which they, on the contrary, strive to conceal, by their long gowns, wide sleeves, breeches, and boots. Much more, consequently, must those naked idols, so common among the *Tartars*, appear shocking to them. There is, among the rest, in this metropolis, a stately *Tartarian* temple, in which the Deity is represented in the figure of a naked man, of an extraordinary bigness, and which it would be a scandal for any *Chinese* to set his foot into.

(I) This surprising edifice is built on an artificial mountain, raised in the form of a sugar-loaf, of such

a height and bigness, and with such transverse perforations, or chasms, that it looks like a huge parcel of mountains thrown one upon another, with horrid caverns between the interstices ; and the whole so rough, that it can hardly be beheld without dread. But the *Chinese*, it seems, are fond of such monstrous curiosities of art.

On the top of the mountain stands the temple above-mentioned, which is likewise very lofty and spacious, and richly built. Near it is reared a stately tower, of most curious workmanship, of a round form, twelve storeys high, with galleries, windows, and other decorations, like those that are commonly seen in some of their cities ; a taste of which we shall give our readers, in a proper place. Round the uppermost gallery of all, are hung, by long chains, or wires, fifty bells, which are so easily moved, by the least blast of wind, that they keep a continual tinkling night and day, and are seen and heard at a great distance.

a and was designed to put their new monarch in mind, that his revenue was owing to the sweat and labour of his subjects; and that he ought to abstain from all superfluous expences, and ease them of all needless burdens'. And thus much may serve, to give an idea of the pagods in this city: their statues, and other representations of their deities, monasteries, &c. will best seen, when we come to speak of their religion.

As to the places of the noblemen, Mandarins, and other officers of distinction, they have nothing worth describing, being all but one storey high, and rather convenient than sumptuous. We are even told, that it would be a crime in any of them to excel in this way (K). Neither are they more curious in furniture, and household ornaments: and, indeed, considering how liable they are to be deprived of their dignities, upon the least suspicion, or dislike, b it would be imprudent for them to do otherwise; because these palaces belonging properly to the emperor, whatever additional furniture they bring into them must remain there, for the use of those that succeed them.

BEFORE we leave this metropolis, it will not be unacceptable to our readers, if we give them some short account of its so much boasted imperial observatory. The Chinese had such an opinion of it, we are told, that they thought nothing in the universe could come up to it; and some European travellers, upon their credit, had cried it up to such a height, that one of the most celebrated mathematicians of the royal academy of Paris, hath made no scruple to represent it as one of the greatest prodigies of art and ingenuity, of beauty and magnificence (L): and yet, when this celebrated structure came to be viewed, by more proper c and unbiassed judges, it appears to have been of little worth as to its ancient machines, and less as to its situation; and that all that it is now valuable for, is owing to the improvements which were made to it by Father Verbieft, a Flemish Jesuit, in high repute there, and who caused a new set of instruments to be made, with extraordinary care, neatness, and exactness. The difficulty was to get them introduced into the observatory; and such was the Chinese fondness for their old defective ones, above the most perfect new ones, that they could never have been prevailed upon to admit them, if they had not been forced to it, by an express order from the emperor Kang-hi.

THIS fabric stands in a court of a moderate extent, and is built in the form of a square tower, such as were formerly used to fortify the city walls, and is contiguous to that of the city on the inside, and raised but ten or twelve feet above its bulwark. The ascent up to d the top is by a very narrow stair-case; and on the platform above were placed all the old instruments, which, though but few, did yet take up the whole room, till Father Verbieft introduced his new ones, which he disposed in a more convenient order. These are large, well cast, and embellished with representations of dragons, &c. and, was but the neatness of the divisions answerable to the work, and the telescopes fastened to them according to the new method, instead of pins, they would be equal to those of Europe: but the Chinese artificers were, it seems, either too negligent, or incapable of following his directions. The reader will form a better idea of their disposition, as well as of the whole platform, by the draught here annexed, and by the description of the chief instruments, which he will find in the following e note (M). As to the old ones, they were, by order of the emperor, set aside, as useless,

* LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, ubi sup. vol. ii. p. 138, & seq. & al.

* LE COMPTE, letter 3. DU HALDE, English,

(K) Our author (10) gives us an instance of it, in a chief Mandarin, who having built him an house something more lofty than the rest, was accused for it before the emperor, by those whose province it was to take notice of such crimes. Whereupon the nobleman, fearful of the event, made haste to pull down the house, while the business was under examination, and before it was decided against him.

(L) His words are to this effect: "Nothing in Europe is to be compared to it; whether for the magnificence of the place, or the largeness of those vast brazen machines, which having been, during these 700 years, exposed on the platforms of those large towers, are still as fair and intire, as if they were but newly cast. The divisions of these instruments are most exact, the disposition most proper for their design, and the whole work performed with an inimitable neatness. In a word, it seemed that China insulted her sister nations, as if, with all their learning and riches, they could not come up with her in that point (11)."

(M) These are;

1. An armillary or zodiacal sphere, six feet in diameter (marked *a* in the plate), and supported by four dragons heads, whose bodies, after some windings, are fastened to the ends of two brass beams, laid across, that bear the whole weight of the sphere. These beams are supported by four lions, of the same metal, whose heads may be raised, or lowered, by screws. The circles are divided, both in the in and outside, by cross lines, into 360 degrees, and each degree into sixty minutes, and these last into portions of ten seconds, by small pins.

2. An equinoctial sphere, of six feet diameter (marked *b*), supported by a dragon, cast in a sleeping posture, whose claws extend to the four corners of the pedestal. This last, like the preceding, consists of two cross beams, borne by four small lions, which serve to level it. The design is grand, and well executed.

3. An azimuthal horizon (marked *c*), six feet in diameter, which consists of one large circle, placed horizontally. The double ruler, which is just its diame-

(10) *Le Compte*, letter 3.

(11) *Id. ib.*

useless, and laid in the hall near the tower, where they may be seen through a cross-barred window, all covered with rust, and buried in oblivion.

*A meridian
gnomon.*

*Five persons
employed in
making obser-
vations.*

Our author tells us, however, of a gnomon of *Chinese* invention, which is pretty well contrived, and might be of use to a careful astronomer. It is placed in a lower room of the fabric, and the slit which lets in the sun's rays, and is made of two copper-plates suspended, which, by being moved to and fro, make the entrance larger or smaller, is horizontally placed, about eight feet from the ground. Under it lies a table, 'trimmed with brass; in the midst of which there is struck, lengthwise, a meridian line, fifteen feet long, divided across by other lines, which are neither exact nor fine. On the sides they have also cut a number of small holes, wherein to put water, in order to set the table exactly horizontal. This, and the instruments above-mentioned, is all that is remarkable in this famed observatory, in which there are five mathematicians employed night and day, each in a proper apartment on the top of the tower, to observe all that passes over their heads. One of them is gazing towards the zenith, and the others towards the four points of the compass, that nothing may escape their notice. Their observations extend themselves not only to the motions of the heavenly bodies, but to fires, meteors, winds, rain, thunder, hail, storms, and other phænomena of the atmosphere; and these are carefully entered in their journals, and an account of them is brought, every morning, to the surveyor of the mathematics, and registred in his office^a. And thus much shall suffice for the city of *Pe-king*; in describing of which, we have been the more diffuse, as it is the metropolis of this vast empire, and is, as it were, the soul of it, which puts in motion, and keeps in order, every part of it. All that needs be added is, that it hath jurisdiction over six cities of the second, and twenty of the third rank, besides the general one which it hath over the whole realm, by its six supreme courts which sit in it; an account of which will be given, when we come to speak of their government. The other head cities of this province, and their inferior ones, are as follow:

*2. The city of
Pau-ting-fu.*

2. PAU-TING-FU, the residence of the viceroy; which hath three cities of the second, and seventeen of the third rank. It hath a lake in the middle of it, which is chiefly famed for producing vast quantities of a sort of flowers, called by the *Chinese* *lyen-wha*; and which the reader will find described in the margin (N).

3. HO-KYEN-FU,

^a See LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, and others above cited.

ter, and slides over the whole limb, carries round along with it an upright triangle, the upper angle of which is fastened to a perpendicular beam fixed in the centre of the horizon. Four twisted dragons bend their heads underneath the great circle, to keep it firm, whilst two others, winding round two small pillars, raise themselves on either side, in almost a semicircular form, as far as the top of the axis, to which they are firmly fixed, in order to keep the triangle steady and upright.

4. A large quadrant (marked *d*), of six feet radius, and graduated at every tenth second. The lead, which fixes it in a vertical position, weighs a pound, and hangs from the centre by a very fine brass-wire. The alhidade, or ruler, easily slides round the limb; and a dragon, folded in several rings, holds the parts firmly together, lest they should start from their due position. The whole body of the quadrant hangs in the air; and an immoveable axis runs thro' its centre, by which it may be turned towards any part of the heavens. And, to prevent its weight shaking it out of its vertical position, two other beams are raised, one on each side, and firmly fixed below upon two dragons, and fastened to the middle axis by carved clouds, which seem to descend from the sky. The whole work is firm, and well-contrived.

5. A sextant, of eight feet radius (marked *e*), representing the sixth part of a great circle, supported by an axletree, whose basis is concave, and is held steady by dragons, and crossed in the middle by a brass pillar; on the end of which is fixed a machine, with wheels, which facilitate the moving of the instrument. To the middle of this machine is fastened a copper bar, which represents one of the radii of the sextant, and keeps it immoveable. Its upper part terminates in a thick cylinder, which is the centre round which the ruler turns; and the lower part reaches about two feet below the limb, for the engine, which serves to raise and lower

it, to take hold on. These unwieldy machines, however, are so difficult to be moved, that they are rather an ornament to an observatory, than of any use to an observer.

6. The last is a celestial globe, of six feet diameter (marked *f*), which is the handsomest, and best made, of all the rest. The body of it is cast exactly round in brass, and neatly polished; the stars are well formed, and in their true places, and the circles of a proportionable breadth and thickness. It is likewise so exactly hung, that the least force will turn it round; insomuch that a child may elevate it to any degree, though it weighs above 2000 pounds. A large concave brass basis, with a chanel round its edges, is supported by four mis-shapen dragons, placed at equal distances, whose bristly hair sustains a magnificent horizon, of a considerable breadth, and curiously wrought and ornamented. The meridian, which supports the axis of the globe, is upheld by clouds issuing out of the basis, and slides easily between them; its motion being facilitated by hidden wheels, by which the globe is easily turned to any elevation: besides this, the horizon, the dragon, and the brazen beams which cross each other at the centre of the concave, are all moved at pleasure, without stirring the basis, which still continues fixed. This makes it easy to place the horizon level, so as to intersect the globe just in the middle. The whole is as well finished as if it had been done by the best *European* artist; and, as most of these six machines are ten feet high, they are, for the convenience of the observers, encompassed with marble steps, in the form of amphitheatres, as the reader may see by the plate (12).

(N) This flower seems to be the same with our *nymphaea*, or water-lily, which, tho' little valued by us, is much admired and esteemed by the *Chinese*, both for its beauty and medicinal qualities. The truth is, they bestow so much pains in improving it, particularly in

(12) *Le Compte, ubi sup. Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 138, & seq. & al.*

- a 3. HO-KYEN-FU, so called, because it is seated between two rivers, is near four miles in compass; and hath two cities of the second, and fifteen of the third rank, under its jurisdiction. 3. Ho-kyen-fu.
4. CHIN-TING-FU, seated near a fine river, is of an oblong figure, well walled, and near four miles in circuit. It hath thirty-two cities under it, viz. five of the second, and twenty-seven of the third rank. North of it are mountains which produce a great variety of medicinal herbs; and upon which are seen several stately monuments reared to their heroes, and one in particular consecrated to the memory of the first emperor of the dynasty of *Han*. 4. Chin-ting-fu.
5. SHUN-TE-FU hath but nine cities under it, all of the third rank; but which are very considerable, and well peopled. The whole territory is fertile, and well watered; and, among other things, produces a fine sand, which is used for polishing of precious stones, and the best touch-stones for gold in the whole empire. 5. Shun-te-fu.
- b 6. QUANG-PING-FU, situate on the southern part of the province, hath only nine cities of the third rank under its jurisdiction, and nothing particular worth mentioning. 6. Quang-ping-fu.
7. TAY-MING-FU hath one city of the second, and eighteen of the third rank, under it. 7. Tay-ming-fu.
8. YUNG-PING-FU is advantageously situate, being encompassed by the sea, by rivers, and by mountains covered with very fair trees. It hath only one city of the second, and five of the third rank. 8. Yung-ping-fu.

Not far from it is the fort of *Sbang-bay*, which is as it were the key of the province of *Lyau-tong*, and is situate near the great wall, which extends itself, from the bulwark built in the sea, for the space of a league, in a plain country, before it ascends the hills.

- c 9. SWEN-WHA-FU is a large, well-built city, full of inhabitants, and seated among the mountains, not far from the great wall. It hath two cities of the second, and eight of the third rank: besides some forts along the wall, strongly garrisoned, to guard the entrance between *China* and *Tartary*. Its mountains produce fine crystal, marble, porphyry, and a sort of yellow rat, larger than those of *Europe*, whose skins are in great request among the *Chinese*. 9. Swen-wha-fu.

II. The province of Kyang-nan.

- d THE next province in dignity (for, in such historical works as this, we think it much more proper to mention them according to their rank, than as they stand contiguous to each other, as is done in geographical ones) is that now called *Kyang-nan*, or *Nan-king*, and is the most fertile, trading, and wealthy, of the empire. It is bounded on the west by those of *Ho-nan* and *Hu-quang*; on the south by *Che-kyang* and *Kyang-fu*; on the north by *Shan-tong*; and, on the east, by the gulf of *Nan king*. It extends itself from the 29th to the 25th degree of latitude, and from the 112th to the 119th of east longitude; so that, for its extent, as well as opulence, it justly deserves at least the second rank, though the *Chinese* writer *Kao*, in his survey, places it but in the ninth. We have already observed, that the ancient emperors kept their constant residence at its metropolis of *Nan-king*, till, for reasons of state, they removed it to *Pe-king*; notwithstanding which considerable loss, it hath, by the advantage of its maritime commerce, as well as the richness of its soil, and vast number and industry of its inhabitants, been enabled to keep up its ancient splendor and rank; inso-much that the yearly tribute it pays to the emperor in rice, silks, cotton, salt, &c. amounts, *communibus annis*, according to *Martini*, who had it from the then governor of the province, to near 32 millions of taels (O), or ducats, exclusive of the duties arising from all that is

their artificial fish-ponds, that it grows large, double, and very lively in its colours which are commonly a mixture of white and violet, or red and white.

This flower shoots up about a yard or more above the water, not unlike our tulip, and consists of a little ball supported by a small filament, much like that which is found in a lily; its smell is pleasant, and its fruit of the bigness of a hazel-nut, and contains a white kernel, very grateful to the taste; the root is knotty, like that of reeds, its pith and substance very white. There is nothing in this plant but what is of some service; and they make even a meal of it, which they use upon several occasions. The leaves of it are long, and float upon the water; they are fastened to the root by long strings, and are used by gardeners to wrap their ware in.

The virtues which the *Chinese* physicians attribute to this plant are, that it is a great refresher and nourisher of nature, and a great restorer of decayed constitutions.

But, as to what *Kercher*, and some other authors, add, that its root will soften copper, by being put into a man's mouth with it (13), it hath been since exploded by those who tried the experiment with less prepossession.

(O) Equivalent to a *Chinese* ounce of silver, or to about eight shillings and seven pence sterling (14).

Perhaps it will not be unacceptable to the reader, if we subjoin here a fuller account of this tribute, by way of specimen; seeing all the other provinces pay the same, and the difference is only in the more or less of each commodity. That of the rice here amounts, *communibus annis*, to 5,995,034 sacks; raw silk to 6863 pounds; wrought ditto, 28,452 pieces; linen to 2,077 pieces; that of cotton is paid in silver, and is no less considerable; and the rest of their commodities bear a proportion to their affluence; but that of the salt, which is here made in vast quantities along the sea-coasts of the provinces, is the biggest of all (15).

(13) *Kercher*. *Du Halde*, p. 12, § 80. *La Martiniere*, *Du Halde*, § al.

(14) See *Du Halde*, *English*, p. 73. *sub voc.*

(15) See *Mar-*

imported or exported, for the receiving of which there are proper officers assigned *. The number of families in it is computed, according to the *Chinese* registers, at 1,969,816; and the men at 9,967,429, or near ten millions; among whom, the city of *Shang-hay*, and villages belonging to it, are said to contain 200,000, employed in weaving of callico.

Jurisdiction. KYANG-NAN hath fourteen fû's, or cities of the first rank; under which are ninety-three of the second and third, besides towns and villages without number, all of them large, populous, and wealthy; for all the commodities that come from any of the cities, but especially from the capital of this province, such as those of japan-work, ink, paper, and other manufactures, in which they drive a vast trade, are more esteemed, and bear a greater price, than those of any other province. The inhabitants of *Kyang-nan* are polite and courteous, and have a more than ordinary disposition for the sciences; insomuch that it is famed for the great number of doctors it produces, who, by their merit, attain the highest posts and dignities of the empire. It hath but few mountains, except towards the south; all the rest is a fruitful champain, abounding with all the necessaries and conveniencies of life. It abounds with convenient sea-ports, resorted to by an innumerable quantity of vessels from most parts of *Asia*; and a great number of canals, and some navigable rivers, for the convenience of import and export. The most considerable of these are the *Yang-tse*, which runs quite thro' the middle of it; and the *Whang-ho*, which bounds it on the north.

This province, besides its fourteen districts, each under its proper capital, is divided into two governments, the eastern and western, each under a respective viceroy; the former of whom hath his residence at *Sû-chew-fû*, and the latter at *Ngang-king-fû*. The order in which they stand is as follows: 1. *Nan-king*; 2. *Sû-chew*; 3. *Song-kyang*; 4. *Cbang-chew*; 5. *Chin-kyang*; 6. *Way-ngang*; 7. *Yang-chew*; 8. *Ngan-king*; 9. *Whay-chew*; 10. *Ning-que*; 11. *Chi-chew*; 12. *Tay-ping*; 13. *Fong-yang*; 14. *Lyu-chew*.

To these may be added the island of *Tsong-ming*, which likewise belongs to this province, and of which we shall speak at the end of this article, after we have given a short description of what is most remarkable in those fourteen capitals, and especially in that of *Nan-king*.

Nan-king described. NAN-KING, alias *Kyan-ning-fû*, capital of the whole province, and once styled the spacious, stately, opulent, none-such, &c. stands in latitude 32, and east longitude 116, or two deg. 38 min. east from the meridian of *Pe-king*. It is by far the largest city in the whole empire, though much reduced of its ancient extent; of which the *Chinese* tell you, that if two horsemen set out in the morning at one of the gates, and galloped round it at different ways, they would not meet till the evening (P). The figure of *Nan-king* is one of the most irregular in the whole province, if not in the whole empire; for which *Du Halde*, who hath given us a sketch of it, gives this reason: that the hills within it, and the nature of the ground about it, could not well admit of a more regular form. Its decay not only from its ancient extent, but from its pristine grandeur, was owing to the removing of the imperial residence, and supreme tribunals (on which account it had the title of *Nan-king*, or southern court), to that of *Pe-king*, since which time the *Tartars* have given it the name of *Kyang ning*; and though, in common discourse, it be still called by its old one, yet it is never suffered to be used in any public instruments. It hath not only lost its ancient name, but all the other monuments of its royal grandeur. The imperial palace, once a most magnificent structure, hath nothing now left but its ruins. The stately monuments of its ancient monarchs, and other public buildings, are all run into decay; and even its once so famed observatory lies now neglected, and almost demolished; most of those superb edifices being destroyed by the avarice of the *Tartars*, who first invaded it, out of hatred to the *Chinese* dynasty then reigning.

Number of vessels. ABOUT one third part of the city hath since lain waste; the rest, however, is not only well built and inhabited, but drives on a very considerable commerce by means of the *Yang-tse* above-mentioned, which, being a large navigable river, is ever bringing in a prodigious number of barges; some of which, especially the imperial ones, are nearly as big as, if not exceeding, our middling vessels. All these come into that river, from other parts of the empire, by the help of a good number of canals; and in such quantities, that a stranger cannot forbear being surpris'd at the vast hurry that reigns through the whole city; nor at the prodigious number of these barks, which, we are told, were thought by some of the Jesuits, and first *European* adventurers, to have been sufficient to form a bridge between that capital and

* See LE COMPTE, MARTINI, DU HALDE, and others above cited.

(P) The survey of *Dionysius Kao* gives it between sixteen and seventeen *French* leagues, that is, about forty-eight miles, in circuit: but it appears, from the ruins of its old wall, to have been considerably larger; insomuch that some writers have computed it to have been thirty leagues, or ninety miles. How much it

hath shrunk from that time, may be reckoned from the last survey which *Du Halde* tells us was taken of it, which gives its wall no more than sixty-seven *Chinese* li's, or five leagues and half, of twenty to a degree, and about 466 fathom over, which is short of eighteen miles (16).

(16) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 73.*

a *Europe.* What adds to the wonder, is, the richness of those vessels, not only in their costly lading, but in their fine paintings, carvings, and gilding, and the vast crouds that are seen upon them, and make it appear like a great fair kept upon the water.

THE streets of the city, though narrower by much than those of *Pe-king*, and other *Chinese* *Present gran-* towns, are however curiously paved, and consequently freer from dust and dirt. Some of *deur.* them are covered in the middle with large marble slabs; and in the sides with variety of pebble and other stones, so neatly inlaid, that it would be a delight to walk thro' them, if they were not so greatly thronged from morning to night. The city-gates, some of the *Public build-* pagods, palaces, arches, towers, and other public buildings, appear quite splendid, especially *ings.* the palace of the viceroy, who always resides here. But the most curious and stately fabric
b in this city, is its octagon tower, which will be more properly described in the sequel, among the artificial rarities of this country. The number of its inhabitants is no less surprising; *Number of* and hath been computed by *Dionysius Kao*, *Father Le Compte*, and others, to amount to two *inhabitants.* millions of souls, exclusive of its great garrison (Q). The tribute which it pays to the crown, and the customs for imports and exports, come to an immense sum: but, besides these, the city sends every year to *Pe-king* five large vessels laden with the finest silks, cloths, and other rich commodities, in order to ingratiate itself with the *Tartar* monarchs (R), and to secure the protection of its commerce.

NOTHING is more pleasant than the territory about this city, which not only abounds with *Territory* all necessaries, but is moreover adorned with the greatest variety of villas, pleasure-houses, *about it.*
c turrets, gardens, orchards, and other embellishments, that can heighten the prospect of it. The most delightful object of all these is a wood of about twelve miles in compass, and *Charming pro-* planted with stately pines, in the heart of which is raised a mount of a sufficient height to *fects.* overtop them, which is covered with temples, and other sepulchral monuments of the ancient *Chinese* monarchs. It stands about six miles from the city; and about the same distance from it, on the same plain, is another mount, upon which is raised a spacious terrace of large square stones, with four flights of marble steps, and, on that, a temple truly royal and magnificent. The roof is supported by two rows of marble pillars, finely carved and polished, twenty-four feet high, and of a proportionable thickness: every thing else, both within and without the structure, is answerable to it. The gates are lofty, and curiously carved in bas-
d relief, and inlaid with gold and silver. The windows are fenced with a small kind of wire-net, of the same metal; and so surprisingly fine, that it can hardly be perceived. Within-side are several stately thrones, enriched with pearls, and other precious stones of immense value, and the most excellent workmanship. We omit many other curious things belonging to this city, both within and without it, for want of room*; and shall only add, that it abounds *Learned men.* with men of learning in all sciences, and with many noble libraries, as well as rich book-sellers shops, furnished with the greatest plenty and variety of valuable books. The paper, ink, and other instruments for writing and printing, do here excel all others in the empire. *Nan-king* hath only eight cities of the third rank under its jurisdiction.

HAVING dwelt so long on the description of these two celebrated capitals of the *Chinese*
e empire, we shall be much more brief in the remainder not only of this, but of the other provinces, and content ourselves with just mentioning what is most curious in every one; referring our readers, for a fuller account of them, to the authors last quoted in the margin.

2. THE second city in the province of *Kyang-nan* is *Sû-chew*, the capital of the eastern divi- *Sû-chew.* sion called *I-tong*, and is not only large and populous, and rich enough to vie with *Nan-king* last described, but is, for its commodious and pleasant situation, esteemed an earthly paradise. It is compared to *Venice*, on account of the many canals that run through its streets; but with this difference, that the one stands on the sea, and this in fresh water. The canals are *Site on fresh* capacious enough to carry the largest barges, and are continually crouded with them. *Sû-chew,* *water.* like some others in *China*, may be reckoned three cities; one of which, within the walls, is

* De hac, vid. LE COMPTE, CORNEILLE, MARTINIERE, ATLAS Sinens. Dutch ambass. to China. DU HALDE, & al. plur.

(Q) We must, however, observe, that some later writers have struck off near half that number, exclusive of its garrison, which consists of 40,000 men, and which the governor or lieutenant-general of the southern provinces is obliged to keep up here (17). *Du Halde* hath said nothing precisely about it; so that the reader is at liberty to believe which side he will; but to us it seems, upon the whole, as if this last calculation came as much too short as the other may be supposed to go beyond the real mark.

(R) These vessels, which are styled *lung-y chew*, or the ships of the dragon's cloathing, because the empe-

rors bear the dragon in their arms, are so respected, that every vessel is obliged to lower their sails to them. There is likewise another sett of them, which go from *Nan-king* to *Pe-king* every *April* or *May*, with great quantities of a peculiar sort of fish caught in this neighbourhood, and which are covered with ice to keep them fresh. And, tho' these two cities are above 600 miles distant from each other, we are told these vessels must perform the voyage in eight or ten days, under severe penalties, that fish being mostly for the emperor's use (18).

Vast number of vessels. computed above four leagues in compass; another in the suburbs, which extends a great way on both sides of the canals; and a third in the barks, which are so many floating houses, ranged on the water in several rows, above a league in length, many of which are equal in bulk to our third-rate ships¹.

Commerce. THE territory about it, and of the cities under its jurisdiction, is fertile and delightful, rich and opulent; and all carry on a considerable commerce not only with other parts of *China*, but with *Japan*, from which this province is divided by a narrow chanel, which the trading vessels commonly cross in two or three days, with a fair wind. The chief manufactures here are brocades and embroidery, which are the finest and cheapest in proportion in the whole empire. The city hath six stately gates towards the water-side, and as many towards the land; and a jurisdiction over one city of the second, and seven of the third rank, all of them beautiful and rich, and about one and an half or two leagues in compass².

Mines of gold, &c. THE other cities of this province have nothing more remarkable than what hath been already observed, except that of *Whay-chew*, whose mountains have mines of gold, silver, and copper, and whose territory is said to produce the best tea. That of *Fong-yang-fu*, the birth-place of *Hong-wu*, the first emperor of the preceding dynasty, was once designed by that monarch for his imperial residence, and a plan was drawn for making it one of the noblest cities in the empire: but the unsuitness of the ground, scarcity of water, and other reasons, made him exchange it for that of *Nan-king*, to which he removed his seat. It retains, however, some marks of the royal magnificence, such as a stately temple, some pagods, and monuments, which the reader may find in the author last quoted.

Island of Tsong-ming described. THE last thing to be mentioned of this province, is the island of *Tsong-ming*, separated from it by a small chanel of five or six leagues. It is about twenty leagues long, and five or six in breadth; and was formerly a barren desert, to which robbers and banditti were banished, and left to starve; to avoid this, necessity soon drove them to cultivate it; after which, some poor *Chinese* families came over, and helped to improve it, as far as the ground was capable of it; so that now some spots of it yield wheat, rice, barley, and other coarser grain; cotton, lemons, and other fruits: but the greatest product is salt; which is here made in such plenty, as to serve the inhabitants, and is transported in vast quantities into the continent. This salt is made out of a sort of greyish earth, which grows dispersed in spots here and there on the north side of the island, and of the largeness of an acre or two.

Its produce. ANOTHER part of the island, towards the north, produces naturally a great plenty of reeds, of which they drive a considerable commerce: with some of them they build very handsome country-houses; and the rest is sold to serve for fuel, not only to the inhabitants, but likewise along the coasts. Their other lands yield them two harvests, the one in *May*, which is of corn, rye, barley, and rice; and the other in *September*, which chiefly consists of cotton and rice; which last is here most curiously cultivated.

City and towns. THERE is but one city in the whole island, which is of the third rank, and encompassed with high walls supported by good terraces, and surrounded with a ditch full of water: but there are in the arable lands such a vast number of villages, that they seem contiguous to each other. The air is wholesome and temperate; and the country pleasant, but intersected with a great number of canals, to prevent its being laid under water³.

III. The province of Kyan-si

Kyang si described. IS bounded on the north by *Kyang-nan*; on the west by *Hu-quang*; on the south by *Quang-tong*; and, on the east, by *Fo-kyen* and *Che-kyang*. It extends itself from the 24th degree and one-half to the 30th of latitude, and from the 110° to the 115° 10' of east longitude. The mountains which part it from *Quang-tong* and *Fo-kyen* are almost inaccessible and barren (S); but, being once passed over, discover very fruitful vallies, and plains exceedingly well improved. The whole province is well watered and fertile; but is so populous

¹ DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 74. LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, CORNEILLE, sub voc. & al. ² Ibid. ibid.
³ DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 78, & seq. Lettres cur. & edif. vol. xi. p. 234, & seq.

(S) The vast ridges of mountains which run between this province and those of *Fo-kyen* and *Quang-tong*, or *Canton*, are inhabited by a rude and savage sort of people, who pretend to be independent of either the *Chinese* or *Tartars*, and keep themselves so by the inaccessible height and ruggedness of their habitations, which are for the most part in deep caverns on the tops of those mountains. From these they come frequently down in bands to plunder the lower grounds; but dare not venture far from their dens, for fear of falling into

the hands of some of the garrisons, which are here kept in strong castles in good numbers, and from whom they can expect no mercy.

Great pains have been taken at different times by the government, either to subdue or extirpate these wild freebooters, but as yet without success; tho' their reduction would be so much more advantageous, as the vallies between them are very fruitful; and some of the mountains have mines of gold, copper, and lead (19).

^a withal, that the lower lands can scarce suffice to furnish them with a sufficiency of corn and rice; so they are forced to live very parsimoniously; and are, on that account, become the subject of scorn and raillery among their neighbours (T): yet they commonly are endowed with an excellent genius; and many of them advance themselves to the highest posts by their learning and merit. The number of people is computed to amount to 1,363,629 families, or 6,549,800 men ^b.

THE country abounds with lakes, brooks, and rivers; some of the last very large and navigable, particularly the *Can*, or *Kan*, al. *Kyang*, which runs through the whole province, and receives a great number of others in its course. All these yield a great plenty and variety of fish ^c, particularly salmon, trout, and sturgeon; and the mountains which encompass it are either covered with woods, or are famed for their minerals and medicinal herbs. The lake called *Po-yang-hû* is particularly remarkable for its largeness and depth, it being 300 miles in circuit, and navigable by the largest ships: it is said to receive all the rivers in the province; and hath its borders covered with large towns and villages, which drive a considerable trade upon it. There grow likewise great quantities of the *lyen-wha*, or water-lily, upon the surface of it; which plant we have described in a former note ^d. What renders this lake most famous, is, the fine china-ware that is made in some parts of its neighbourhood, particularly in the town of *Kin-te-sim*, or, more properly, *King-te-ching*, in the district of *Zhau-chew-fû*; and is the finest, most in request, and made in the greatest quantities, of any in the whole empire. The cause of its extraordinary beauty is supposed to be some peculiar property in the water; since we are told, that the same materials and workmen will not produce the like in any other place ^e.

THIS justly-famed borough, which is as populous as most cities in *China*, and only wants the walls to merit the name of one, is computed to have above a million of inhabitants, mostly employed in that manufacture; the rest being the merchants who deal in that ware, whose houses take up a great deal of room, and who employ a vast number of workmen (U). The town extends itself along the banks of a fine river, a league and half; the streets are long and strait, tho' rather too narrow, crowded, and noisy; and intersect each other at certain distances in a very regular manner; and not one scrap of waste ground is to be spared in it. They reckoned anciently but about 300 porcelain furnaces in the place, which, we are told, are now increased to about 500 ^f; the clouds of smoke and flames of which, ascending in different parts, shew at once the length, breadth, and circumference of it; which, in the night, appears like a large city all on fire, or like a huge furnace, with its vast number of vent-holes. Strangers are not admitted to stay, or even lodge at night, at *King-te-ching*, unless some responsible persons of the town will answer for their good behaviour. This regulation, joined to that which is observed day and night in it, and which is the same as in the great cities, keeps all things in good order, and secures the place from the attempts of an infinite number of robbers ^g.

THIS province hath 13 fû's, or capitals, which, with the districts of the second and third order, under them, are as follow:

1. NANG-SHANG, the metropolis of the whole; which hath one city of the second, and seven of the third rank, under its jurisdiction.
2. ZHAU-CHEW hath only seven districts of the third order, besides towns and villages in great number.
3. QUANG-SIN, which, though situate in the midst of high mountains, is yet well cultivated and inhabited. It manufactures a good sort of paper, and the best candles in all the empire; and hath only seven districts of the third rank under its jurisdiction.

^b LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, CORNEILLE, & al. before, p. 526. note (N).
^c NAVARETTA, LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, & al.
^d HALDE, p. 80, & seq.

^e MARTINI, CORNEILLE, & al.
^f DU HALDE, ubi sup. LE COMPTE, & al.

^g See
^h Du

(T) The neighbouring provinces despise them for their frugality, which they style sordidness, and for which they give them the title of mice. There are indeed vast numbers of them; who, not being able to subsist at home, wander about the empire, under the notion of fortune-tellers, jugglers, conjurers, &c.; and some of them, who have had a learned education, are taken into families, and serve as tutors to their children. It must be owned, however, that the generality of the people of this province are much given to superstition, and hold the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; observe a number of heathenish fasts, and many other such superstitious fooleries, above any other province (20).

(U) They are reckoned to consume in this place, one day with another, 10,000 loads of rice, and one thousand hogs a day, besides other animals, fish, fowl, &c. which makes provisions much dearer than in other parts of this province; notwithstanding which, it is become the refuge of an infinite number of poor families, who could subsist no-where so well; for here is employment found for young and old, strong and weak, and even the lame and blind may get a living by grinding of colours, &c. There is likewise a vast number of hands kept employed in the barges that ply to and from this place, and extend themselves in two or three rows on the river, some miles in length (21).

(20) *La Martiniere. sub voc.*

(21) *La Martiniere. sub voc. Le Compte, Du Halde, & al.*

4. Nang-king. 4. NANG-KING, or *Nan-king-fu*, is pleasantly situate on the lake *Po-yang* lately mentioned; and abounds with fish, corn, rice, &c.; and a kind of hemp, of which they make a good summer cloth. Its jurisdiction extends only over four cities of the third rank.
5. Kyew-kyang. 5. KYEW-KYANG is situate about four miles on the north-west side of the lake *Po-yang*, and on the south side of the famed river *Yang-tse*, which, though here at the distance of near 100 leagues from the sea, furnishes it with plenty of salmon, dolphins, trout, &c. The river, which runs along the walls of it, ebbs and flows at the new and full moon; and runs so slowly thence into the sea, that its course is hardly perceived. Our author doth not tell us what jurisdiction this city hath.
6. Kyen-chang. 6. KYEN-CHANG hath but three cities of the third rank under it; and is only noted for a good sort of wine made of rice, and a kind of linen much esteemed, and worn during the summer-heats.
7. Fû-chew. 7. FU-CHEW, or *Vû-chew*, hath six cities of the third rank. Its walls are of a large extent; yet it hath hardly 50,000 inhabitants, it having been sacked, and almost destroyed, by the *Tartars* in the late wars; and a great part of its ancient buildings lying in ruins.
8. Lin-kyang. 8. LIN-KYANG hath no more than four cities of the third rank under it. Its chief traffic consists in oranges, with which the surrounding mountains, which are cut into terraces, are covered, and from whence they are sent into the neighbouring provinces.
9. Ki-ngan. 9. KI-NGAN hath nine cities of the third rank. The *Kan*, or *Kyang*, river, on which it is situate, runs there so rapidly, among a number of rocks which are even with its surface, that it requires all the skill of a good pilot, as well as strength of hands, to pass the current safely.
10. Shwi-chew. 10. SHWI-CHEW is divided into two parts, or cities, by the river *Kan*, which have a communication with each other by two stout bridges; one of stone, with ten arches; and the other of boats, which rises and falls with the water. The north side is styled the Mandarin city, because both the great and small of that dignity dwell in it; whilst the other is chiefly inhabited by burghers and tradesmen. How far its jurisdiction extends, we are not told; but it is so happily situated both for health and fertility, that it is styled the happy.
11. Yven-chû. 11. YVEN-CHU hath only four cities of the third rank under it; but is blessed with every convenience of life, and furnishes the rest of the empire with vitriol and alum, with which the country about it abounds.
12. Kang-chew. 12. KANG-CHEW hath twelve cities of the third rank under it; and is, besides, a place of great traffic, as it is situate on the river of its name, which receives another at a small distance; at the confluence of which is a large bridge built with boats; and near it, the custom-house, where vessels are searched, and examined whether they have paid duty. The country about it abounds with those trees from which the gyran, or varnish for jappanning, distils, and is some of the best that *China* affords.
13. Nan-ngan. 13. THE last and most southern capital of this province is called *Nan-ngan*, and hath four cities under it. It is large, populous, and rich, on account of the great resort of vessels to it, because all the merchandizes that go to, or come from, the province of *Quang-tong* are obliged to land here: and thus much may suffice for this third province.

IV. The province of Fo-kyen

- IV. Fo-kyen described. **I**T is bounded on the east by the sea; on the west by *Kyang-si*, last described; on the north by *Che-kyang*; and, on the south by *Quang-tong*. It is one of the smallest provinces in the empire; and extends itself only from the 23° and an half to the $28^{\circ} 20'$ of latitude, and from the 114° to the 118° of east longitude; but it is so advantageously situate for navigation and commerce, as to be esteemed one of the richest; and hath a great many forts built along the shore, to defend its coasts. These are so irregular, by reason of the number and variety of its bays, that it gives the inhabitants an opportunity of carrying on an illicit trade with strangers, in spite of all the *Chinese* prohibitions, of diamonds, and other precious stones, gold, quicksilver, spices, amber, and other commodities, of which they make a vast traffic and gain. They maintain such a great number of ships, that, when the emperor of *China* was threatening a war against that of *Japan*, this province is said to have offered to furnish him with such a number of them as should be sufficient to make a bridge that should reach from one country to the other. And indeed most of their mountains, which are here in great number (W), are covered with forests full of large and lofty trees, fit for building
- Site and commerce.
- Vast number of ships.

^a DU HALDE, ubi sup. LE COMPTE, & al.
TINIERE, DU HALDE, & al.

^b De his, vide LE COMPTE, CORNEILLE, LA MAR-

(W) The *Chinese* have an excellent way of improving these mountains, by cutting those that are of a soft nature into the form of amphitheatres and terraces, one

above another, and sowing them with corn, rice, &c.; and, as the latter only grows in water, they take care to supply each such spot with it, either from the springs that

a building of ships. Some of them have rich mines of iron and tin, and others of gold and silver; but these two last are forbidden to be opened, under pain of death.

THE commodities with which this province abounds, besides those already named, are, *Chief commodities.* musk, silks, hempen and callico cloths, steel, and all sorts of utensils curiously made, &c. *duties.*

Those that are imported, are, cloves, cinnamon, pepper, sanders-wood, coral, amber, and such-like. The countries this trades with, are, *Japan, Formosa, the Philippine Islands, Siam,* and others, along those eastern coasts. The climate is hot and sultry in summer, but serene and healthy; so that it produces the same grains, fruits, &c. with the other parts of the empire, and some in greater perfection; particularly oranges, which are here much larger, and of a more beautiful red, and have, besides, a fine muscadine taste and favour.

b THE people of this province not only speak a language quite different from the *Chinese*; *Distinct language.* but, what is still more incommodious to those that travel through it, every district hath a dialect of its own: even the Mandarin language, which is the only one that is generally spoken through the empire, is understood but by few of them. But it must be observed, that *Formerly a separate kingdom.* Fo-kyen was formerly a separate kingdom; though whether tributary to *China*, or no, we cannot learn; and the prince who governed it at the time of the *Tartaric* invasion, who was

c no less potent than courageous, held out against those invaders long after the rest of the provinces had submitted to their yoke. We shall speak more fully of that war when we come to the historical part; and only hint here, that they were at length subdued, not by superior strength or valour, but by downright treachery; and to this day brook their subjection very unwillingly; and hence that difference of language, and their aversion to the *Chinese*. They have, however, many learned men among them, who are not a little fond of the sciences. The rest of the people are generally industrious, witty, and affable; but, according to common report, given to all manner of vices; and notorious, above all the *Chinese*, for cheating those they deal with.

FO-KYEN hath nine fû's, or cities of the first rank (amongst which they reckon *Tay-wan*, or *Tayovan*, the capital of the island of *Formosa*, of which we shall speak at the end of this article), and sixty hyens, or cities of the third rank.

THE fû's, or cities of the first rank, are, 1. *Fû-chew*, the metropolis; 2. *Tswen-chew*; *Capitals of* 3. *Kyeng-ning*; 4. *Teng-ping*; 5. *Ting-chew*; 6. *Hing-wha*; 7. *Shau-ü*; 8. *Chan-chew*; *Fo-kyen.* d 9. *Tay-wan*; to these may be also added *Hya-men*, or the port of *A-mwy*, or *Amoy*; and the island of *Pong-bü*, which doth likewise belong to this province.

THESE cities are remarkable chiefly for their largeness, richness, and populousness, and such other general advantages, not worth, however, a further description; what is most worth notice in some of them, is as follows: *Tswen-chew* is famed for a fine temple, adorned with *Tswen-chew's* two stately towers built of stone and marble, seven storys high; each storey hath a gallery on *two stately towers.* the outside, around which one may walk, and view the beauties of the city and country. It hath likewise a bridge of extraordinary length and breadth, built with a blackish stone, and supported, not with arches, but with 300 stone pillars, ending on the two sides with an acute angle, to break the force of the stream. It is said to have cost the governor that built it

e 1,400,000 ducats.

CHANG-CHEW, the eighth and most southern city in this province, is situate on a river which *A noble bridge.* ebbs and flows; over which it hath a stately bridge, of 36 very high arches, and broad enough to admit of shops on both sides, which are stored with all sorts of rich merchandizes, both of *China* and the *Indies*. Its vicinity to *Amoy*, a place of vast commerce, occasions a constant traffick to be continually carried on between them. The neighbouring mountains produce the finest crystal, of which they make buttons, seals, figures of animals, &c.¹

HYA-MEN, or the island and port of *A-mwy*, *Emoy*, or *Amoy*, is one of the most con- *Port of Amoy* venient and safe harbours in all *India*, on account of the road which is formed by that island *described.* between it and the continent; which is so deep and capacious, that it can receive 1000 ships

f of the largest size, which can come as near to land as they please, and ride safe from all winds; on which account its commerce hath increased to such a degree, that there is constantly a vast number of *Chinese* transports that trade from thence to other parts of *India*; and

¹ De his vid. DIONYS. KAO. apud Isbrandts Ides, p. 148, & seq. MARTINI Atlas, LE COMPTE, LA MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, & al.

that come down from the mountains, or from those of the plains, which they have the art of raising up to the highest mountains, and of conveying from one mountain to another, by pipes made of bambo, which this province takes care to cultivate in great quantities for that purpose; so that every stage or terrace from the top to the bottom is plentifully supplied with water to nourish whatever grain is sown upon it.

And here it must be observed, that the mountains

which are formed in this shape, are commonly of a soft nature: but, where the rock is too hard to be so cut, or where the water cannot be easily conveyed in the manner above-mentioned, they content themselves with planting such mountains with variety of trees for building, fuel, &c. according to the nature of the soil, or their own exigencies; so that no spot of ground on them is left uncultivated (22).

(22) De his, vid. Navaretta, Martini, Le Compte, Martiniere, Du Halde, & al. mult.

the emperor keeps there a garrison of 6000 or 7000 men, under the command of a *Chinese* general. Our *East-India* company had once a factory in this island, which hath been since removed to *Quang-tong*, or *Canton*, where the merchants are better treated. *Amoy* stands in about $25^{\circ} 33'$ of latitude, and $115^{\circ} 50'$ of east longitude. There is a number of other small islands, not worth mentioning here, except that of *Pong-hû*, and the more large and considerable one of *Formosa*.

Islands and
Port of Pong
hû.

PONG-HU is rather a group of small islands, lying under the 23d degree and half of latitude, and 117° of east longitude, and forming a kind of *Archipelago* between those of *Amoy* and *Formosa*. They are all rocky and barren, and obliged to have all sorts of necessities, and even firing, from *China* or *Formosa*: however, the port is good, and secure against all winds, and from twenty to twenty-five fathoms deep. The *Dutch*, when they were masters of *Tay-wan*, built a kind of fort at one end of the isle of *Pong-hû*, to guard the entrance of it; of which nothing now remains but a few ruins, which the *Chinese* call *Hong mau-chay*, or the fort of the red-haired men. However, this port of *Pong-hû* is thought absolutely necessary for the preservation of *Formosa*, or rather *Tay-wan*, which at present, it seems, draws but seven or eight feet of water, and is unfit for large vessels; and therefore there is a literary Mandarin now residing in it, to watch the ships that pass and repass from *China*, and bring a considerable revenue to the state^{*}.

Island of For-
mosa.

BUT the most considerable of all the islands belonging to *China*, is that commonly styled by the *Europeans* *Formosa*, or *Hermosa*, and, by the *Chinese*, *Tay-wan*, or *Tay-wan*, which is situate over-against the province of *Fo-kyen*, and is severed from it by a chanel of about 20 leagues, where narrowest; and stretches itself from south to north somewhat above three degrees and a half, that is, from the 22° to the $25^{\circ} 40'$, being crossed a little south of the middle, by the tropic of *Cancer*. It spreads itself in breadth a little more than one degree, or sixty miles, that is, from the $117^{\circ} 25'$ to $118^{\circ} 36'$ of east longitude, where broadest; but is much narrower at each end. The land lies high, and is very mountainous; notwithstanding which, and its nearness to *China*, it doth not appear to have been known to them till the dynasty of *Ming*, that is, about *A. C.* 1430; nor to have been in the possession of the *Chinese* till above two centuries after, even by the *Chinese* historians; it being then looked upon as a barren uncultivated country, inhabited only by barbarians, and not worth their regard (X), especially as *China* was then miserably rent by their intestine wars.

When disco-
vered and sub-
dued.

Japaners land
at it, and then
the Dutch.

Their stra-
tagem.

Fort.

Become masters
of the island.

ABOUT the end of the year 1620, a *Japanese* squadron landing on the island, the commander, thinking it worth conquering, left part of his men there, with orders to get what intelligence they could to forward his design. Not long after, a *Dutch* ship was driven into it by a storm, in its course to and from *Japan*; and landed in it, the *Japanese* being in no condition to oppose them; and, finding the country to their liking, and very commodious for trade, did, by a subtle stratagem, obtain leave of them to build a house, which was not to contain more ground than an ox-hide would inclose: but, having cut the hide into very narrow thongs, gained ground enough to build a large fort, which they called *Castel Zelandia*, Anno 1634. The *Japanese* highly resented the treachery, when they found that the fort made them masters of the only passage by which a large ship could enter the island: but, whether they found themselves too weak to resist them, or whether they heard no more of their commander, or on some other discontent, they left them masters of it, and returned home. This is the account we have of their first settlement there, partly from the *European*¹, and partly from their own writers; to which we shall only add, that the *Dutch*, finding themselves now sole masters of the island, the natives not being in a condition to oppose them, built a new fort, with four demi-bastions, over-against that of *Zelandia*, by which they quite secured the entrance

^{*} See DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 90, & seq. DION. KAO apud Isbrandts, p. 148, & seq. CANDIDIUS, NIEWHOFF, & al. ¹ Ibidem. ibid.

(X) The account which the *Chinese* historian gives us of its first discovery, is, that one of the emperor's eunuchs, called *Wanfan-pau*, returning home from the west, was driven upon it; where, finding the country as delightful as the inhabitants were barbarous, he staid some time, in hopes of making some discoveries, which might be worth carrying to his master; tho' all the benefit he reaped from his inquiries, was only the knowledge of some few plants and medicinal herbs, which have been used in *China* ever since with good success.

The next was the commander of a *Chinese* squadron, named *Yu-ta-yew*, who, in his cruise on the eastern sea, had a bloody engagement, *A. C.* 1564, with a corsair, who had seized on the island of *Pong-hû*; and, after five hours sharp contest, had forced him to retire towards the coming on of the night. *Lin-tau-kyen*, who commanded the corsair, thought of having refreshed his troops in that island, and to have renewed the onset the next morning; but found the entrance into it blocked up by part

of *Yu-ta-yew*'s squadron, whom that experienced commander had sent on that errand: so that, finding his men too much weakened and intimidated to force an entrance into the port, he judged it more prudent to steer his course towards *Formosa*. *Yu-ta-yew* pursued him thither; but, being unacquainted with the entrance into the port, and finding the sea too shallow, he returned to the isle of *Pong-hû*, made himself master of them, and left a strong garrison in the port. The news of his success were received at court with joy, and a literary Mandarin was sent from thence to govern those islands.

In the mean time *Lin-tau-kyen*, who was landed in *Formosa* (which the *Chinese* historian, quoted above, says, was then uncultivated, and inhabited by barbarians), finding it not answerable to his ambitious views, massacred all the natives that fell into his hands; and by, an unparalleled piece of inhumanity, made use of their blood to caulk his ships; and sailed thence to *Quang-tong*, where he soon after died miserably (23).

(23) Vid. Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 60.

a into the port. How they were afterwards driven out of it, and that island, or at least the western part of it, became, with the rest of the *Chinese* empire, subject to the *Tartars*, will be best seen in the historical part. It is now time to say something of the island, and its inhabitants.

THE coasts of it are rocky, and high all around, and without any harbours or creeks to come into it; which makes it strong by nature, and difficult to be invaded, there being but one bay, *viz.* that of *Tay-wan*, which is at the mouth of a river, at which any ship of bulk may approach it; and this is so narrow, and so well defended by forts and high rocks on each side, that there is no entering it by surprize; tho', when the ships are once got in, they are safe, and sheltered from all winds. The climate must of course be very hot in summer, when the sun is vertical over it; but, as it lies high from the sea, the air is mostly serene and healthy, and the sultry heat allayed by constant breezes which fan it on all sides. The soil is mostly mountainous, especially on the north side; and yet is fertile enough to produce a more than sufficient quantity of rice, which is here used instead of wheat, to support its inhabitants, besides a great variety of excellent fruits, some of them unknown to us; as the bananas, ananas, papayas, goyavas, cocons: others such as ours, but vastly finer, as peaches, apricots, figs, grapes, pomegranates, chestnuts, and some of the finest citrons and oranges. It likewise produces several sorts of spices, physical and other herbs and roots, and great plenty of sugar, tobacco, tea, and other plants. And much greater plenty and variety might the island produce, were the natives ingenious and industrious in cultivating and improving every spot to the best advantage, like the *Chinese*: but the men are, it seems, above minding agriculture, as fit only for women and slaves; whilst hunting, fowling, and other such manly sports, are their chief exercise and delight, the country abounding every-where with all manner of game. They have some large rivers, which, though not of any length, yet furnish them with plenty of fish. Their mountains have rich mines of gold, silver, copper, and sulphur: this last in such great abundance, that it makes the island liable to frequent and dreadful earthquakes. The vallies afford plenty of pasture for their cattle, oxen, sheep, goats, hogs, and deer of various kinds; and the woods, we are told by some authors, are no less infested with tygers, leopards, and other wild creatures, of the furs of which the natives make a considerable traffick. This is the account we have of the island, not only from some of our *Europeans*, but likewise from the *Chinese* writers: but these extend it only to that part of it which is under their dominions, which they style the northern; but which is at best but a small and inconsiderable slip of it, in comparison to the whole, as the reader may see by the account and map which the Jesuit missionaries have since given us of it, in a letter to Father *Du Halde*, written *Anno* 1715, and published by him in his *Recueil*, *Anno* 1720^m; from which it plainly appears, that the *Chinese* dominions in it extend but little more than three degrees along the coasts; and but a few leagues to the inland, which is intersected all the way by high and inaccessible mountains, over which they never venture to pass.

As to the southern, and by far the largest, part of the island, we much question whether they have any knowledge of it. However, they have ventured to describe it, and its inhabitants, after their usual way; the one as a rocky barren wilderness; and the other as so many wild savages, but one degree removed from brutes. But, as their singular contempt for all other nations gives us but too much reason to think their account of the latter to be exaggerated to their disadvantage, and with a design perhaps to insinuate as if the whole island had been much alike till the former became subject to them; we shall give the remainder of their contemptuous picture of it in the margin (Y); and go on here with what we find most worthy of credit on this head.

^m Lettres edif. & curieuses. vol. xiv. p. 16. & seq.

SURE

(Y) The *Chinese* divide this island into two parts, which, they say, are severed by such high ridges of mountains, that they have hardly any communication one with another. The one, which is nearest to *China*, and now subject to it, they describe in the manner we have done above; but the other they represent as barren, wild, and inhabited only by barbarians given to all manner of vices, and strangers to even the most common virtues, and without any traces of religion or morality. According to their accounts, these live in poor cottages made of dirt and bamboes, and covered with straw, raised on a kind of terrace about three or four feet wide, and built in the form of a tunnel inverted; the largest of them from thirty to forty feet in diameter, and with partition walls; all of them without chairs, benches, tables, beds, or any kind of moveables. In the midst is a kind of hearth, or fire-place, raised about two feet from the ground, where they dress their diet, which is commonly rice, and other small grain; and the game, which they either kill with their arrows or darts, at which, though they are of the plainest make,

they are so expert, that they will shoot pheasants, and other birds, with as much certainty as we can with a gun; or, which is still more surprising, which they catch by dint of running, they being swifter of foot than the fleetest horses.

They are no less slovenly in their diet than in their house-furniture, having neither dishes, spoons, plates, trenchers, or any thing to put their victuals in, except a piece of wood, or mat, out of which they feed themselves with their paws like monkeys. They eat their flesh and fish half-raw, and their beds are only the leaves of some trees common to their country, with which they litter their bed-chamber, and so lay themselves down to sleep. Their whole apparel is a single cloth, which covers them only from the waist down to the knees; but, in lieu of other finery, they have a much more costly way of adorning their bodies than the proudest of our beaux and belles, *viz.* painting or imbossing on their bodies the figures of beasts, birds, plants, &c. the operation of which puts them to such exquisite pain, that it would in all likelihood kill them, were the complete ornament

The inhabitants described. SURE it is that the *Chinese* writer often quoted (who, by the way, makes no such distinction a between the northern and southern) gives the whole country in general a much higher character, when he says, that it is a very beautiful island, naturally fruitful, and blessed with a serene and healthful, as well as temperate air; extraordinarily well situate, in the neighbourhood of *Japan*, *China*, and the *Manillas*, and capable of carrying on a considerable commerce eastward and westward; it being possible for ships to sail to and from it the whole year round^a; and, as to the character of the natives, even of those that are still unsubdued, *Du Halde* gives us a short relation out of their *Chinese* accounts, which is far more to their advantage than to that of their polite invaders, and as well worth inserting here.

A horrid instance of Chinese treachery. THE *Chinese*, says the account, who knew there were gold mines in *Formosa* before they subdued it, went in search of them as soon as they got possession of it. But, as they found b none in that part of which they were masters, they resolved to examine the eastern part, where they were assured they lay: but, being unwilling to hazard their lives in crossing the high mountains that parted them, they equipped a small ship, to go thither by sea. The inhabitants received them with surprising kindness, offering them houses, provisions, and all sorts assistance. They continued there eight days; but still found all their inquiries after the mines to prove ineffectual (whether by the fault of the interpreter, who might perhaps have apprised the natives of their design, or else through their own politic fear of giving them cause of suspecting them, whom they knew to be but too jealous of the *Chinese* power); so that, of all the gold they came in quest of, they found none but a few ingots lying in the cottages, of which the poor people made no account. But these proved a dangerous temptation to the *Chinese*; who, c vexed at their ill success, resolved at least to get at them, though by a most inhuman stratagem; and, having equipped their ship, by the help of those hospitable natives, who furnished them with all necessaries for their return, they invited them to a great entertainment, by way of acknowledgement; and, having made them all drunk, cut their throats whilst they were asleep, and carried off the ingots. The consequence of this bloody treachery was, that, the news of it being spread through the eastern part of the isle, they all armed, and entered into the northern part belonging to the *Chinese*, and massacred man, woman, and child, without mercy, and set fire to some of their habitations. From that time these two parts of the island have been at constant war with each other^d; and hence most likely it is that the *Chinese* give them so disadvantageous and undeserved a character.

*Severely re-
wenged.*

European writers account of Formosa absurd. THE *European* writers have not been more favourable to them; and *Candidius*, the chaplain to the *Dutch* factory there (whom, by the way, *Niewhoff*, and most of the rest, have either copied, or taken most of their accounts from him, and left out what appeared too absurd to be credited), and who pretends to have resided some time among them, hath painted them even in more disagreeable, tho' different colours, than the *Chinese*. The reader may see the sum of what they say of them, and of their religion, customs, &c. in the margin (Z). What the

^a DION. KAO, ubi sup. p. 149.

^d DU HALDE, ubi supra, p. 87.

ornament to be put on at once; to prevent which, they take up several months, or even a whole year, to go through it; so that they must be contented to undergo every day some considerable torture, to obtain their finery, and distinguish themselves from the vulgar: for it is not every one that is permitted to wear these marks of distinction, but only such as have, in the judgment of the most considerable men in their canton, or village, excelled in some manly exercise, such as hunting, running, &c. whilst the rest must be content with some few scars over their faces, arms, &c. They are all allowed, however, to blacken their teeth, wear bobs in their ears, bracelets above their wrists and elbows; collars and necklaces consisting of several rows of small grains of different colours, with coronets of the same round their heads, which commonly end on the top with a large tuft made of the feathers of cocks, pheasants, &c. which they pick, and stick up with great care. So that, according to our author (24), whoever can form an idea of these fantastical ornaments on the body of a man of a slender easy shape, olive complexion, with sleek hair hanging negligently over his shoulders, and all his clothes a piece of linen two or three feet long, and covering him from the waist to the knees, will have a true picture of a native of the southern part of *Formosa*.

(Z) According to *Candidius*, and his followers, the *Formosans* are tall, stout, and swarthy, rude and barbarous, and go quite naked six months in the year. They have neither religion, laws, nor moral virtue; tho' others, likely upon better evidence, have since represent-

ed them as polite, affable, and ingenious, and covering their middle parts with a girdle, when the hot season doth not permit them to wear any other cloathing. Their women, who are still more modest, wear a short petticoat about their thighs, and a short cloak about their shoulders; which, however, they make no scruple to pull off three or four times a day, to wash themselves at their own doors. They are smaller of stature, and less sun-burnt, than the men, and agreeable enough in their persons and temper. Men may marry two or three of them, but not till they are fifty years old: neither are their wives suffered to bring forth children till they have passed the thirty-seventh year of their age. If any of them be found pregnant before that time, the juibus, or priestess (for they have no priests in the island), is sent for, and obliged to stamp upon their belly till they miscarry.

This is the account *Candidius* gives of that unnatural custom; of which it is hardly needful to observe the absurdity, since such an unnatural violence would wholly incapacitate those females from pregnancy long before the thirty-seventh year of their age: besides, it is well known, that, in those hot climes, women begin so early to bear children, that they seldom, if ever, have any after the thirtieth year. However, our author, if we will credit him, gravely assures us, that he had conversed with one of those women, who had been forced to submit to this unnatural custom seventeen times; but told him, that she, having now attained to her thirty seventh year, was in no small hopes of becoming the real mother of some children (25).

(24) *Du Halde*, ubi sup. p. 88, & seq.

(25) *Candid. Descript. Insul. Formos.*

a the *Chinese* add concerning that part which is subject to them, is as follows: These, being *Their dress.* situate some degrees more northward, cover themselves with the skins of stags, which they kill in hunting, and of which they make themselves a sort of coat without sleeves. They wear a bonnet made of the leaves of the bananas, in form of a cylinder, which they adorn with coronets placed one over another, and fastened with very narrow bands, or little locks of hair, of various colours; and the top they adorn with a crest, or tuft of feathers, like those in the south. The dress of the women differs but little from that of the men, except in their coats being somewhat longer and finer, and their head-tire a little more bedecked with finery.

In their marriages they are less barbarous than the *Chinese*; for they neither buy their wives, nor suffer the parents, or go-betweens, to settle the bargain, without the liking of the parties *Wife away of courtship and marriage.* most concerned; but every young couple chuse each other, without regard to fortune, family, or any inducement but reciprocal affection and liking, their parents having scarce any hand at all in the match. The courtship is commonly begun by the young man; who goes, at the head of some musicians with their instruments, and serenades the lass he hath taken a fancy for, at her own house, for several days. If she approves of him, she goes out without any farther ceremony, and settles the terms with him; and both acquaint their parents with them, who then prepare a marriage-feast for them. This, contrary to most other nations, is done at the bride's father's, which the new son-in-law from thenceforward looks upon as his own, and himself as the support of it, never returning more to his father's house but as a visiter. Hence the parents look upon daughters as greater blessings than sons, because they procure sons-in-law, which become the support of their old age.

In their way of government, they still retain some of their antient forms, notwithstanding *Government.* their subjection to the *Chinese*; each town chusing three or four of the antientest, or of the greatest repute for probity and wisdom, to be their judges, to determine all causes and differences that arise among them, absolutely; and if any one refuses to submit to their decision, he is immediately driven out of the town, without hopes of ever being re-admitted into it; nor dares any other receive him.

From that time the *Chinese* have divided their lands into three hyens, or districts of the third rank, each under a particular governor, and other officers, subordinate to that of the capital of *Tay-wan*, as this last is to the viceroy of *Fo-kyen*, the metropolis of the province. The tribute *Tribute.* they pay to the *Chinese* court consists chiefly in rice, and the skins or tails of stags, and other such commodities as the island affords: to levy which, there is in every town or district a *Chinese* officer, who learns their language, and serves as an interpreter to the Mandarins; and both these treat them with such tyranny and oppression, as quite tires their patience: insomuch that, of twelve districts that were subject to them on the south, three of them have since revolted, driven their interpreters away; and united themselves to their eastern countrymen, who live free from tribute and foreign subjection. The *Chinese*, however, pretend, that many other cantons have submitted themselves to the present emperor, and that they are in hopes that the rest will in time follow their example. However, it plainly enough appears from the map that was since made of their dominions in it, and published by the Jesuits *Anno* 1720 *, that they have rather lost than gained ground in it; and from all that we have hitherto met with, that they were never masters of one-eighth part of it.

We may add, that, notwithstanding its vicinity to *China*, it doth not appear that it was *How and when discovered.* discovered till about the year 1430, in the reign of the emperor *Siven-ti*, of the *Ming* dynasty, *discovered.*

* Lettr. cur. & edifiant. recueil 14. p. 18, & seq.

The ceremonies used towards their dead are no less strange and unnatural. They neither bury nor burn them; but lay their bodies to dry over a slow fire, made under a kind of low scaffold made of bamboes, which causes the body to give a most disagreeable smell. From this ceremony, which lasts full nine days, they proceed to the next, which is, to wrap up the dried corpse in a mat, and lay it on a higher scaffold raised within the house, over which they rear a kind of canopy made of shreds of silk, cotton, linen, &c. It is left to lie in that state till the third year, when they take it, or what is left of it, down, with some kind of solemnity, and deposit it in a proper place under-ground. At each of these three ceremonies an entertainment is made to the relations and friends, accompanied with music, dancing, &c. at which the jebuses, or priestesses, are likewise invited to act their antic part.

These priestesses are rather a kind of jugglers, who, in their worship, which consists in the sacrifice of some hogs, deer, rice, &c. work themselves into a kind of

phrensy by their songs, indecent postures, invocations, &c. after which, they pretend to see strange visions, to tell fortunes, to foretell the weather, drive away evil spirits, &c. all which is readily believed by the people. And in these, and some other such-like superstitious ceremonies, our authors tell us, consists all their religion, and without the least sign of their having any notion of a Deity: tho' others, with much greater probability, assure us, that they have temples and idols in almost as great number and variety as they have in *China*; and if what some add, of their laying a pitcher or vessel of clean water near the dead bodies, for the soul to come and wash itself every day, be true, they must be allowed to have also some imperfect notion of its immortality, and of its being in some state of bliss or punishment; which some tell us they believe to consist, the one in their being removed into some places full of all manner of refreshments; and the other, in their being confined to others full of all manner of filth, stench, and misery (26).

(26) *Id. ib. Nieuhoff, Rechteren, & al. Vit. & Du Halde Eng. p. 87, & seq.*

when the eunuch *Owan san-pao*, in his return from a voyage into the west, was cast upon it by a storm. Here finding the country inviting, though the people seemed to him somewhat savage, he staid to get what intelligence he could of the island, to bring to that monarch; but to no purpose; and all he could bring away from thence, was only a few physical plants, which have continued in great vogue among the *Chinese* ever since †. How they came afterwards to make themselves masters of it, will be more properly seen in their subsequent history. In the mean time we will conclude the character of these islanders in the remarkable words of our authorⁿ. They are styled barbarians by the *Chinese*, yet appear to have truer notions of wisdom than some of their philosophers. One finds among them, even by their own confession, neither cheating, thieving, quarreling, nor any law-suits, except against their interpreters. They practise all the duties of equity and mutual benevolence; and whatever is given to any of them must not be touched by him, till those, who share in the labour, partake of the wages.

Some Dutch
converts among
them.

As to their religion, we shall only add to what hath been said in the last note, what some *Dutch* writers affirm, that many of those islanders had been converted to Christianity during the short time of the *Dutch* factory at *Tay-wan*^o. And *Du Halde* accordingly tells us, that, upon the *Chinese* coming thither, they found several of them who understood *Dutch*, read their books, made use of their characters in writing, and had some fragments of Scripture in the same language still in their hands. These, says the same author, worship no idols, and even abhor every thing of that nature. They neither perform religious worship, nor say any prayers; yet we have met with some of them who had the knowledge of one Supreme Being, Creator of heaven and earth, in three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. They likewise knew that our first parents were called *Adam* and *Eve*; and that they had, by their disobedience, brought down the anger of God on themselves and their posterity; and that recourse was to be had to baptism, to wash out that stain. They were likewise acquainted with the form of that sacrament, though they could not tell whether they had been baptized, or not. Thus far *Du Halde*^p.

Tay-wan fū
described.

We shall conclude the account of this island with a description of its capital, and its commodious harbour. We have already taken notice, that it was called *Tay-wan*, or *Tayovan*, and was one of the nine fū's, or capital cities, of the province of *Fo-kyen*. It is large, populous, and well built, and drives a considerable commerce; insomuch that it is reckoned little inferior to most cities in *China*. It abounds with all sorts of commodities and provisions, either of its own produce, or which are brought thither from other countries; such as rice, corn, sugar, wine, tea, tobacco, salt, and a kind of dried venison, much admired by the *Chinese*. The streets are as strait as a line; and covered, during the seven or eight hot months of the year, to keep off the heat of the sun. They are not above thirty or forty feet wide; but all well paved and clean, and some of them about three miles long. All the houses on each side belong to dealers, whose shops are stored with all sorts of rich goods, such as silks, china ware, japan-work, gold and silver utensils and trinkets, &c. all ranged in a most delightful manner, in which art the *Chinese* excel; so that these streets look rather like the galleries of our exchanges, where nothing is to be seen but shops richly furnished; and would be viewed with greater pleasure, were they not so continually thronged. Both the *Tartars* and *Chinese* live in this and the other two cities very peaceably; and more of the latter would in all likelihood come over, and settle in it, if the former, jealous of their becoming too numerous, and shaking off the yoke, did not prevent it (A). There is likewise a good number of natives that live among them, but they are most of them servants to the other two.

Garrison
forces.

The city of *Tay-wan* hath neither walls, nor any fortifications, but is defended by a numerous garrison. The *Tartars* have in the island no less than 10,000 horse and foot, under the command of a lieutenant-general and two major-generals, and a proportionable number of other officers, who are all duly changed every three years, or oftener, if need require it. The two other hyens, or cities of the third rank, are *Fong-shau* and *Chu-lo*, which are mostly inhabited by *Chinese*, and kept under by a sufficient number of troops. They have likewise some considerable villages; but no forts, except that of *Ngan-ping*, situate at the foot of the castle of *Zelandia*, and inhabited by about 400 or 500 families. The garrison of it amounts to 2000 men, under the command of a major-general.

Ngan-ping
fort.

† Id. ibid. p. 56.

ⁿ DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 90.

^o CANDIDIUS, NIEWHOFF, & al.

^p Ibid.

(A) There is no doubt but the commodious situation of this island would induce a much greater number of *Chinese* families to come and settle in it, for the sake of traffick; but, as that cannot be done without a particular passport from the *Chinese* Mandarins, nor this be obtained without giving some sufficient security to them, there are very few who venture to grant them, except some of the rapacious ones, who do it underhand, and

are well paid for it. The rest are, on the contrary, very careful to examine all passengers that go to, or come from, the island; lest, if they should become too powerful there, they should seize on it, and cause some great troubles in the empire: and it is to prevent it, that they maintain there such a number of forces, to keep them in awe.

- a THE port is pretty good, and sheltered from all winds, but the mouth of it becomes every Port, day more and more difficult. It had formerly two entrances ; the one called *Ta-kyang*, where the greatest ships might ride with ease ; and the other *Li-ulb-men*, where the bottom is rock, and has not above nine or ten feet water at the highest tides. The first of these is now become impracticable ; some places not having above five feet of water, and those where it rises highest not above seven ; and is more choked up by the sea rolling daily fresh quantities of sand into it^a : to which we may add, what a modern traveller was told there, that the *Tartars*, after their conquest of *China*, ordered this harbour to be spoiled, to prevent the *Chinese*, then in rebellion against them, from fortifying themselves in it ; and commanded the foreign merchants to come and trade in the main^b. But the *Dutch* formerly entered the port by that way ; at the entrance of which they had built the two forts last mentioned, to prevent either *Chinese* or *Japanese* vessels coming into it.

- Thus much may suffice for the island of *Formosa* ; in the description of which, we have wholly overlooked a fabulous account of it written in *English*, and translated into other languages, about forty-nine years ago, by a pretended native of the place, and convert to Christianity ; but in such a romantic style, and fraught with such monstrous absurdities, as if he had rather designed to ruin, than to establish the credit of it. Our chief motive, therefore, for mentioning it here, is, that the author, who is still in *England*, having long since ingenuously owned it to be a vile forgery, to his acquaintance, and within these few years, in print, in a late geographical work^c ; and expressed a desire that those, who had read that work, should know what judgment to make of it, from his own free confession ; we thought it would not be unserviceable to the publick, to hint thus much of it here, till that more full account comes out which he hath written concerning that shameful imposture, and the fatal means by which he was unwarily drawn into it ; and which, he there tells us, he designs to have published after his death, when there will be less cause of suspecting him of having disguised or palliated the truth.

V. The province of Che-kyang, or Tse kian.

- THIS province, formerly the residence of some of the antient monarchs, and one of the most considerable on account of its maritime situation, extent, riches, and populousness, is bounded on the south by *Fo-kyen*, last described ; on the north and west by *Kyang-nan* and *Kyang-si* ; and, on the east, by the sea. It extends itself from the 27th to the 31° 20' of latitude, and from 116° to almost 120° of east longitude, according to the meridian of *Paris*. The climate of it is serene and healthy ; and the inhabitants very stout and numerous, amounting, according to their registers, to 1,242,135 families, or 4,525,700 men. It is so rich and fertile, that the *Chinese* say of it, that, next to *Nang-king*, this is the paradise of arts, and the paradise of the gods^d, on account of its plentiful flow of all things. The country is so beautifully variegated with well cultivated mountains, fruitful vallies, and plains, that there is not a spot in it which is not turned to advantage. It is moreover intersected by a multitude of rivers and canals, the last cut wide and deep, and lined on both sides with some hewn stone ; the plains of which on both sides have a communication with each other by a vast number of bridges ; so that one may travel through the whole province either by land or water ; and the many springs which fall down from the mountains and large lakes, with which it abounds, contribute no less to its fertility.

- BUT their greatest manufacture is that of silk, which is here the finest, and more richly and curiously wrought with gold and silver, than in any other province ; and yet is so cheap, that a good silk suit will cost less than one of the most ordinary cloth in *Europe*. The tribute they pay of it to the emperor is said to amount to 370,466 pounds of raw, and 2574 of wrought, besides some other quantities of the finest, sent as a present to the court, by the imperial barges called *Lung-y-chew*. What is sent besides from this province into others of the empire, and what is exported into *Japan*, the *Philippine Islands*, *India*, and *Europe*, amounts to an immense quantity, notwithstanding their having still a sufficiency left to supply their own wants at so cheap a rate. The truth is, the inhabitants employed in it are not only very numerous, but have an excellent genius at cultivating and improving every branch of that manufacture from first to last ; and as experience hath taught them long since, that those worms yield the finest silk, which are fed on the tenderest mulberry-leaves, they take such care to have a constant supply of young dwarf mulberry-trees for that purpose, that they are able to produce the greatest quantities of that kind.

THIS province is famed for making the best hams, and for the great quantities of candles which they make from a certain tree called *U-kyew-mu*, or tallow-tree, of which we shall speak among their natural rarities. They have likewise here a curious shrub, with a small white

^a DU HALDE, ubi supra. p. 83. & al.
the Complete System of Geography, part ii. p. 251.
MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, & al.

^b See DAMPIER'S voyage, vol. i. p. 421.

^c KA, ubi sup. MARTINI, LE COMTE,

^d See

flower, not unlike our jeffamin, but with more leaves ; and of such fragrancy, that one single flower will perfume a large room, some say a whole house. These shrubs are in such esteem among the *Chinese*, that they cultivate them with the same care as we do orange and other exotic plants, to preserve them from the rigour of the weather. Some parts of *Che-kyang* produce such infinite quantities of mushrooms, that they send them, salted and dried, all over the empire ; and these, when they have been soaked a while in water, resume their freshness, and taste as if they were newly gathered.

Fishes.

Bamboes.

Canals.

THE lakes and rivers yield great variety of excellent fish, particularly the golden one, which will be described among the natural rarities, and the finest cray-fish in all the country. This province likewise produces the greatest quantities of bamboes, there being in some parts whole forests of them. These are very large and hard, and of vast use to the *Chinese* ; and, though hollow within, and divided into joints, are very strong, and will bear a great weight. They are easily slit into thin slips, of which they make their mats, boxes, combs, &c. ; and, being hollow from end to end, are likewise used either to convey water from place to place, or for telescopes, or to serve as tubes, cases, and other such utensils. The whole country is not only every-where cultivated to the best advantage ; but the plains are intersected with a vast number of canals, which swarm, as well as their rivers, with multitudes of vessels of all sorts and sizes, some of them beautifully carved and gilt without, and neatly furnished within. The inhabitants are ingenious, polite, and courteous to strangers, but are reported to be horribly given to superstition^a.

CHE-VYANG hath eleven capital cities, or cities of the first rank, and seventy-seven of the second and third rank ; besides eighteen fortresses, most of them upon the sea-coasts, and large and populous enough to pass in other countries for considerable cities, to which we may add a prodigious number of large towns and villages.

Cities of the first rank.

THE chief cities, or fû's, are, 1. *Hang-chew* ; 2. *Kya-bing* ; 3. *Hu-chew* ; 4. *Ning-po* ; 5. *Shaw bing* ; 6. *Tay-chew* ; 7. *Kin-wha* ; 8. *Kyu-chew* ; 9. *Yen-chew*, or *Nyen-chew* ; 10. *Wen-chew* ; 11. *Chu-chew*.

Hang-chew describ.d.

Extent, inhabitants, and

rich silks.

The west lake described.

Islands in it.

1. HANG-CHEW, the metropolis of the province, and, according to the *Chinese*, the paradise of the world, is one of the largest, most populous, best situate, and richest, of the empire. Its circumference, which is almost oval, is computed near twelve miles, besides the suburbs, which are of a prodigious extent : and the number of its inhabitants, which amount to a million (B). The walls of the city are lofty, strong, and thick ; the streets fair and strait, though narrow ; and the shops richly and beautifully set out. It hath a prodigious number of bridges over the canals that run through it, and the greatest variety of arches, and triumphal monuments, erected to the honour of Mandarins, and other considerable officers of the highest rank and merit ; all which are beautifully erected in the piazzas, and places of greatest resort. It hath, besides, four large towers of considerable height, adorned with galleries, carvings, gildings, &c. after the *Chinese* manner. The commerce it drives in all sorts of commodities, but especially in its fine and rich silks, silver and gold brocades, &c. equals that of the most trading cities ; and both town and suburbs abound with plenty of all provisions : the only misfortune it labours under, is, that the waters of the canals, especially within the walls, are bad and unwholesome. But what sufficiently supplies that defect, and renders the situation most delightful and convenient, is a little lake named *Si-hû*, which is about two leagues in compass, and comes almost close to the walls on the west side of the city, and whose water is exquisitely clear and sweet. The sides of it, where the water is low, and covered all over with the beautiful flower *Lyen-wha*, already described[†] ; and, on the banks round about, they have, reared upon wooden stakes, a kind of saloons, or piazzas, supported by pillars, and broad causeways paved with large square stones, for the convenience of those that walk ; and have openings left at proper places for the boats to pass ; and handsome bridges built over them, for passengers on foot.

THE lake hath two little islands, whither the people usually repair after they have taken the diversion of rowing in their barks ; and where they have built a temple, and houses of recreation. The sides of the lake are likewise adorned with variety of temples, fine pleasure-houses,

^a KAO, ubi sup. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, & al.

[†] See before, p. 504 (N).

(B) Father *Martini* hath made it pretty evident (27), that this is the very same city that *Paul the Venetian* had described under the name of *Quin-say*, and particularly with relation to the 10,000 bridges he affirmed it to have over the many canals that run through and around it ; which number *Martini*, and others, think is not at all exaggerated, if we suppose him to have included a prodigious number of triumphal arches built over them

in the city, and a vast multitude of other bridges which are seen in the large suburbs, and parts adjacent, especially those about the lake *Su-hû*, on the east side of which the city is situate ; and which amount to such a vast number, that, when added to those of the city and suburbs, they may be well enough supposed to amount to the number above-mentioned.

a and some large monasteries for the Bonzas ; and more particularly with a small but delightful palace, for the use of the emperors, when they travelled into the southern provinces (C).

HANG-CHEW, as metropolis of the province, hath a garrison of 3000 men, under the vice-Garrison. roy of it ; and another of 7000 more, under a Tartar general : but these last live in a large fortress, separate from the city by a wall. The river *Ciew-tang*, which runs on the south side of it, is computed by some two miles, and by others a German league, in breadth ^u, and is always covered with a vast number of vessels of all sorts ; and both that and the canals, especially without the walls, with floating villages, in which whole families live, and carry on their business. The reader may guess at the populousness of the whole city and suburbs, by the consumption of eatables which are devoured in it, of which he may see a short sketch in the margin (D). The last thing worth mentioning, of this great city, is the mountain of *Ching-bo-ang*, on which stands a high tower, which, by the help of a large water-glass which is made to turn ^{A fine water-dial.} the hand of a dial, shews the hour of the day at a considerable distance ; the figures of the hours being gilt, and about eighteen inches long. *Hang-chew* hath seven cities of the second and third rank under its jurisdiction, which are likewise rich and opulent ; but we have neither room to describe them here, or any of the others of the first rank, except that of

NING-PO, or, as the Portuguese call it, *Lyang-po*, or *Liampo*, which is a handsome sea-port Ning-po. on the eastern sea, over-against the coasts of *Japan* ; and stands on the confluence of two small rivers, which form a canal thence to the sea. The plain ground is a kind of spacious oval ^{Canal.} basin, terminated by hills, which extends itself a considerable length and breadth, and is exceedingly fertile. The town, which stands near the centre, is encompassed with a strong wall of free-stone, and 5074 geometrical paces in compass. These have five noble gates, two of which look eastwards, towards the port ; besides two large arched water-gates, at which the barges come in and out. The port is defended by a citadel built on a very high rock, at the foot of which ships must necessarily pass within the distance of half a pistol-shot. One tide brings them up along the fine chanel above-mentioned, which is here above 150 fathoms wide, and every-where seven or eight deep. The entrance of *Ning-po*, however, is difficult, especially for large vessels, there being but fifteen feet of water at the bar in the spring-tides ; ^{Commerce} but that doth not hinder its carrying on a great traffic with *Batavia*, *Siam*, and especially ^{with Japan.} with *Japan*, *Nanga-zaki* being only two days sailing from it ; and it was partly on this account d that our *East-India* company did once endeavour to have established a commerce with it.

ABOUT eighteen or twenty leagues from *Ning-po* lies the island of *Che-w-shan*, whose port is pretty good, but not so convenient for trade ; and there it was that our *English* ships put in by accident, not being able to find out the way to *Ning-po*, through the many islands that lie scattered along that coast : the reader may see the island described in the margin (E). The chief commerce of *Ning-po* consists in the fine silks which are manufactured in this province, and which are exported into foreign parts ; especially *Japan* both raw and wrought, together with sugar, drugs, salt-fish, and flesh (F), wine, &c. in lieu of which, they bring back copper,

^u Conf. DION, KAO, ubi supra, p. 137. & LE COMPTE, LA MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, & al.

(C) Those who have read *Martini's* swollen account of this lake, and its adjacent structures, will find this, we have chiefly taken from *Du Halde*, to come vastly short of it : but Father *Le Compte* had already retrenched some considerable exaggerations of his brother Jesuit, with respect to its largeness ; and especially of its pretended stately palaces, and magnificent buildings, which he rather represents as a parcel of wooden houses, reared up either for convenience or diversion. Whether, therefore, *Martini's* description was designedly exaggerated, or whether those sumptuous structures have been since destroyed, or gone to ruin, which is not for us to decide, we have no reason to suppose that the lake makes a better figure now, than that in which *Du Halde* hath described it.

(D) It is computed to amount to 10,000 sacks of rice (each sack containing as much as will suffice 100 men) and 10,000 hogs per day ; oxen, cows, sheep, goats, fish, fowl, &c. in proportion ; all which are here sold very cheap, and eaten in great quantities.

(E) *Che-w-shan*, *Shusan*, or *Che-w-xan*, is about fourteen leagues in length, and three or four in breadth, under the thirtieth degree of latitude, and between the fifth and sixth of east longitude from the meridian of *Pe-king*. It is mostly inhabited by *Chinese*, who fled thither from the invading *Tartars* ; and so well peopled,

that it hath, we are told, no less than seventy-two cities, or large towns, seated along the coasts, and within the bay (28). The capital bears the name of the island, and is well walled and peopled ; and here it was that our *East-India* company began to trade, Anno 1700 ; as they were not permitted to sail to *Ning-po*, the town having a very convenient bay. There is a great number of small islands round this of *Che-w-shan* ; but none of them worth notice, except one called *Pou-to*, which is chiefly famed for its great resort, on account of some extraordinary worship performed there by the idolatrous Bonzas (29).

(F) The people of *Ning-po* not only drive a vast trade of this salt-fish and flesh abroad, but eat it in such quantities, that it is a common saying among the *Chinese*, that their bodies, after death, cannot corrupt, because they have been salting them all their lives against it. Some particular excellency, however, there must be either in their salt, or way of salting those meats, which preserves them, whilst alive, from the scurvy, and other diseases, which the too frequent use of that sort of food is known to cause : neither is it the scarcity of other provisions that makes them live so much upon upon this, the town abounding with as great a variety of others as any one in the empire.

(28) *Atlas Sincrof. sub voc.*

(29) *Id. ib. Vid. & Corneille, La Martiniere, Du Halde, & al.*

silver, and gold. *Ning-po* hath four handsome cities under its jurisdiction, besides several fortresses, which we have no room to dwell upon *.

VI. The Province of Hu-quang.

VI. Hu-quang described.

Extent, fertility, &c.

Produce.

Manufactures.

Antient princes extirpated.

Cities of the northern,

of the southern, part.

Vu-chang described.

Opulence, traffic, &c.

THIS is the first in rank of the inland provinces, and is surrounded on the east by *Kyang-si* and *Kyang-nan*; on the south by *Quang-si* and *Quang-tong*; on the west by *Quey-chew* and *Se-chwen*; and, on the north, by *Shen-si* and *Ho-nan*. It is a very large province; and extends itself from $24^{\circ} 45'$ to $33^{\circ} 20'$ of latitude, and eight degrees in west longitude from the meridian of *Pe-king*; and the river *Yang-tse*, which crosses it in the middle, from east to west, divides it into two parts, or viceroyships, the northern and the southern. It is little inferior to any other province in fertility, healthiness, and opulence; the greatest part of it being a rich flat soil, intersected with a number of rivers, besides the *Yang tse* above-mentioned; and a vast multitude of canals, and some considerable lakes (G); all which greatly contribute to its fertility, and facilitate its commerce. What mountains there are in it do likewise produce something that helps to enrich it: some are covered with stately pines, and other trees, fit for the noblest structures; others abound with medicinal and other herbs and plants. Some have mines of crystal, iron, tin, tutenag, and other base metals; to say nothing of those of gold and silver, which are not permitted to be digged; for, from those mountains is washed down some quantity of gold by the torrents that flow from them. As for wheat, rice, and other grain, fruits, &c. it yields such plenty of them, that it is emphatically styled the granary of *China*, and sends accordingly vast quantities yearly into other provinces.

BUT the greatest manufacture of this province is that of cotton, which grows and is wrought here in vast quantities; and of a sort of paper made of bamboes, which grows in great plenty in the low-lands. The plains likewise nourish an infinite number of a little kind of worms, which produce a fine wax, of which we shall speak in a proper place. This province was formerly governed by a great number of princes, descended from the imperial family of *Hong-wu*, who made almost as great a figure as the *Chinese* emperors; but that noble and numerous race hath been intirely extirpated by the *Tartars* *.

HU-QUANG hath fifteen cities of the first rank, eight of which belong to the northern, and seven to the southern part of it. The former hath also sixty of the second and third rank; and the latter fifty-four, besides eleven military ones, and other fortresses, and towns and villages in much greater number.

THE eight cities belonging to the northern part are, 1. *Vu-chang*; 2. *Hang-yang*; 3. *Ngan-lo*; 4. *Syang-yang*; 5. *Twen-yang*; 6. *Te-ngan*; 7. *Kin-chew*; 8. *Whang-chew*.

THOSE belonging to the southern part are, 1. *Chang-cha*, the capital of it; 2. *Yo-chew*; 3. *Pau-king*; 4. *Heng-chew*; 5. *Chang-té*; 6. *Ching-chew*; 7. *Yong-chew*.

VU-CHANG, the metropolis of the whole province, as well as of the *Hu-pe*, or northern part, and the residence of the governor, or viceroy, is seated, as it were, in the centre of the *Chinese* empire; and, by means of the river *Yang-tse*, which runs through it, hath an easy communication with every province of it, and hath a great resort from them. It suffered very much, as well as the rest of the province, during the late wars; but hath so well recovered itself since, that it is hardly inferior to any other in *China*, either for largeness, populousness, or opulence. Among other of its magnificent edifices, it stills shows the sumptuous palace of its antient princes, and five stately temples, famed for their largeness and elegance. The vast concourse of vessels to it, which are seldom fewer than 8000 or 10,000, and lie ranged some miles in length upon the river, many of them of a large size, and finely built, joined to the fine prospect of the city, is, when viewed from some neighbouring eminence, esteemed one of the most delightful vista's that can be imagined.

VU-CHANG stands in latitude $30^{\circ} 34'$, and west longitude from *Pe-king* $2^{\circ} 15'$; and hath under its jurisdiction one city of the second, and nine of the third rank, besides military ones, forts, &c. The rest of the cities of this province have nothing particular worth mentioning.

* KAO, MARTINI, LE COMPTE, MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, & al.

* Ibid.

(G) This province of *Hu-quang* seems to have its name from those lakes, or at least from one of the largest of them, of which we shall subjoin a short description (the word *Hu* signifying a lake, and *quang* a territory). It is called *Tong-ting-hu*; and is computed about 400 miles in circuit, and is situate very near the middle of the province. It hath on the north-east end a communication with the river *Yang tse*, and with a vast number of other rivers and canals: so that there is always a prodigious quantity of vessels navigating to and from it.

It is, however, apt to be very stormy and dangerous at some seasons, whence many considerable shipwrecks happen upon it. One in particular is recorded in their history; in which 300 large transports, with 50,000 men, perished all in one night (29). In other respects, it is not only of vast benefit to the province, on account of the great commerce above-mentioned, but of the prodigious quantities of fish and wild-fowl that breed in and about it.

(29) *Atlas Sinus* sub voc. *Vid. & Corneille, Martiniers, Du Halde, & al.*

VII. The province of Ho-nan,

a **I**S bounded, on the north, by those of *Pe-cheli* and *Shan-si*; on the west, by *Shen-si*; on the south, by *Hu-quang*; and on the east, by *Shan-tong*; it is likewise watered by the *Whang-bo*, which runs across the north part of it, from west to east, and divides it from *Shan-si*, and part of *Shan-tong*. The *Chinese* give this province the title of *Chong-wba*, or, *the flower of the middle*, because it lies in the heart of the empire; and, consequently, according to their deep knowledge of geography, in the heart of the world. It extends itself from $31^{\circ} 2'$ to 37° of latitude, and from $6^{\circ} 15'$ of west to $0^{\circ} 20'$ of east longitude, from the *Pe-king*'s meridian: so that the mildness of its climate, joined to the fertility of its lands, render it a most delightful abode. The *Chinese* affirm, moreover, that *Fo-hi*, the great founder of their monarchy, fixed his court in this province, whose reign, according to some authors, began 2592 years before Christ: which, if true, would confirm the chronology of the *Septuagint*^v. But we hope that we have elsewhere sufficiently exploded that pretended antiquity of the *Chinese* monarchy^z; and shall say much more on the subject in the sequel.

HOWEVER, it is not improbable, that the delightfulness and fertility of this province might invite some of their antient monarchs to choose it for their residence; and, accordingly the *Chinese* history affirms the city of *Kay-fong-fu*, the metropolis of it, to have been the seat of the empire, during a long succession of monarchs, till it was, at length, overflown, and covered with sand^a, by a great inundation, of which we shall speak in the sequel. It is indeed so healthful and fertile, that it abounds with every thing for life or delight. The eastern part of it, especially, is so rich, and well cultivated, and so variegated with gardens, orchards, pleasure-houses, noble seats, &c. that one may travel through it above seven days with surprising delight. The western part is, indeed, more mountainous; but those mountains are no less rich, in fine timber, variety of metals and minerals, plants, &c. and the vast quantities, as well as variety, of corn, rice, fruits, and other product, which both the hills and dales do yield, as well as the tribute the province pays for them, and for silks, cloths, cottons, and other commodities, is almost incredible. It is likewise famed for a remarkable lake, which draws to it great numbers of those who are concerned in the silk manufacture, on account of the inimitable lustre which its water gives to that commodity. There is likewise, in the neighbourhood of the city of *Nan-yang*, a kind of serpent, whose skin is speckled with little white spots, which the *Chinese* physicians infuse in a phial full of wine, and make use of the infusion as an effectual remedy against the palsy^b.

Ho-NAN hath, besides fortresses, castles, and military towns, eight cities of the first, and 102 of the second and third rank. Those of the first, are, 1. *Kay-fong-fu*; 2. *Que-te*; 3. *Chang te*; 4. *Ve-kyan*; 5. *Whay-king*; 6. *Ho-nan*; 7. *Nan-yang*; 8. *Vu-ning*.

KAY-FONG-FU, or *Shai fong*, the metropolis of the province, and once one of the noblest in Kay-fong-Fu. the empire, was situate in a large fertile plain, about four miles and a half from the *Whang-bo*, or *yellow river*, and in latitude $34^{\circ} 52'$, and longitude west from *Pe-king* $1^{\circ} 56'$; but its low situation beneath the waters of that river occasioned its ruin, in 1642, when being closely besieged by the rebel *Ly-chuang*, at the head of 100,000 men, the general, who was sent to relieve it, contrived the fatal design of drowning his army, by breaking the great bank, which had been reared, at a vast charge, to preserve the country from being overflowed by that great river (H). His project succeeded indeed; but proved the ruin and destruction not only of this noble capital, but of 300,000 of its inhabitants, by the violence and swiftness of the overflow^c.

By what is still to be seen of its ruins, it appears to have been three leagues in compass. The annotator on *Dionysius Kao* adds, that it had lain ever since like a pond, or morass; and that all the vast pains and expence, to drain and restore it, had proved so unsuccessful, that the

^v DU HALDE, sub Ho-nan, p. 102.
KAO, ubi supra, p. 128.
HALDE, ubi supra.

^z See before, Introduction, p. 491, & seq.

^b DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 102. vid. & al. sup. citat.

^a Vide
^c DU

(H) This river, it seems, runs so much higher than the adjacent lands, and had made such horrid devastations among them, that, to prevent as much as possible the violence of its waters, their monarchs had caused high and strong dikes to be thrown up along its banks, the length of about thirty leagues. Yet these sometimes proved so weak against the violence of its current, that the adjacent cities were obliged to cast up new ones, at some small distance from their walls, to suppress its rapid fury (30).

The river, Father *Le Compte*, who calls it the *Hoambo*,

tells us, hath its rise among the farthest part of the mountains which cover the province of *Su chuen*, in the west; whence it throws itself into *Tartary*, and flows a considerable way along the great wall, at which it re-enters *China*, between the provinces of *Shan-si* and *Shen-si*; thence it continues its course through this of *Ho-nan*; and, having crossed part of that of *Nan-king*, and flowed about 600 leagues through the land, disembogues itself, at last, into the east sea, not far from the mouth of the *Kyang* (31).

(30) *Martini, Atlas, La Martiniere, Du Halde, & al.*

(31) *Le Compte, letter 4. vid. & au. sup. citat.*

Ho-nan.

A famed ob-
servatory.

court had given over all further thoughts about it^d. However, a new one hath been rebuilt since (as most authors tell us, on the other side of the river, though *Du Halde* takes no notice of this last particular), on which great pains and cost have been spent, to raise it to its pristine grandeur; but it comes still very short of it. However, its jurisdiction is still very extensive, and contains four cities of the second, and thirty of the third rank. The others have nothing particular worth our mentioning here, except that of *Ho-nan*, which, though situate in the midst of mountains between three rivers, is of late become very considerable, both for its wealth and noble buildings, particularly some stately temples, dedicated to antient heroes. The *Chinese*, who called their country the navel of the earth, styled this city the center of the navel, because it stands in the center of the empire. Its district extends over one city of the second, and thirteen of the third rank. In one of the latter, named *Teng-fong-hyen*, stands the high tower built by the celebrated *Cheu-kong*, where he used to observe the stars. They shew you there likewise the instrument which he made use of to find the meridian shadow, in order to discover the height of the pole. They attribute to him the invention of the mariner's compass, though he lived above 1000 years before Christ^e.

VIII. The province of Shan-tong.

VIII.
Shan-tong de-
scribed.

Fertility.

Rivers.

Three plagues.

Number of
souls.A particular
sort of silk.

Curious fruits.

Cities.

SHAN-TONG, *Xan-tun*, *Can-tong*, *Shan-ton*, is bounded on the west by *Pe-cheli*, and part of *Ho-nan*, last described; on the south, by *Kyang-nan*, by the *Tong-yang*, or eastern sea, on the east, and on the north, by the same sea, and part of *Pe-cheli*. It extends itself from 34° 30' to 38° 20' of latitude, and from 1° to 6° 25' of east longitude, from *Pe-king*; and is one of the most fertile provinces, and finest climates, in all *China*. It not only produces every thing that is necessary for life and delight, but in such great plenty, that one crop is sufficient to afford its inhabitants several years sustenance, though this is partly owing to its not being so populous as some other provinces of the empire.

It hath a good number of lakes, rivers, and brooks, which contribute to fertilize and enrich it, besides the great imperial canal, which crosses some part of it, and by which all the barks that come from the southern parts sail to *Pe-king*; where the very tribute of the vast quantities of merchandizes, &c. which they bring, is computed to amount to more than ten millions^f: so that nothing can obstruct the richness and fecundity of this province, but either too long a drought (for it rains but seldom in it), or the great havock which is frequently made by the locusts, which breed in the plains, in a dry season, and destroy every thing they come at.

THESE insects are reckoned one of the three plagues with which this province is infested. The next is, the vast droves of wolves which range among the mountains and plains, which are very fierce and ravenous, and do a great deal of mischief. The last is, the numerous gangs of robbers which infest the highways over the mountains, and often come down into the plains, and plunder and ravage the villages and open towns. In other respects, *Shan-tong* enjoys a serene and mild climate, a fruitful soil, and a good traffic.

THE inhabitants, which are computed to amount to 770,555 families, or 6,759,675 men, are healthy and stout, insomuch, that the boys are commonly seen to go naked in the coldest weather, and take a pleasure in fousing one another in water. They manufacture silk in great quantities and variety; and, besides the common sort, which is produced by the silk-worms, they have another sort, which is found upon trees and bushes in great plenty, which is spun by a kind of worm, not unlike our caterpillars. This last, though coarser than the common sort, is stronger, and more compact; and of both these they drive a great trade, by means of their rivers and canals.

AMONG other curious fruits, which this province produces in common with the rest, that which the call *se-tse*, which are a peculiar kind of figs, no-where to be met with but in *China*, grows here in greater plenty than in any other province. These do not ripen till the beginning of autumn; and, being dried as other figs are, contract a kind of crust of candied sugar, which gives them a delicious taste: so that these are sent from hence into all the provinces of the empire, and even out of it, in great quantities. By these means, it hath been able to raise itself to its pristine splendor, from which it was sunk into the lowest degree of desolation, having been almost totally ruined by the civil wars, on account of its being so often forced to shift sides, and thereby becoming a prey to both. However, what renders this province most venerable among the *Chinese* is, that their great philosopher *Kong-fu-tse*, commonly called by us *Confucius*, drew his first breath in it^g; of whom we shall have occasion to speak more fully, in a proper place.

SHAN-TONG hath six cities of the first rank, all very populous and flourishing; and these have no less than 114 of the second and third rank, besides a great number of towns and

^d Vide notes on *Hbrandts Ides*, p. 128.^f *Id.* ubi supra.^g *DION CAO*, ubi supra, ch. 3, p. 121, & seq.^e MARTINI, Atlas, MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, &c.

a villages, and fifteen fortresses, some of them very large, and all of them built to guard the entrances of their ports, and the mouths of their rivers. There are likewise several islands *Islands.* scattered along the gulph, which are no less populous, and afford convenient harbours for *Chinese* transports, and a quick and easy passage to and from *Korea* and *Lyeau-tong*^b (I).

THE cities of the first rank are ; 1. *Tsi-nan* ; 2. *Teng-chew* ; 3. *Tong-chang* ; 4. *Tsing-chew* ; 5. *Ten-chew* ; 6. *Lay-chew*.

TSI-NAN, *Zi nan*, *Ci-nan*, the metropolis of the province, is conveniently situate on the south *Tsi nan de-* side of the river *Tsing-ho*, otherwise called *Tsi*, or *Li*, by which it hath a communication with *scribed.* the great canal, and carries on a great commerce by it into other provinces. It is large, and well peopled, and famed for its many public buildings, some of them of exquisite beauty, and for having been the residence of a long series of monarchs, whose stately monuments yield a most noble prospect, from the adjacent hills, on which they are reared. Seventy-two of those monarchs are celebrated, in the *Chinese* annals, for their pacific reigns, and the many stately temples, monasteries, arches, bridges, and other public edifices, which they built, as well as for their singular application to religion, and the welfare of their subjects.

TSI-NAN hath four cities of the second, and twenty-six of the third rank ; and stands in *Chinese gl. st.* $36^{\circ} 45'$ of latitude, and in $10^{\circ} 39'$ east longitude, from *Pe-king*. The others have nothing particular in them, except the great borough of *Ten-ching*, famed for the manufacture of a sort of glass, but more brittle than that of *Europe*, and which breaks when exposed to too sharp an airⁱ.

IX. The province of Shan-si.

c **S**HAN-SI, *Shang-si*, *Xan-si*, or *Chan-si*, is bounded on the east by *Pe-cheli* ; on the west, *IX.* by *Sben-si* ; on the south, by *Ho-nan* ; and on the north, by the *Chinese* wall, which *Shan-si de-* parts it from *Tartary*. It extends itself but a little way from east to west ; viz. from 1° to $6^{\circ} 23'$ of west longitude from *Pe-king* ; but from north to south much more ; viz. from $34^{\circ} 37'$ to $40^{\circ} 50'$ of latitude. It is affirmed, by the *Chinese*, to have been the first inhabited province in the whole empire ; and, though it be nothing so large as some of those we have described, yet is to the full as fertile and populous, in proportion to its extent. Its climate is serene and mild, though it hath a great number of mountains, and some of them of a frightful height and ruggedness ; but the greatest part of the rest are well cultivated, and cut into terrasses from top to bottom, and bear plenty of corn, and other grain (K). *East high mountains.*

d THE plains are still more fertile, but have not so great a quantity of canals to irrigate them ; on which account, they do not yield such abundance of rice as other provinces do. Their vines produce excellent grapes, of which the *Chinese* might make wine, did they not prefer the eating of them dried, and sending the remainder into other parts of the empire.

THIS province furnishes also abundance of musk, porphyry, marble, jasper, &c. and *Product.* hath some mines which yield great store of iron, which is fabricated into variety of utensils, especially culinary, which are sent into other provinces. The people are stout, and obliging, but illiterate ; and the women much admired for their beauty, and slender shape.

THIS province hath five cities of the first rank, and eighty-five of the second and third ; *Cities:* those of the first rank are ; 1. *Tay-ywen* ; 2. *Ping-yang* ; 3. *Lu-ngan* ; 4. *Fwen-chew* ; 5. *Tay-*
e *tong*. The number of families in it amounts to about 589,959, or 5,084,015 men.

^b Vide MARTINI, LE COMPTE, KAO, MARTINIERE, DU HALDE, &c. 105, & al.

ⁱ DU HALDE, ubi supra, p.

(I) The three most considerable of them are, *Fou-xu*, *Xa-muen*, and *Ten-heng* ; the last of which is famous for being the dreadful stage on which 500 *Chinese* philosophers were murdered, by order of the emperor *Xiu*, or *Chi-wang ti*, the same who built the great wall. This prince being a consummate warrior, but a mortal enemy to all philosophers, ordered them all to repair to a certain place, under pretence of consulting them about some important point ; but, having got them all together, shipped them off to this island, where they were all murdered ; though others say, they drowned themselves (32). He was no less an enemy to all learning, and learned men, as we shall have occasion to shew, when we come to speak of his reign.

(K) Some of these mountains, we are told, are so soft on the surface (33), that one may dig four or five

feet deep, without meeting the least stone ; and some of them have very spacious plains on the top. They are, moreover, remarkable for their inexhaustible mines of coals, which the inhabitants use for fuel, where wood is scarce.

There is one very remarkable thing, which *Martini* tells us, of these mountains, not indeed of his own knowledge, but on the report of the inhabitants ; viz. that they open, in sundry places, in the form of fiery wells, though without flame ; so that, by narrowing the mouth of them, one may so concentrate the heat as to lay pots, kettles, frying-pans, and other culinary vessels, and dress victuals over them. The fire, he adds, burns but dimly ; and if, to accelerate the heat, one throws any wood into these holes, it will hardly flame, but will burn like our charcoal (34).

(32) *Dion. Kao, ubi supra, p. 122. & al. sup. citat. Sinenf. sub. Chaw-si.*

(33) *Du Halde, ubi supra, p. 106.*

(34) *Atlas*

Tay-ywen
described.

A noble pro-
spect.

TAY-YWEN, *Tai-ven*, *Tba-yen-fu*, metropolis of the province, is situate on the river *Fwen-bo*, in $35^{\circ} 53'$ of latitude and $3^{\circ} 55'$ of west longitude, from *Pe-king*. It is antient, populous, and large, its walls measuring about three leagues in compass; but is much decayed of its former splendor, when the princes of the blood, of the imperial family of *Tay-ming*, resided in it, whose stately palaces are since run into decay, and some of them lie in ruins, none daring to rebuild them. The city hath a fruitful and delightful territory around it; and the adjacent mountains yield a curious prospect of royal monuments, all either of marble or hewn stone, and of a considerable extent; besides triumphal arches, statues of heroes, figures of lions, horses, and other animals, in different attitudes, and very natural. The whole is encompassed with a kind of forest or antient cypress, planted chequer-wise.

THE jurisdiction of *Tay-ywen* extends over five cities of the second, and twenty of the third rank.

X. The province of Shen-si.

X.
Shen-si de-
scribed.
Division.

SHEN-SI, *Xen-si*, *Xien-si*, is bounded on the east, by the *Wang-bo*, which parts it from *Shan-si*, last described; on the south, by *Se-chuen*, and *Hu-quang*; on the north, by *Tartary*, and the great wall; and on the west, by the *Mogol Tartary*. It extends itself, in some parts, from 32° to 40° of latitude, and from $5^{\circ} 40'$ to almost 16° of west longitude, from *Pe-king*, but in a very irregular manner. It is divided into two parts, or governments, the eastern, and the western, which contain eight cities of the first, and 106 of the second and third rank, besides a great number of fortresses, castles, and redoubts, built at proper distances, along the great wall†. Among those fortresses, or, as they may be more properly called, military cities, those especially of the first, being as large, rich, and populous, as most of the inland cities, and are twenty-three in number, the two following are most considerable; viz. *Kan-chew* and *Su-chew*; the former of which is the residence of a viceroy, and several Mandarins, the principal of whom receive their orders from none but the court; and the latter is equal in strength, and its governor in power, with the former, only this is divided into two parts, one of which is mostly inhabited by *Chinese*, and the other by strangers*. Here are, besides the twenty-three above-named, a good number of others, of a second and third order, but nothing so large, though very strong, and well garrisoned, besides the forts and redoubts, which are chiefly designed to guard the great wall.

Government.

SHEN-SI is one of the antientest and largest provinces in the empire; and had formerly three viceroys over it¹, though, at present, it hath but two, exclusive of the two governors above-mentioned, who are independent on them.

Climate.

Soil.

Golden sand.

Product.

Swarms of
grasshoppers.

THE air here is very temperate; and the people more civil, and affected to strangers, than in any of these northern provinces. The soil is rich and fruitful; and some of the mountains have mines of gold, though forbidden to be opened under the severest penalties; but the rivers and torrents, which flow from them, bring down such quantities of that metal, that an infinite number of people maintain themselves by the bare profit that arises by washing and separating it from the sand. The plains yield but small quantities of rice, for want of a sufficient number of canals: but they make ample amends for it by the prodigious plenty of corn they produce, besides medicinal and other plants, roots, &c. particularly rhubarb, which is here excellent, and cultivated with great care. One misfortune, however, this province labours under, viz. frequent and extraordinary droughts, which never fail of being followed with such prodigious swarms of grasshoppers, and other insects, as quite darken the sun, and eat up every herb, bush, and even the small boughs of the trees: at such times the whole country come out, and kill them as fast as they can, and eat them as a great dainty. In some parts of *Shen-si*, particularly in the neighbourhood of its metropolis *Si-ngan*, or *Sigan*, is a sort of salt earth, which, being boiled and crystallized, makes a very good white salt; and, in some other places further, the ground, after a good shower of rain, emits a kind of froth, which is made into an excellent soap. The head cities belonging to this province are as follow:

Cities.

IN the eastern part, called *I-tong*, are, 1. *Si-ngan*; 2. *Xen-ngan*; 3. *Fong-tsyang*; 4. *Hang-chong*.

AND in the western, called *I-si*, 5. *Ping-lyang*, 6. *Kong-chang*; 7. *Lyng-tau*; 8. *King-yang*.

Si-ngan de-
scribed.

Famed walls.

SI-NGAN-FU, the metropolis of the whole province, is a very large city, commodiously situate on a delightful ascent on the south side of the river *Whey*, in latitude $34^{\circ} 16'$, and west longitude from *Pe-king* $7^{\circ} 35'$. Its walls are strong and lofty, about four leagues in compass, and flanked with a great number of towers, of an excellent fabricature, which hath given rise to the saying, that it is girt with a golden girdle. Among other noble buildings that adorn it within, is still to be seen the palace of the antient kings who reigned in this

† See before, vol. ii. p. 283, & seq.

* DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 108.

¹ KAO, ubi sup. p. 126.
province,

a province, and who were once very powerful, and possessed a vast tract of the empire; some stately temples, triumphal arches, &c.

THE principal forces of the *Tartars*, designed for the defence of the north of *China*, are *Garrisons* garrisoned here, under a general of their nation, who, with his troops, live in a separate part of the city, divided from the rest by a wall. The chief Mandarins of the province, who are here likewise in great numbers, are mostly *Tartars*. The mountains adjacent abound with deer, hares, and other game; and produce, among other fossils, a white kind of earth, which is much valued by the ladies, who infuse it in water, and whiten their complexion with it.

It was near this city that Father *Le Compte* tells us there was a monumental marble table *A Christian monument dug up* dug up *Anno* 1645, which was ten feet long, and six broad; and on the top of which was engraved a cross; and a little below it an inscription, in characters partly *Chinese*, and partly *Syriac*, importing, that an angel had brought tidings of the Messiah's being born of a virgin in *Judea*, and of his birth's being manifested to eastern kings by a new star in the heavens, who came and offered the divine infant their presents; that so the law, and predictions of four-and-twenty prophets, might be thereby accomplished; and that *Olopouen* came into *China* in the year of Christ 636, where he met with a kind reception from the emperor; who, *Christianity favoured by the emperors* having examined his law, and acknowledged the truth of it, issued out an edict in favour of him and his religion (L). It appears by this inscription, therefore, that Christianity flourished in the *Chinese* empire from the year 636 to 782, when the monument above-mentioned was set up. Our author tells us, that the emperor then reigning, when it was first digged up, ordered it to be kept in a pagod, or temple, about a mile from this city, where it is supposed to be still at this time^m.

THE other cities we pass by, as having nothing particularly remarkable; excepting that called *Han-chong*, the high road to which, over the high mountains that surround it, hath *A prodigious highway* something vastly surprising, both with respect to the number of men who were employed in making of it, which amounted to 100,000, and the great difficulty, and quick dispatch, of the work; to complete which, they levelled high hills, made lofty arches from one mountain to another, and supported them with pillars where-ever the intervening valley was too wide. These bridges, which form part of the road, are in some places so high, that one cannot behold the vast precipice below without dread. They are wide enough for four horsemen to ride abreast over them; and, for the better security and convenience of the passengers, are railed on both sides, and furnish'd with villages and inns at proper distances, for their accommodationⁿ. There are many more such stupendous works in other parts of *China*, especially amongst the mountainous parts of it^o, some of which we may have occasion to mention among their other artificial rarities; though this, with respect to its length, height, &c. seems to excel all the rest.

XI. The province of Se-chwen.

^c SE-CHWEN, *Seu-chu*, *Su-cheu*, *Su-chuen*, is bounded on the north by *Shen-si*, last XI. Se-chwen described; by *Hu-quang* on the east; by *Quey-chew* and *Yun-nan* on the south; and by the kingdom of *Tibet* on the west. It extends itself from 24° 50' to 32° 50' of latitude, and from 6° 20' to 15° 25' west longitude from *Pe-king*. It is a large and fruitful province; but

^m KERCHER *China Illustr.* LE COMPTE *Present State of China*, part 2. letter 3. ubi supra, p. 109.

ⁿ Vid. DU HALDE, De his, vid. KERCHER, NAVARETTA, MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

(L) The copy and contents of the whole inscription, and history of its discovery, may be seen in *Kercher's China Illustrata*, and in Father *Le Compte* above-mentioned (35); and the purport of the edict, according to their version, runs as follows:

"No particular name comprehends the true law; neither are saints confined to any one place, but are dispersed through the world, that they may be universally useful. A man of *Judea*, of exemplary virtue, arrived at our court; we have examined his doctrine, and found it worthy of admiration, and without any mixture of pride, and built upon those principles which suppose that the world had a beginning. This law, which teaches the way of salvation, cannot but be extremely beneficial to our subjects. I therefore judge it necessary that it be taught to them." The inscription goes on with an account of that monarch's ordering a church to be built, and of his appointing twenty-one persons to officiate in

it; of his son and successor *Tay-loun*'s highly honouring the bishop *Olopouen*, and promoting this religion with the same laudable zeal; so that the Bonzas were alarmed at the progress it made, and used all possible means to put a stop to it. They accordingly raised a bloody persecution; but which, in a little time, served only to make it break out with greater lustre, and meet with greater encouragement from the succeeding monarchs. In the mean time *Ki-bo*, a new missionary from *Judea*, arrived, who met with the same kind reception and success that Bishop *Olopouen* had done before; and the *Chinese* monarchs not only encouraged it with all their might, but much more by their pious examples, and by the most signal instances of piety; in memory of which wonderful change, this monumental inscription was set up *A. C.* 782. This is the substance of the inscription, which the reader may see at full length in the authors above quoted.

is one of those that suffered most, and was almost laid waste, by the late civil wars^p. It hath, a however, recovered itself so far since, as to vie with some of the best northern ones in fertility, populoufness, and opulence. The great river *Yang-tse*, which runs through it, not only
Great traffick. enriches its lands by the multitude of canals cut from it; but much more so the inhabitants, by the great trade that is carried on by its means, of vast quantities of silk, iron, tin, quick-silver, sugar, excellent loadstones, *lapis Armenius*, musk, rhubarb, china-root, and other commodities, which are exported into other provinces. The country, being mostl. plain,
Product. and well-watered, produces plenty of rice, wheat, and other corn; insomuch that the bare tribute of the former amounts to 6,106,666 sacks. The only necessary that is wanting here is salt: which, by reason of the distance from the sea, cannot be so conveniently brought thence. To supply which defect, they dig up wells in the mountains, whence they draw a b kind of salt water, which, being evaporated, leaves a salt behind, but not so good for seasoning as that of the sea^q.

A small monarchy within it. We are told of a petty monarchy in this province, situate on the mountains which part it from that of *Ho-nan* on the north-east, and called the kingdom of *King*, which is quite independent from the *Chinese*, and is governed by its own princes. It was founded during the late wars, when the *Kingiangs*, a brave people, to avoid being enslaved by the *Tartars*, or being exposed to their cruel ravages, went and erected themselves into this little state, among those high and rugged mountains, where they live free and unmolested, and avoid all commerce with the *Tartars*, *Chinese*, or any other people^r.

Cities. THE province of *Se-chwen* hath ten jurisdictions, or cities of the first rank, and eighty-eight of the second and third, besides five military ones; nine large fortresses of the first, and twenty-five of the second order, and forts, castles, &c. depending upon them.

THE ten capitals of the province are, 1. *Ching-tu*; 2. *Pau-ning*; 3. *Shun-king*; 4. *Su-chew*; 5. *Chong-king*; 6. *Que-chew*; 7. *Ma-hu*; 8. *Long-ngan*; 9. *Tsun-i*; 10. *Tong-chwen*.

Chin-chu-fu ruined by the wars. CHING-TU-FU, the metropolis of the province, and formerly the royal residence of some of the *Chinese* monarchs, was one of the largest and finest cities in the whole empire, till the civil wars, under which it suffered most of any, quite ruined it, and the whole province,
Re-established. Anno 1646; and, though it hath in some measure recovered itself, yet doth it shew little of its pristine grandeur, except the sad remains of its once stately palace, some few temples, bridges, and such-like, and in its present populoufness and the great commerce it now d carries on. It is seated almost in the heart of the province, and in a fruitful territory, the only plain one in the province, which is by that means intersected with a great number of navigable canals, cut from the river *Ta*, or *Ta-kyang*, whose course here is rather slow than rapid: but, when the canals are reunited to it, and its waves increased by the confluence of the *Hin-sha-kyang*, it becomes exceeding rapid and dangerous, being much incumbered with rocks, especially in its next course through the province of *Hu-quang*.

CHING-TU stands in latitude 30° 41' and 12° 18' west longitude from *Pe-king*. Its jurisdiction is considerable, and extends itself over six cities of the second, and twenty-five of the third rank. It is chiefly remarkable, *Martini* tells us, for a small extraordinary bird with a red bill, and the finest variety of feathers. It is called *Tong-hoa-fang*, that is, the bird of e the flower *Tong-hoa*, from which they pretend it to be produced, and to live no longer than that doth; and is so like it, that one would imagine it to be a living flower^s.

An extraordinary bird.

XII. The province of Quang-tong.

XII. Quang-tong described.

QUANG-TONG, *Quang-tung*, *Quoang-tung*, *Quan-ton*, *Canton*, and, by some, *Quang-chew*, from its metropolis, is bounded on the north by *Kyang-si*; on the north-east by *Fo-kyen*; on the west by *Quang-si*, and the kingdom of *Tong-king*, or *Tonquin*; and the rest is washed by the *Nan-bay*, or sea of the south. It is reckoned the most considerable of all the provinces; and extends itself from 20° 15', or, if you include the island of *Hay-nan*, f which is under its jurisdiction, from 18° 20' to 25° 33' of latitude, and from 1° east, to 9° 8', west, of longitude from *Pe-king*. It is no less so on account of its vast commerce, opulence, populoufness, advantageous situation, and the great number of its commodious ports; so that though it suffered incredibly during the late wars, both from the *Tartars* and the *Chinese*, and other pirates, its traffick and fertile soil soon restored it to its antient splendor, by the extraordinary industry of its inhabitants, who are computed by the registers to amount to 383,360 families, or 1,978,029 men.

Fertility. THE soil is so fertile, that it yields two crops of corn yearly; and produces in the like plenty all sorts of grain, fruits, vegetables, and every thing that can contribute to the

^p DION. KAO, ubi sup. p. 141. Ambassy, LA MARTINIÈRE, et al.

^q Vid. et MARTINI, DU HALDE, & al. ^r Dutch

^s Atlas Sinens. MARTINIÈRE, et al.

pleasures

a pleasures of life. The climate, though warm, is clear, and the people very stout and healthy; hence they have a common saying, that *Quang-tong* always enjoys a sky without snow, trees always laden with fruit, and men that continually spit blood; by which last is not meant any distemper of that kind, but their chewing a medicinal root which gives the saliva the colour of blood.

THE commerce which this province, but more especially that which its metropolis, drives, *Manufactures.* is one of the richest and grandest in all the *Chinese* empire, and extends itself to the most valuable merchandizes, such as diamonds and precious stones of all sorts, pearls, gold, silver, and other metals curiously wrought, and for all uses. They are famed here for a sort of gun-barrel which never bursts, or, at most, only splits itself, without farther hurt; and for an odd kind of rice manufacture, which they turn into all kinds of utensils, and which bears a fine natural gloss, but is only fit for sight. Silks of all sorts, cottons, and other linen, are likewise manufactured and exported in great quantities, and beautiful variety, as well as those of gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, china ware, japan-work, and in all which infinite multitudes are constantly employed; insomuch that, though the country here be as fertile as any in *China*, yet it doth not produce sufficient provisions for its inhabitants, but is assisted by some *Eggs hatched in ovens.* of the neighbouring provinces. They use the same way here of hatching and porting of eggs, especially those of ducks, which are in great plenty, in ovens and dunghills, as they do in *Egypt*; but have a particular one of preserving them fresh all the year, by covering them with a sort of paste. We are told a curious singularity of the ducks and chickens so hatched; *viz.* that the owners carry them in boats to the sea-side, at low-water, where they feed on oysters, cockles, and other such sea-insects, and where one drove naturally intermixes with another, as there are great multitudes of these boats so employed: but as soon as the droves-owner strikes on a balon, every flock returns to his own boat, as pigeons do to their holes^t. Some other varieties this province affords, which the reader may see in the margin (M).

QUANG-TONG, being a maritime province, and the most removed from the court, is *Government.* one of the most considerable in the whole empire, especially as he, who is the *Tsong-tu*, or viceroy, of it, is likewise so of that of *Quan-si*; for which reason he commonly resides at *Chau-king*, to be nearer at hand to communicate his orders to both provinces. He keeps also a great number of soldiers under him, to suppress the highwaymen and pirates, which *d* would else grow numerous enough to destroy the commerce between them. There are, for the same end, a great number of fortresses, both on the sea-coasts and in the inland, most of them like large cities, very strong and well garrisoned, besides inferior ones, forts, castles, &c. dispersed in proper places.

QUANG-TONG is divided into ten capital jurisdictions; whose cities are, 1. *Quang-chew*, or *Cities.* *Canton*, the metropolis of all; 2. *Shau-chew*; 3. *Nan-yong*; 4. *Whe-chew*; 5. *Chau-chew*; 6. *Chau-king*; 7. *Kau-chew*; 8. *Lyen-chew*; 9. *Lwy-chew*; and, 10. *Kyun-chew*, which last is the capital of the island of *Hay-nan*.

QUANG-CHEW, vulgarly *Quang-tong*, *Quang-tun*, *Kan-ton*, and commonly, by the *Euro-Canton de-* *peans*, *Canton*, is situate on the mouth of the *Ta ho*, or great river, which is here wide and *scribed.* spacious, and forms the bay called *Hu-men*, or the tyger's gate, though it hath nothing terrible in it but its name, and some few forts, which are only built to keep off the pirates. It stands in latitude 23° 12', and longitude 3° 31' west from the meridian of *Pe-king*; and is not only one of the largest, being computed, with its suburbs, to be above twenty miles *Great traffick.* in compass (N), but likewise on account of its advantageous situation, one of the richest, finest, best

^t DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 113.

(M) Among the great variety of fruits which here grow in great plenty, they have a particular sort of limon, full as thorny as the citron tree, but much larger. It bears a white flower of an exquisite odour, which, when distilled, yields a very pleasant liquor. The fruit, which is almost as big as a man's head, hath a rind much like that of common oranges; and its substance within, which is either white or reddish, hath a taste between sweet and sour. They have another sort of fruit, the largest that is any where to be seen, which grows not on the branches, but on the body of the tree; its rind is very hard; and within are seen a great number of cells, containing a yellow pulp, which is very sweet and agreeable when the fruit is full-ripe.

Another kind of rarity in this province is the tree which the *Portuguese* call *iron-wood*, which resembles

that metal in colour, weight, and hardness, and will sink in water. That which they call rose-wood is no less admired; and is of a blackish colour, inclining to red, beautifully veined and speckled, and used by joiners to make tables, escritaires, chairs, stools, &c. Their osier is likewise so pliable and tough, that they make cable and other ship-ropes of them. We omit a number of other such natural rarities, which *Kercher*, *Martini*, and others, speak of, which are not so well attested. The last and most remarkable of those that are, is the crab that is taken on the coast of a lake in the island of *Hay-nan*, which, they tell us, petrifies as soon as it is taken out of the water, and grows as hard as flint, and is said to be a good remedy against burning fevers (36).

(N) *Quang-chew* may be properly said to consist of three cities, each of them surrounded with its own

best peopled, and most trading, cities in *China*, the largest vessels being easily brought to the fine canals that surround it, and the port and city being perpetually thronged with ships and merchants, and stored with the richest commodities of all kinds from *Europe*, and most parts of *India*.

Populousness.

THE number of its inhabitants, exclusive of strangers, is computed to be at least a million, some say near two millions, but that is exaggerated. However, the city is better filled with them than most in *China*, because it hath but few gardens and orchards, and no waste-ground. The streets are strait and long, and, excepting some few of the better sort, which are adorned with palaces, temples, triumphal arches, and such-like splendid edifices, the rest are rather narrow than wide, but all of them neat, and well-paved; and the shops beautifully furnished, and set out with the richest wares. The harbour, quay, and canals, are covered with such an infinite multitude of barges, boats, and other vessels, and so close together, that they appear like a huge floating city. Every street hath a gate at each end, which is not only shut up every night, to confine every person to his proper quarter; but likewise in the day-time, whenever any disturbance happens, in order to prevent its spreading to the next.

Canals.

Government.

THE Mandarin, who resides here as viceroy, hath a stately palace at one of the most distant parts of the city; which makes it very inconvenient for those who are to apply to him, and still more so, because the building is very deep, and a number of courts must be crossed before one comes to the hall of audience, where he administers justice in great state: the reason of which is supposed to be, either to prevent frivolous complaints, which would otherwise too frequently happen among such an infinite multitude and variety of inhabitants, or perhaps, more probably to keep up the greater grandeur and state (O). His government, besides the metropolis, extends over seventeen cities; viz. one of the second, and sixteen of the third rank.

City of Macao described.

ON the entrance into the bay of *Quang-tong* stands the famed *Portuguese* port of *Makau*, or, as it is vulgarly called, *Macao*, in latitude $22^{\circ} 12'$, and west longitude from *Pe-king* $3^{\circ} 19'$. It stands on a small peninsula, or rather small island, (because separated from the continent by a river, which is enlarged by the tide), and is joined to it only by a small isthmus, or neck of land, across which they have built a wall. It is a convenient trading port, of which the *Portuguese* obtained the possession, on account of their having assisted the *Chinese* in driving away a famed pirate who infested those seas, and had besieged the capital of the province; and obliged him to retire to *Makau*, where they slew him some time before the year 1660. Some authors tell us, that they built the city, the island before being inhabited by none but banditti, who only lived in huts and woods. However that be, they fortified this place with strong walls, and other works, and drove a great trade with other parts of *India*; but were afterwards so disturbed by the *Dutch*, that its traffick, as well as strength, hath been very much reduced; and they now only maintain a small factory and garrison, and are so very poor, that the *Chinese* despise and lord it over them (P).

THERE

DU HALDE, ubi supra. LE COMPTE, MARTINI, et al. sup. citat. part 4. l. 1. c. 1.

GEMELL. CARERI. VOY

strong and lofty walls; yet so as to have a communication with each other by stately gates, which are only shut up at night. The landscape which offers itself on each side of the river which leads to the city, is one of the most delightful prospects that can be imagined. It is various, animated, and gay, all the way. On one side we behold a vast extent of lovely green meadows, terminated only by the horizon; on the other, groves and little hills appear, which rise up in form of amphitheatres, which are ascended by steps made of green sods. Here your sight is delighted with high rocks covered with moss; there with country seats half-buried amongst verdant copses: now one meets with canals variegated with small islands, and beautiful banks adorned with stately trees, which yield a most delightful shade, verdure, and fragrance; and there some spacious villages encompassed with plains, woods, &c.

Among others of these villages, there is one to be seen within about twelve miles from *Kanton*, called *Fo shan*, or *Fu-xan*, in which are computed to be at least 600,000 families, or a million of souls, mostly employed in manufacturing of goods for the market

of that metropolis. It is computed to be nine miles in compass, and is become very rich since the civil wars; during which, that city was almost ruined, and most of its manufactures removed thither (37).

(O) We are told accordingly, that he seldom stirs abroad without a retinue of about 100 officers, of different ranks, besides his standard-bearers, and other inferior attendants. He is commonly carried on the shoulders of eight lusty fellows, in a chair of state like a throne, with a large canopy over his head; and, as his power is very great, so the same respect is paid to him as to a little monarch, where-ever he appears (38).

(P) They were reckoned in *Gemelli's* time about 5000 of the former, most of them mongrels, born in *India*, and of *Indian* women; and above 15,000 of the latter. The former chuse a magistrate from among themselves, who hath the management of all civil and criminal affairs, but with whom the latter are not concerned; their political government being under a captain-general, appointed by the king of *Portugal*, and the spiritual by a bishop. All these and other officers are maintained by the city, which allows the captain.

(37) Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 116. Vid. & Le Compte, Martini, & al. sup. citat. Compte, Martini, & al. sup. citat.

(38) Du Halde, Le

^a THERE is also in the city a *Chinese* Mandarin, as well as a *Portuguese* governor; the former of whom hath his palace in the heart of it, and commands in chief; so that whatever he will have done, must be complied with, especially where the *Chinese* interest is concerned. To that end, the fortifications of the town are kept in good repair, and well provided with cannon; and, as its small garrison is supplied with all necessaries by the *Chinese*, who are more numerous in it, these hardly think it worth their while to become masters of it. It pays to the *Chinese* court a tribute of 10,000, others say 100,000, ducats, for the liberty of chusing their magistrates, and the exercise of their religion and laws, besides a heavy impost on every vessel and merchandize which is brought into the port; the entrance of which being guarded by the *Chinese*, no ship can come in, or go out, without their knowledge and leave.

^b THE town is well built, though not large. The houses are after the *European* manner, but low; and the churches, and public buildings, pretty handsome for that country. The ground on which it stands is very uneven, being hill, valley, and plain; and defended by three forts, all of them built on some advantageous eminence, which, with the rest of the city, terminates the sight on that side from the ships that ride at anchor: but betwixt this land, which is of some extent, and the town, there is a safe and commodious port, along whose shores the city extends. The commerce of it was formerly so considerable, whilst the *Portuguese* were permitted to trade with *Japan*, that it was a common saying, that *Macao* might pave its streets with silver: but, since they were forbidden to come thither under such severe penalties, they are dwindled into such a state of poverty and servitude, that the town and port are gone quite into decay, having but five ships of their own to maintain all the vast charges above-mentioned; and these, instead of the 300 *per Cent.* which they were wont to return from *Nangazaki*, bring in now but an inconsiderable profit; which will be lessened still, says *Careri*, by the setting up of the new *East-India* company, which forbids their resort to several ports, and their trading in some sorts of their commodities*. Before we take our leave of this port, we must take notice of one remarkable singularity relating to it; viz. that the *Sunday* with them is the *Saturday* with the *Spaniards* in the *Philippine Islands*; the reason of which the reader will see in the margin (Q).

^d THE last thing we have to mention concerning the province of *Quang-tong*, is the island of *Hay-nan*, which belongs to its jurisdiction, and lies opposite to it, on the gulf of *Cochin-China*, being parted from it by a very narrow channel, so that it may be easily descried from the opposite coast, in a clear sky. It is a pretty large island, and extends itself from $18^{\circ} 10'$ to $20^{\circ} 8'$ of latitude, and from $5^{\circ} 55'$ to $8^{\circ} 20'$ of west longitude from *Pe-king*; so that its greatest length from east to west is between sixty and seventy leagues, and from north to south between forty and fifty, and its circumference about 160.

^c IT is mostly mountainous, except the length of about fifteen leagues from the north coast, which is plain, and well watered by rivers. The inhabitants, who are pretty numerous, cultivate their ground so well, and the rains fall down so seasonably, that the country produces rice, and other corn, enough for their sustenance, and commonly yields two crops a year: besides which, they have plenty of fruits, venison, game, &c. The only thing they want, especially on the southern side, is wholesome water: for want of which they are obliged to boil a sufficient quantity of it in the morning to serve them all the day*.

THE *Chinese* are not masters of the whole island, but only of most of the coasts, and some of the plains in the inland, which the natives abandoned to them, that they might go and enjoy their liberty on the high mountains, where they actually live independent, and never have any commerce with them, except to exchange some of the gold-dust which they gather from their rivers and torrents, for *Chinese* salt and cloths: for, though they are supposed to have some rich mines of gold and silver, yet they are either too indolent or inexpert to turn

* GEMELL. CARERI, ubi supra.

y MARTINI, Atlas Sinens. DU HALDE, p. 117.

general a piece of eight *per day*, and 3000 every three years; 500 to the bishop *per Annum*, and so proportionably to the inferior ones: which charge is defrayed by the duty of ten *per Cent.* on all *Portuguese* goods, and two *per Cent.* on money; over and above what is paid to the *Chinese* government (39), and other impositions from the Mandarin that commands in it; and the viceroy, who comes often to visit it, and must be entertained in a grand manner, and glutted with high presents. &c. To all which hardships they are forced to submit, because all their provisions coming to them from the *Chinese*, they might be starved by them upon the least dislike.

(Q) This difference, which extends itself equally to all the other days of the week, doth not proceed from any difference of longitude between those two places, which is inconsiderable, but from the different ways of sailing of those two nations: for the *Portuguese*, in coming hither from *Europe*, sail eastward; whereas the *Spaniards*, coming from *America*, sail westward; so that, between them, they have sailed round the world, by opposite points; in doing which, there must of course be the loss of one day, as every one knows that hath learnt the bare elements of the globe.

them to any advantage. There are hardly any coasts on the eastern sea which produce larger and finer pearls than the northern ones of this island. The inlands yield a great variety of fragrant woods, and of beautiful colours, particularly those called eagle, rose, violet, and ebony-wood, all which are bought up by the *Chinese*, to make household ornaments, or for dyeing. It breeds likewise variety of fine birds, beasts, and a particular kind of black monkey, with a face the nearest to human.

Dress of the people.

THE islanders, both men and women, wear their hair in a ring on their forehead; and a hat on their heads, made of straw, or rattan, and tied under their chin. Their habit is only a piece of callico, either black, or of a deep blue, which covers them from the waist to the knees; besides which, the women wear a kind of waistcoat of the same. These streak their cheeks from the eyes downward with indigo: both men and women wear ear-rings of gold and silver, shaped like a pear, and well made. Their weapons are bows and arrows, at which they are not very dexterous; and a kind of hanger, which they carry in a little basket fastened to their girdle behind; and this last is all the tools they have for cutting down timber, or for carpenters work.

Capital described. Port.

THE capital city in the island is called *Kyun-chew-fu*. It is situate on a promontory; and the ships come to anchor under its very walls. The port, which is about two leagues distant from it, on the north side of the island, is formed by a pretty large river, whose mouth is defended by two small forts: but, as it hath not above ten or twelve feet of water, any vessels made after a different manner from those of *China* would find it difficult to enter it. Between the port and the capital is a fine plain full of beautiful *Chinese* sepulchres; among which is one with a cross on it, in which lies interred an *Italian* missionary, and the first who landed in that island. *Kyun-chew-fu* hath under its jurisdiction three cities of the second, and ten of the third rank, most of them seated along the sea-coasts. It stands in latitude $20^{\circ} 2'$, and west longitude from *Pe-king* $6^{\circ} 40'$, and is governed by a *literary* and a *military Mandarin* (R).

XIII. The province of Quang-si.

XIII. *Quang-si described.*

QUANG-SI, *Quàn-si*, *Quam-si*, hath *Quang-tong*, last described, on the south-east; *Hu-quang* and *Quey-chew* on the north; *Yun-nan* on the west; and the ocean, with part of the kingdom of *Tonquin*, on the south. It extends itself only from $21^{\circ} 50'$ to $26^{\circ} 15'$ of latitude, and from $4^{\circ} 10'$ to $11^{\circ} 48'$ of west longitude, from *Pe-king*. It is for the most part mountainous, and short of the fertility of other provinces; yet hath some vast spacious plains, especially on the south, so well cultivated, that it is able to supply that of *Quang-tong* with rice and corn for six months in the year. It is watered by a great number of rivers, which flow from the mountains eastwards into the *Ta-ho*, or great river which runs into *Quang-tong*. And, as several of them are navigable on the east part, the people are more given to traffick, and much more polite, than those on the west and north side, who are a rude sort of mountaineers, disdaining all subjection, and live like independent savages.

Fertility.

Mountains.

Manufactures.

THESE vast ridges of mountains are covered with large forests, though many of them abound with mines of gold (S), silver, copper, iron, &c. several sorts of curious woods used by the joiners; among which there is one particular sort of tree, which, instead of pith, contains a soft substance, which they grind into meal, and doth not taste amiss. The insect that produces the wax is in great plenty all over the province, which breeds likewise parrots, and other fine birds, rhinoceros's, porcupines, and other wild beasts. The cinnamon which grows here is better, and more odoriferous, than that of the island of *Ceylan*; and the silks that are manufactured here bear a good price: but the chief one of this province is that of porcelain, which is made much finer than in other parts, though one of the ingredients is brought from that of *Nan-king*; it being observed, that the water of the former, and the sand of the latter, must concur to make that ware complete. The number of inhabitants was once com-

^z MARTINI, Atlas Sinens. DU HALDE, p. 117, & seq.

(R) Near this island is that small one called *Sancian*, or *Shang-chewen shan*, and famed for the death of the modern apostle of the *Indies*, *Francis Xavier*, whose tomb is still to be seen, and is much resorted to by travellers. It stands on a little eminence, at the foot of a hill: and behind it is a small plain, with trees on one side, and gardens on the other.

The island is not desert, as was reported; but hath about five villages; inhabited by poor fishermen. The *Portuguese* Jesuits built a chapel here above fifty years ago, which, though only of plaster, doth yet

look very neat; the *Chinese* having japanned it over with red and blue varnish (40).

(S) There was a rich one, in particular, which the inhabitants of the district obtained a patent from the court, to have the privilege of working at their own charge, on condition they paid the emperor 40 *per Cent.* and his officers attending on it five *per Cent.* out of the profits arising from it; but that monarch since took it into his hand, and worked it at his own charge (41).

(40) *Le Compte, Du Halde, & al.*

(41) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 120.*

a puted to amount to 196,719 families, or 191,054,760 men. The province is divided into twelve jurisdictions; whose capitals are as follow: *Quey-ling*, the metropolis of the whole; 2. *Lyew-chew*; 3. *Kin ywen*; 4. *Se-ngen*; 5. *Ping-lo*; 6. *U-chew*; 7. *Sin-chew*; 8. *Nan-ming*; 9. *Tay ping*; 10. *Se-ming*; 11. *Chin-ngan*; 12. *Se-chin*.

QUEY-LING-FU, the metropolis, is said to have its name from a flower, which, though *Cities.* very common in *China*, yet grows in greater quantity there (T). It is situate on a river which falls into the *Ta ho*; and runs with such rapidity through the narrow vallies, that, though large, it is not navigable, or of any service for traffick. The city is large and well-built, *Quey-ling fu described.* and in some measure after the manner of our antient fortifications; but is still vastly inferior to most other capitals, and is surrounded with savage and barbarous people, who are settled in the mountains, and, as was lately hinted, live in a kind of independence from the Mandarins. It stands in latitude $25^{\circ} 13'$, and west longitude from *Pe-king* $6^{\circ} 14'$, and hath a jurisdiction over two cities of the second, and seven of the third rank. The bird called *King-hi* (U) is caught within this territory, whose feathers are variegated with such bright colours, that they weave them in their silks^a

XIV. The province of Yun-nan.

YUN-NAN, *Yu-nan*, *Jun-nan*, is bounded, on the north, by *Se-chew*, and the territory of the Lamas; on the west, by the kingdoms of *Ava*, *Pegu*, and some unknown barbarous nations; on the south, by the kingdoms of *Law*, or *Lau-chwa*, and *Tong-king*; and on the east, by the provinces of *Quang-si* and *Quey-chew*. It extends itself from $21^{\circ} 34'$ to 28° of latitude, and from $10^{\circ} 16'$ to $18^{\circ} 34'$ of west longitude from *Pe-king*. It is said to be one of the richest and most fertile of the empire, being every-where watered by rivers, several of which rise from some considerable lakes; and others descend from the mountains, and bring down great quantities of gold sand, and some precious stones, particularly rubies of singular beauty are dug out of these mountains; and, if the golden mines were suffered to be opened, they would in all probability amount to immense sums. They likewise produce, among other baser metals, one called *Pe-tong*, which is white within and without, but in other respects is much like the common copper; and, among other valuable stones, the *lapis armenus*, a kind of reddish amber, and a fine sort of marble of divers colours, whose veins naturally represent flowers, trees, mountains, rivers, &c. and of this they make tables, and other ornaments. *XIV. Yun-nan described. Golden mines.*

THE country produces plenty of corn, rice, and all kinds of provisions, medicinal plants, roots, gums, musk, &c. besides plenty of silk, cotton, and flax. It likewise breeds variety of animals, particularly elephants, horses, and a curious kind of stags, which are neither taller nor thicker than our ordinary dogs, and are kept by the rich in their gardens for their diversion. Here is also bred the golden hen, described in the last note, and other curious birds. The whole province is divided into twenty-one districts, or jurisdictions, of the first rank, which have under them fifty-five others of the second and third, besides eight military cities, and a good number of fortresses, castles, &c. The cities of the first rank are, 1. *Yun-nan*, the metropolis; 2. *Ta-li*; 3. *Ling-ngan*; 4. *Chu-byang*; 5. *Ching-kyang*; 6. *King-tong*; 7. *Quan-nan*; 8. *Quang-si*; 9. *Sbun-ning*; 10. *Ku-tsing*; 11. *Tau-ngan*; 12. *Ko-king*; 13. *Vu-ting*; 14. *Ly-kyang-fu*; 15. *Twen-kyang*; 16. *Mong-wba*; 17. *Tung-chang*; 18. *Tung-ning-tu*; 19. *Tung-pe*; 20. *Kay-wba*; 21. *Saw-ta*. *Product. Cities.*

YUN-NAN, *Ju-nan*, *Ju-nung-fu*, metropolis of the province, is situate on the north-east side of a large and deep lake, or, according to the language of the country, on the coast of the south sea, in latitude $25^{\circ} 6'$, and west longitude from *Pe-king* $13^{\circ} 37'$. It was not long ago very remarkable for its beauty, and the number of its stately buildings and fine gardens within its walls, which are three miles (if not rather leagues) in compass, it having been the *Yun-nan described.*

^a DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 119, & seq. Vid. & MARTINI Atlas, LA MARTINIERE, & al.

(T) The word signifies the forest of the flower *Quey*, which flower grows upon a tree not unlike our laurel, and yields a fine taste and smell, and, when dried, is commonly mixed with some sorts of cakes, to raise their flavour and relish. There is a mount likewise on the east end of the city, which bears the same name, from the vast quantities of that flower with which it is perpetually covered, and which perfume the whole country: for it is observable, that no sooner one falls, but another breaks out in its place. Some think, however, that *Quey-ling* hath its name from the river *Quey*, which runs near its walls.

(U) This rare bird, whose name signifies the golden hen, is much esteemed for its extraordinary beauty both of colour and shape, as well as for its exquisite taste, which is affirmed to excel that of our pheasants. Its feathers are of a delightful mixture of blue and red, finely shaded towards the extremities of the wings and tail, and intermixed with variety of other colours. The body is finely shaped, and the head crowned with a beautiful crest (42). It is very common in this and the next province we are going to speak of.

(42) Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 15.

Decay,
absence.

residence of several monarchs. At the time of the *Tartars* invading it, they gave the then reigning prince the investiture of the province, with the title of king (W): but he, growing weary of the yoke, and having taken up arms against the emperor, *Anno* 1679, his family was ruined; and, he dying soon after of old age, his army soon dispersed itself, and his kingdom, and stately palaces, as well as his court, fell into ruin and desolation^b.

Traffic.

Satin manu-
facture.

THE metropolis hath not fared much better; though it is still the residence of the *Tsong-tu*, or governor-general of the provinces of *Tun-nan* and *Quey-chew*, as well as of the viceroy of the province. Its traffick is chiefly of metal, which is greater here than in any other part of the empire; and its principal manufacture a particular sort of satin, made of twisted silk, without flower or gloss, and dyed of all colours like the common sort, but which are neither bright nor lively. They likewise make here a sort of carpets of the same kind of twisted silk, b The inhabitants, who are here a stout, courageous, and active people, and given both to agriculture and arms, have a breed of horses, which though small, are strong and fleet, and which they ride with only a carpet instead of a saddle under them. *Tun-nan* hath in its district four cities of the second, and seven of the third rank.

XV. The province of Quey chew.

XV. Quey-
chew.

QUEY-CHEW, one of the smallest provinces of the empire, hath *Quang si* on the south; *Hu-quang* on the east; *Se-chwen* on the north; and *Tun-nan* on the west; and extends itself from 24° 40' to 29° of latitude, and from 7° to 12° 30' of west longitude from *Pe-king*.

Fast groups of
mountains.

The whole country is naturally barren, on account of its vast, rugged, and inaccessible mountains, which are here in such great quantities, that it looks as if the whole body of them had made it their rendezvous. The late civil wars have rendered it still more disagreeable and uncultivated, and so thinly peopled, that the emperors have been obliged to send colonies thither from other provinces, and sometimes disgraced governors, with their whole families (X).

Wild sort of
inhabitants.

As for the natives of the province, they bear an exact resemblance to the country, and are a rude, barbarous, and lawless people, who live in constant defiance with the *Chinese* government, make war or peace with it as best suits their interest or humour, and often harraiss and ravage them in their settlements: for this reason they are obliged to have here a vast number of military cities, fortresses, castles, &c. all strongly garrisoned, to keep them in awe; for, this province being the direct and only road to that of *Tun nan*, there is a necessity to keep it open at any rate; and such a number of forces they keep here in pay for that end, that the tribute which is levied upon the country not being sufficient to maintain them, the court is obliged to make up the deficiency by new supplies every year.

Mines of gold,
&c.

THE mountains, however, are rich in mines of gold, silver, quicksilver, and copper, of part of the latter of which the small coin that is current in the empire is mostly made. The vallies between are some of them large, fertile, and well watered; and would yield much better crops, if duly cultivated. They carry on no manufacture of either silk or cotton here; but make themselves stuffs of a kind of vegetables, not unlike our hemp, which is a proper wear for summer.

Cattle.

The inhabitants breed vast herds of cows, hogs, &c. and the best horses in all *China*. The wild fowl is in the greatest plenty and variety, and of excellent taste. The only commerce between the *Chinese* and the natives consists in a frequent exchange which the latter are obliged to make of some of their gold-dust, cattle, wild fowl, &c. for a supply of salt, calicoes, and the like goods, which they want. Upon the whole, the province abounds with all sorts of provisions, and most of them very cheap. It is divided into ten districts of the first rank, under which are thirty-eight of the second and third, besides military cities, fortresses, &c. The capital cities (which, by the way, are vastly inferior in largeness, beauty, and wealth, for the reasons above-mentioned) are, 1. *Quey-yang*, the metropolis; 2. *Se-chew*; 3. *Se-nan*; 4. *Chin-ywen*; 5. *She-tsyen*; 6. *Tong-jin*; 7. *Ngan-chan*; 8. *Tu-yun*; 9. *Ping-ywen*; 10. *Wey-ning*^c.

Cities.

^b DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 122, & seq. Vide & MARTINI Atlas, LA MARTINIÈRE, & al. HALDE, ubi sup. p. 119, & seq. Vide & MARTINI Atlas, LA MARTINIÈRE, & al.

^c DU

(W) This prince's name, *Kao* tells us, was *Vu san-gui* (43), or, as *Du Halde* and his translator write it, *U-san-gbey* (44), who was the unfortunate person that called in the *Tartars* to suppress the rebels, and, by that unadvised step, proved the cause of the loss of the *Chinese* empire, as will be seen in the sequel.

(X) This province is much the same to the *Chinese* that *Siberia* is to the *Muscovites*; and those Mandarins and governors, who are sent thither with their families,

and sometimes for life, are only such as have been guilty of some state crimes. These *Chinese* colonies live in their strong walled towns and fortresses, under the protection of their governors and soldiery; whilst the natives, who inhabit their high and rugged mountains, avoid all commerce, except that of making some plundering excursions upon them. Great pains have been taken by the government to suppress them, but hitherto to little effect (45).

(43) *Apud Isbrandtsz Ides*, p. 142. Halde, & al.

(44) *Pag.* 123.

(45) *Martini, Kao, La Martiniere, Du*

QUEY-YANG-FU, metropolis of the whole, is one of the smallest and worst built in all *China*; its walls being scarcely three miles in compass, and the houses mostly of earth and brick. It stands in a pleasant and fertile plain, on a small river, but which bears no boats; whence the commerce of the town is inconsiderable. It is encompassed at a distance with very high and deep mountains (Y), which are inhabited by a people of different extract from the *Chinese*, whence they were called *Sina-ni*, or western barbarians, because they lay west of *China*; and, after their reduction, were with much difficulty brought to conform to the *Chinese* customs. We read of some few stately buildings within the city, which, though gone to decay, shew it to have been formerly in a more flourishing condition, or, as some say, a royal residence. But there stands, without the walls of it, a large temple, said to have been built by the *Tartar* family of *Xwen*, and allowed to be a magnificent edifice.

QUEY-YANG stands in latitude $26^{\circ} 30'$, and $9^{\circ} 52'$ west longitude, from *Pe-king*; and hath a jurisdiction over three cities of the second, and four of the third rank, besides a great number of forts, with which it is in a manner surrounded.

WE have now gone through the fifteen provinces within the walls, and the principal islands belonging to them; and shall now close the geography of this great empire with a short account of the province of *Lyau-tong*, which is situate without the walls, and on the frontiers of *Tartary*, but is, like the other fifteen above described, subject to the same government.

The province of Lyau-tong, or Quang-tong.

THIS province, which is now proved, on all hands, to be situate without the great *Chinese* wall (Z), which parts it from that of *Pe-cheli* on the south-west; is bounded, on the east, by the kingdom of *Korea*; on the north, by the mountains of *Yalow*, or *Tartary*; on the south, by the gulf of its own name; and on the west, by the country of the *Moguls*. It is but a small province, compared to those of *China* we have gone through; and extends itself only about 270 or 280 miles, where longest; but, in other parts, is much shorter. It reaches from 39° to almost 43° of latitude, and $2^{\circ} 30'$ to almost 9° east longitude, from *Pe-king*. It was reckoned, in *Dion Kao's* time, the sixteenth province in the *Chinese* empire, though seated without the wall^d; but hath since lost that dignity under the *Tartars*; and is now treated as a conquered province, for reasons we shall have occasion to hint at in the sequel.

THE land is fertile, and well cultivated, though mostly mountainous and uneven; and had formerly a great number of large cities and towns, which lie now in ruins, having been mostly destroyed during the wars with the *Tartars*, without ever being able to recover themselves since. On the contrary, we are told, that the *Tartars* have, instead of them, built a great number of military cities, fortresses, and castles, to prevent it, and to keep the *Lyau-tongers* under, who are a stout and warlike people, very numerous, and uneasy under the yoke (A). Some of these fortresses are indeed so large and populous, and have raised themselves to such a degree of splendor and opulence, as to be little inferior to some of those of the first and second order in *China*; and the inhabitants, soldiers as well as others, are grown very rich.

^d Vide *Kao*, ubi sup. p. 115, & 129, & seq. LE COMPTE, VERBIEST, MARTINI, & al.

^e Vide

(Y) Among them, those that follow are worth a curious reader's notice; 1. *Tong-cu*, or the copper kettle-drum, because it is observed to make some such kind of noise at particular seasons, especially before rain. 2. That of *Nung-huang*, which is so steep and strait, that few creatures can climb up to it. A third, called *Ven-pi*, which stands by itself, on the south side of the city, and is cut in the shape of an isosceles cone, which terminates in an acute point (46).

(Z) *Nieuhoff*, and, after him, *Martini*, were the first who placed this province within the walls. The first, in his map prefixed to his *Dutch Embassy*; and the latter in his *Atlas*. But that it was an oversight in them, plainly appears from what we have quoted above out of the *Chinese* geographer *D. Kao*, as well as from *Verbiest*, who travelled thither with the court, and *Le Compte*, and other more modern writers (47).

(A) *Dion. Kao*, lately quoted, tells us, that this province was the way through which the *Tartars*, now reigning in *China*, came into it (48): from which his translator, in his notes on him, concludes, on what

authority is not easy to guess, that, in gratitude to them for their assistance, and easy passage through it, they made it a new province of the *Chinese* empire, and endowed it with the same privileges with the other fifteen. Whereas by the severe treatment they have received from them, one would be apt to think they had rather opposed their entrance, and shewed too much fidelity to the *Chinese*.

And, indeed, that writer plainly tells us, that the *Tartars* made an irruption into *Lyau-tong*, where they met with a repulse from the *Chinese* emperor *Vang-ty*, or *Van-li* (49); by which it seems as if the *Chinese* were then masters of that province; for the getting it into their hands was one of the most effectual means to secure *China* from invasions from that part of *Tartary*; and either that, or some other *Chinese* monarch, might endow the *Lyau-tongians* with the privileges of his *Chinese* subjects, either as a reward for, or to secure, their fidelity to the *Chinese* government. we may offer some further conjectures on this head, when we come to their history, and their wars with the *Tartars*.

(46) *Kercher*, *Martini*, *Garden*, & al.

(47) Vide *Kao*, ubi sup. p. 115, & seq. *Le Compte*, *Bouvet*,

Gobien, & al.

(48) Vide *Kao*, ubi sup. p. 115, & 116, and notes.

(49) *Ibid.* p. 129.

and powerful in them, and drive a good commerce with the northern provinces of *China*, particularly with the capital one of *Pe-cheli*, whilst the *Lyau-tongers* are, for the most part, kept in a state of subjection and slavery under them.

Character of
the people.

Traffick and
buy and y.

Oppression.

Cities.

New capital.

Fortresses.

Fertility.

Root Jin-seng.

THEY are, however, a very stout, tall, and brave people; and their frequent wars with their neighbours, on all sides, have rendered them expert and warlike. But though they partake more of the temper of the *Tartars*, they are affirmed to be fonder of the *Chinese* government, religion, and customs: which, in some measure, confirms what we observed in the last note. They are much given to agriculture and traffick; by the former of which they have made such improvements on their lands, that they are become much more fertile than they naturally were; and those who live near the sea carry on a good commerce with *China*, *Korea*, and *Japan*, the chief part of which consists in furs of beavers, sables, and other wild beasts; and a much larger would they, in all probability, drive, if they were not kept so under by their masters. They do not seem, indeed, to have such a happy genius for arts and sciences as the *Chinese*; but the former flourishing condition of their country, though deprived of many singular advantages, of soil, climate, rivers, &c. which *China* enjoys, shews that they were at least equal to them in diligence and industry. So that if their noble ancient cities are now left to go into ruin, if their trade and manufactures languish, and their wealth is now passed into other hands, it can only be owing to the oppression they suffer under the present government, under which they appear to have groaned ever since the conquest of *China*, of which it was then the sixteenth province: for though one might have expected that the *Tartars*, after they were become masters of the whole *Chinese* empire, would have left this province to enjoy its antient privileges; yet, for some reason or other, probably those we hinted at in the last note, they thought fit to deprive it of them, and reduce it to the condition of a conquered or tributary one (B).

WE read but of two capital cities, or cities of the first rank, in Father *Martini's* time; the first of which was called *Leao-yung*, which name, he tells us, was given to it by the *Tartarian* family of *Kins*; and the other *King-ywen*, or *Ning-yuen*; neither of which have any thing worth farther notice, they being both gone into decay. Since then, Father *Fountainey*, a Jesuit, who came from *China* about the beginning of this century, as well as Father *Noel*, mentioned in the last note, make the city of *Chin-yang* to be the metropolis^f. From which, we may suppose the *Tartars* to have made some considerable alterations in the government of this province, since this last is likewise styled the metropolis of *Eastern Tartary*, and the residence of the four grand tribunals. Those of the second and third rank must still be more inconsiderable; but their fortresses of the first order are said to be as large, populous, and opulent, as some of the capitals of *China*. These are eleven in number, besides the metropolis above-mentioned. The same number there are of those of the second rank, and about seven or eight of the third; which last are more remarkable for their strength and garrisons, than for their largeness or opulence.

THE country produces plenty of corn, millet, and other grain; but very little rice, for want of such rivers and canals as the *Chinese* have. They abound with variety of wild fowl, and wild beasts, fruits, herbs, and roots, both culinary and medicinal. Among the last, the famed root, called *Jin-seng*, *Ging seng*, or *Jin-sen*, so much esteemed among the *Chinese* physicians, as an infallible medicine to restore decayed constitutions, and renew the vital heat, grows here in great plenty, and is reckoned of the best kind. The doctors give it in hectic, pestilential, and other desperate fevers, and dangerous diseases, but prepared, and mixed with other drugs (C). They esteem those roots which are large, bright, and weighty, as the best.

^f See Lettr. edifiant. vol. vii. p. 68, & 147.

(B) This seems fully confirmed, by a letter of Father *Noel*, a *Chinese* missionary, to the general of the Jesuits, anno 1703, concerning the then state of their mission; wherein he acquaints him, that they had not as yet made any settlement at *Lyau tong*; but that they had formed a project of making one at *Chin-yang*, capital both of that province and of all *Eastern Tartary*. That city, continues he, is very considerable, the emperor having established four sovereign tribunals, to judge, without appeal, of all matters relating to the *Tartars*: for *Lyau-tong*, says he, is now esteemed as a province of *Tartary*, and the *Lyau-tongers* are no longer looked upon as *Chinese*, but as native *Tartars* (50). Thus far the missionary, who might more truly have styled them subjects, or slaves, to the *Tartars*, since their condition is no better, whilst the *Chinese*, more favoured than

they, enjoy the same advantages and privileges, some few points excepted, which they did under their own monarchs, and scarcely feel the weight of a foreign yoke; as will be more fully seen in the sequel.

(C) The dose of it, such is its extraordinary virtue, is no more than two or three grains, minced, or pounded small, and boiled in chicken-broth, or, if that fail, in fair water; but care must be taken that the pot be well covered, else its virtue will evaporate.

According to Father *Le Compte's* description of this excellent root, which he highly commends, they have hardly any in *China*, but what comes from this province. The *Gin-sen*, says he, which is at present used, is brought to us from *Lyau-tong*, a province separate from *China*, and situate in *East Tartary*. Which words we chiefly quote here, because it confirms what we have

a best. They wrap them up in paper, and keep them in dry earth, and some also in pepper, for use ^z.

THIS province hath a considerable share of mountains, some of which produce timber for building, others metals and minerals. Those that are worthy of notice, are, the great ridge, called *Eang-pee*, one end of which lies close to the place where the *Chinese* wall begins, and extends itself quite into *Tartary*. It is of a great height, and hath a lake about eighty furlongs in circuit, and of a prodigious depth, out of which spring the two famed rivers *Yalo*, which runs into *Tartary* and *Quong-tong*, which, after a course northward, of some length, winds eastward, and falls into the *Yau*; which last empties itself into the yellow sea. The other mountain worth mentioning, is that called *Ou*, or *Xu*, which forms an island on the gulph of *Lyau-tong*, on which is built the fortrefs of *Xan-gbay*. There are several other islands on the same gulph, over-against the cities of *Kay-chew*, *King-chew*, and *Ning-ywen*, so conveniently situate, that they form a good safe road for ships ^b.

AND thus much may suffice for the description of this province, and of the *Chinese* empire. As to what relates to the history of the *Lyau-tongers*, it chiefly consisting of their wars with the *Tartars* and *Chinese*, we shall refer our readers to what we have already said on that head, in the history of the former ^{*}, and to what we may have farther to add in that of the latter [†], we are now upon; by which we shall avoid swelling this work, as much as possible, with needless repetitions.

^z See Lettr. edifiant. vol. x. p. 172, & seq. KAO, ubi sup. p. 133. LE COMPTE, ubi sup. letter 8. p. 230, & seq. & al. sup. citat. ^b Id. vid. & MARTINI, Atlas Sinens. LA MARTINIERE, & al. sup. citat. ^{*} See before, vol. ii. p. 274, 289, & seq. [†] See the last section of this chapter.

said a little higher, of its being situate without the great wall, and of its being calhiered from being a *Chinese* province. The same author adds, with respect to this famed root, that it ought not to be cut with a knife, because iron diminishes its virtue; but advises rather to bite it in pieces with one's teeth (41).

(41) *Le Compte, lett. 1. p. 15. Engl. edit.*

S E C T. II.

Of the antient religion, and new sects, among the Chinese.

c WE have already given an account of the antient religion of the *Chinese*, in a former part of this work ⁱ, out of their canonical books; from which it appears to have been so like that of the antient patriarchs, that many learned men have looked upon it as a pregnant proof (among many others they have alleged to support their hypothesis), that *Noah*, or some of his near descendants, did at first people this country ^k. But as that point did not appear to us to have been sufficiently cleared, we contented ourselves with a bare recapitulation of all the arguments which had been, or might be, objected against it ^l; not so much indeed from any dislike we had to it, or its learned authors, as in hopes that we should excite thereby some of our judicious correspondents, whom we knew to be well versed in that curious controversy, to communicate their thoughts, or what farther discoveries they had made in it, to us. It was not long, accordingly, before we had the pleasure of seeing our expectations fully answered, from a certain quarter, and the system above-mentioned handed to us in a quite new light, all the material objections against it fairly answered, all its difficulties removed, and a new sett of proofs in favour of it, added, which we flatter ourselves will, with every impartial reader, give it the appearance of something more than a probable hypothesis. But as the chief evidence depends on one certain fact relating to their chronology, and confirmed by our own *Hebrew* one, and all the collateral ones are founded upon inferences fairly deducible from several articles of their religion, laws, customs, &c. we shall postpone the farther particulars to one of the last sections of this chapter, which relates to the *Chinese* chronology; by which time the reader, having run over, and got all these several points fresh in his memory, will be the better able to judge of the validity and merit of the whole. This, we hope, cannot but be acceptable to him, as the subject is no less important than curious, and, as we may venture to say, will be treated there in a manner suitable to its dignity, and such as will strike a variety of new lights upon the origin and foundation of that antient nation and monarchy. In the mean time,

WITH respect to their antient religion, as deducible from their canonical books, the topic we are now upon, we cannot but observe, once for all, that the later date we allow to the latter, the longer will the *Chinese* appear to have preserved the former in its primitive purity,

ⁱ See Introduction. p. 499, & seq. ^k Vide int. al. HOWEL, essay on the primitive language, & auct. ab eo citat. SHUCKFORD, connect. oct. vol. i. book 2. ^l Introduction. p. 491, & seq.

and untainted from the idolatries, superstitions, and false notions of the Deity, which did so early spread themselves over the face of almost the whole earth, and, at length, over a great part too of their own country: for, if we may believe a late writer of *Chinese* affairs^m, this idolatry was brought to them from some neighbouring part of the *Indies*; and though it is supposed to have begun so early as 300 years after *Belus*, yet it doth not appear to have taken footing in *China* till about 1200 years afterⁿ; to which we may add, that it neither was universally received, and made the religion of the country; nor did it presently sink here into that low degree of superstition, folly, and impiety, as we find it to have done among other polite nations, such as the *Assyrians*, *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, *Canaanites*, &c. They neither deified their monarchs, and other great men, nor introduced any of those impious and unnatural rites into their idolatrous worship, as were practised by other nations; and when a bold attempt was once made for introducing the worship of demons and evil spirits, it was presently after suppressed, the whole race of those pretended enchanters destroyed, and religion restored to its antient state^o, so great was the care of the government to prevent any innovation that may prove prejudicial to it (D); and to that is owing, that the antient *Chinese* doctrine continues still to this day to be the prevailing sect among the learned.

The antient doctrine preserved.

Idolatry most in vogue.

Philosophers forced to comply with it.

THERE are, however, two others, which may be reckoned among the principal sects; namely, that of the idolaters, mentioned a little higher, as brought hither from *India*, about thirty-two years after the crucifixion of Christ, and is called the sect of *Fo*, or *Foe*, which is the deity they worship, and is pretty ripe, and universally received, among the common people, whose fondness for all kinds of superstitions and idolatrous shew hath risen to such a height, that the whole body of philosophers have been carried away with the torrent, and, though against their conscience, have been forced to join with it, to prevent the effects of their fury.

THIS therefore may be looked upon as the most prevailing sect among the bulk of the nation, though not as the established religion of the country, and to owe its settlement rather to the excessive power and ascendant of an unruly populace, than to the consent or approbation of either the philosophers, or of the Mandarins, that compose the tribunal of rites.

THE third sect is, that of the disciples of *Lau-kyun*, which is nothing but a mixture of the most extravagant and impious opinions. The reader may see a sketch of them in the following note (E), whilst we give them here a fuller account of the doctrines and rites of the other two.

THE

^m DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 639. & 647. Engl. edit. Introduction, p. 500.

ⁿ See his translator's notes, p. 647.

^o See

(D) This, we are told by *Du Halde*, was chiefly owing to the vigilance of a supreme tribunal established among them, almost from the foundation of that empire, and styled the *tribunal of rites*, which has power to suppress and condemn any superstition that may be introduced. This court hath proved a main support to the antient *Chinese* religion, even to this very time, inasmuch, that tho' the Mandarins, who compose it, are sometimes observed to practise certain superstitions in private, yet, when assembled in a body to deliberate about them, they openly condemn them (42).

(E) This sect, which is called *Tau-tse*, had its rise from *Lau-kyun*, above-mentioned, of whom his disciples have recorded many monstrous extravagancies; such as his laying fourscore years in his mother's womb, and breaking his way out through her left side. His books are all extant, but are supposed to have been altered by his followers, and abound with noble maxims to conduct men to real happiness; such as, the love of virtue, contempt of riches, and raising the soul to a sense of its own self-sufficiency. He taught, that the Deity was altogether corporeal; and yet, as if he had dived into some of the deepest mysteries of it, he is reported, among many other memorable ones, to have often repeated this, *That the ray, or law of reason, had produced one, one had produced two, two had produced three, and three had produced all things*. His morality, like that of *Epicurus*, consists in quelling the passions, in establishing the soul's tranquility, and freeing it from anxiety and cares, as enemies to life; and, in order to exempt it from that unavoidable fear of death, they pretend he found out an elixir which makes them immortal.

They are commonly great alchemists, and pretenders to the philosophers-stone, as likewise to a familiar intercourse with demons, by whose assistance they can perform wonders; and do actually, our author says (43), deceive the people with such prodigies, as can be ascribed to nothing but to the power of those evil spirits.

By those juggling tricks, but especially by their pretence of rendering men immortal, they have not only got Mandarins, and other persons of distinction, especially women, to learn this pretended magic under them, but likewise several of their monarchs became their disciples and protectors: so that stately temples were erected, and a worship paid, to those demons, through most parts of the empire. The successors of the head of this sect are all honoured with the title of Great Mandarins, and reside in a town of the province of *Kyang-si*; where they have a magnificent palace, to which crowds of people resort, from all the neighbouring provinces, either to procure remedies, or to have their fortunes told; and, for the money they readily pay to those jugglers, they receive a billet, filled with magical characters, which is to answer all their ends.

Among those monarchs who were carried away by their delusions, *Chin-tsung*, the third of the dynasty of *Sung*, was infatuated enough to go on foot, to fetch a book of theirs, which they had hung, in the night, on one of the principal gates of his metropolis, and pretended to have dropped from heaven; and to carry it, with the greatest veneration, to his own palace; where he inclosed it in a golden box, and kept it with the utmost care. The book was filled with nothing but magical characters, and sentences for invoking demons, the number of which they multiplied at plea-

(42) See *Du Halde*, Engl. edit. vol. i. p. 647.

(43) *Ibid.* ubi sup. p. 648, & seq.

- a THE first, and principal one, which follows the *Chinese* canonical books, we have already spoken of, in the Introduction ^p; and all that needs be added to it here is, the improvements which it received from the writings of their truly excellent philosopher *Kong-fu-tse*, or, as he is vulgarly called, *Confucius*: for as for those canonical books, which are styled of the second rank, they are no more than comments on the five ones of the first, and since written by some of their learned men, at various times, and so need no farther mention here; especially, as *Confucius*, above-mentioned, hath extracted the very quintessence out of them into his own writings; which have been held in such great veneration ever since, that the least alteration made in them would be punished as a great crime, and a quotation out of them never fails of ending any controversy amongst their learned men, and to stop the mouth of
- b the most obstinate wrangler.

THIS truly great man, a scantling of whose life and writings we shall give, in the following note (F), seemed designed by heaven to reform; both by his doctrines and practice, the corruptions

^p See Introduction, p. 449, & seq.

sure, and worshipped as deities; insomuch, that one of the great *Chinese* doctors attributes the extirpation of that dynasty to the impieties which these sorcerers had introduced under it, and which, like a plague, had infected the whole empire. The victims they offer to those infernal spirits are of three kinds; *viz.* a hog, a fowl, and a fish; and, in their invocation of them, they use very surprising postures, make hideous outcries with their throats and noses, with their drums and kettles: pretend to shew strange sights in the air, and many other such impostures, to intimidate and amuse the people: so that the fascination spreads itself from those of the highest to those of the lowest rank. Such of our readers as want to know more of this pretended magical and diabolical sect, may consult the author last quoted.

(F) *Confucius* was, as has been already observed (44), born in the province of *Shan-tong*, but then called the kingdom of *Lu*, in the twenty-first year of the reign of *Ling wang*, the twenty-third emperor of the race of *Chew*; that is, according to some, 300, according to others, 500, but, according to *Du Halde*, 551 years, before Christ, and two before the death of *Tales*, one of the seven wise men of *Greece*: so that, according to this last, he must have been cotemporary with *Pythagoras* and *Solon*, and somewhat earlier than *Socrates*. He was but three years old when his father *Sho-lyang-he* died, in the seventy-third year of his age, who, though he had enjoyed the greatest offices in the kingdom of *Song*, yet left him no other inheritance, than the honour of being descended from *Ti he*, the twenty-seventh emperor of the race of *Shang*, and, by his mother *Shing*, from the illustrious family of *Yen*.

He shewed from his tender years, great tokens of sagacity and virtue; and, about his fifteenth year, gave himself up to the study of the antient books.

He married at nineteen, and had a son named *Pe-hu*, and by him a grandson named *Tsu-tse*, who, by his extraordinary merit and learning, raised himself to the highest posts in the empire. As for himself, he was soon taken notice of, for his admirable qualities, learning, and virtues, especially those of humility, sincerity, temperance, disinterestedness, contempt of riches, &c.; and though every state in the empire, as well as his own, was over-run with the opposite vices, yet was he soon raised to several places of eminence in the magistracy, which he accepted chiefly as means of promoting his intended reformation, both in religion and in the state, maugre all the opposition he expected, and did actually find, from the grandees of his own, as well as of other provinces. But, as soon as he found that his endeavours did not meet with deserved success, he threw up all his employments, though very considerable, to go in search of some more tractable people, who would reap a greater benefit from his excellent doctrine.

In the fifty fifth year of his age, he was again invited, and raised to some of the highest posts in his own kingdom of *Lu*; where the prince then reigning paid such regard to his virtues, and salutary counsels, that,

in less than three months, not only his court, but his whole dominion, were totally changed for the better; insomuch, that the neighbouring princes were alarmed at the sudden reformation; rightly judging, that the king of *Lu* would soon become too powerful for them, if he continued to follow his new counsellor's rules.

The king of *Tsi*, in particular, after many consultations with his grandees, bethought himself of an expedient, the most likely to defeat all *Confucius*'s measures: and, accordingly, under the fair pretence of an embassy, sent him, and his nobles, a present of a great number of beautiful young girls, who had, from their infancy, been brought up to dancing, singing, and all other captivating arts. These were not only received with open arms, both by the king and court, but entertained with such frequent feasting and diversions, that they presently abandoned the business of state, to give themselves up to pleasure. The king himself became inaccessible to his most zealous ministers. Among the rest, *Confucius* having tried, in vain, all possible means to recall him, divested himself of all his offices, left the court and kingdom, to go in quest of more docile minds to follow his maxims; but, to his great mortification, found his doctrine and morals dreaded, in every kingdom through which he passed. So that, by that time he was come to that of *Shing*, he found himself reduced to the greatest indigence; yet without losing any thing of his greatness of soul, and usual constancy.

This obliged him to resume his former functions of a private sage, in which he met with better success. His learning and merit, and, above all, his great modesty and condescension, gained him a vast number of disciples (some say 3000, 500 of whom did, in time, raise themselves to the highest posts, in several kingdoms); and all of them continued firmly attached to his person and doctrine. These he divided into four classes; the first of which was, to make virtue their chief study and practice; the second was, to learn to reason and write closely, justly, and elegantly; the third was, to study the art of government, and to instruct the Mandarins and great ministers in their respective duties; while the last was to learn to write, in a concise and elegant style, the principles of morality. In all these classes, he had some very eminent ones; but one especially in the first, whose premature death caused his master to shed abundance of tears.

As his practice still kept constant pace with his excellent philosophy, princes sometimes invited him to their court, that they might reap the benefit of his instructions; and shewed the greatest regard to his learning and merit. At other times, upon the death of one of them, by whom he had been highly honoured, he has seen himself become the contempt of the court, and the ridicule of an insulting populace; yet, under those extremes, he never shewed the least change in his looks, or behaviour, but preserved still the same steadiness and tranquility. His reliance on the divine providence was still more remarkable, insomuch, that he hath beheld, without the least fear or emotion, an of-

(A) See page 544 of this volume.

Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 415, & seq.

corruptions which had been a long while predominant, both in religion and in the state, and a was endowed with all the proper qualities for such a noble work. We are told, that he condemned the idolatry, which was then become very rife, in *China*: if so, it is a wonder that his disciples should afterwards rear statues, altars, and temples, to him. However, it plainly appears, that his main design was not so much to intermeddle with the outward, as the inward and essential, part of religion, the reformation of the hearts and lives of his countrymen; all his studies, lectures, writings, precepts, and practice, were chiefly tending that way; and in this, notwithstanding the great opposition which he met with from the vicious *Opposed by the* Mandarins and *grandeers.* *grandeers* of every court (for tho' each province was under the emperor, yet those petty kings that governed in them were, in some measure, despotic, and frequently became formidable to the imperial throne, and were not only very debauched themselves, but suffered their ministers to be so too; and this was the real state of the empire, at the time that *Confucius* was striving, with all his might and sagacity, to introduce his intended reformation); yet in this, we say, notwithstanding all their opposition, he had the pleasure to see his excellent morality at least universally admired: and deservedly so, not only for the beauty and nobleness of his precepts and maxims, but much more for the judicious way he took to inculcate them, and to make virtue appear lovely and desirable to all his disciples and readers. b

His sublime doctrines.

Noble notions of the Deity.

His philosophy, though sublime, was quite free from those subtle and intricate questions and inquiries, with which that of the best *Greek* philosophers was mostly clogged; and *Confucius*, instead of diving into those physical and abstruse notions about the nature and attributes of the supreme being, the origin of the world, of evil, and other such speculative points, too high for unassisted reason; or of dogmatizing about the nature of rewards and punishments of virtue and vice, confined himself to speak with the deepest regard of the great Author of all beings, whom he represents as the most pure and perfect essence, principle, and fountain, of all things, to inspire men with greater fear, veneration, gratitude, and love, of him; to assert his divine providence over all his creatures; and to represent him as a being of such infinite knowledge, that even our most secret thoughts are not to be hidden from him, and of such boundless goodness and justice, that he can let no virtue go unrewarded, or vice unpunished. He had likewise a most masterly hand at painting the one in its most lovely, and the other in its most deterring, colours; and to enforce the practice of the one, and abhorrence of the other, by the most powerful arguments, worthiest motives, and, in the best of methods, his own extraordinary example, which may be justly styled a pattern of moral virtues. And though it must be owned, that neither the one nor the other had the good c d

ficer of the army, named *Whan-ti*, by whom he was hated, come full-drive at him, with his sword drawn, and hath given this answer to some friends, who advised him to haste away from the danger, *If Tyen protects us, of which we have now a sensible proof, what harm can the rage of Whan-ti do to us, though he is president of the tribunal of the army?*

Confucius lived to finish his philosophical and historical works, and died in the kingdom of *Lu*, his native country, in the seventy-third year of his age, greatly lamented, both by the king and court, and much more by his disciples, who had the highest veneration for him.

A little before his last sickness, he told them, with abundance of tears, *That the disorders which reigned in the empire had well-nigh broke his heart*; and began, from that time, to languish till the seventh day before his death, when he told them again, in the same melancholy tone, *Since kings refuse to follow my maxims, I am now no longer useful upon earth, and it is necessary that I should leave it*. He fell immediately, after those words, into a lethargy, which lasted seven days, at the end of which he expired, in the arms of some of his disciples. They built him a handsome sepulchre, on the river *Su*, near the city of *Kyo-few*, on the same spot where he used to assemble them. It hath been since inclosed with a wall, and now looks like a small city; and the veneration which all good men had for him increasing with time, he came, at length, to be respected as the chief doctor of the empire.

He was tall, and well proportioned, his breast and shoulders were broad, his eyes large, complexion olive, nose flat, and beard long, and his voice strong and piercing. His works, which are esteemed a perfect rule of government, and contain all that he had collected out of the antient laws, are as follow: 1. His

Tay-hyo; that is, *The grand Science, or School of Adults*. 2. *The Chong-yong, or Immutible Medium*. 3. That called *Lun-yu, or Moral and pithy Discourses*. 4. *Meng-tse, or The Book of Mencius*; so called from one of his disciples, who is supposed to have compiled, or finished it from his master's writings, and contains a perfect rule of government. These four are held in the greatest esteem, and are the chief ones among the canonical books of the second rank; to which they add two more, as the next, if not equal, to them in authority; viz. *The Hyau-king*, which treats of filial respect, and contains the answers which *Confucius* made to his disciple *Tseng*, concerning the reverence due from children to parents. 6. *The Syau-hyo, or The School or Science of Children*; which is a collection of sentences and examples, extracted from antient and modern authors. It would carry us beyond our bounds, to enter into a farther detail of those books. Those that are curious to know more of them, may consult the *Latin* version which Father *Noel*, one of the antient missionaries into *China*, hath given of them, printed at *Prague*, anno 1711, or the extract which Father *Du Halde* hath made of it, and printed in his description of the *Chinese* empire (44). One thing we cannot forbear observing here, concerning those books, that, though the four first contain the most sublime doctrines of morality, and are universally held to be of the greatest authority, next to the canonical ones of the first rank, of which we have formerly spoken, yet they have had but few followers among the degenerate *Chinese*; whereas the two last, which treat of the duty of children to parents, are so universally observed throughout the empire, that one may venture to affirm, there is not a country in the world where parents are more respected, both during their life, and after their death; as we shall more fully shew in the sequel.

a effects they deserved, and that he hath had but few followers, except among his most celebrated disciples, who have made it their glory to copy after him, yet his writings, as well as his sect, have been always, and are still, held in the highest esteem^a. So that it shows, at least, some kind of merit in the *Chinese*, that they can still profess so universal admiration for him and his doctrine, though so few of them care to practise it.

THE other principal sect, and indeed the most predominant of all, is that of *Fo*, *Foe*, or *Sect of Fo*, *Fwi*, whom some writers have confounded with the *Fo-bi*, who was the founder of this monarchy, though it is plain that this worship was not brought hither from *India* till sixty-five years after the birth of Christ, as was lately hinted^b. The occasion of its being introduced into *China*, where it made such swift and rapid progress, was a dream which the emperor *Meng-ti*, of the dynasty of *Han*, had about that time, which put him in mind of a sentence which had been often in the mouth of *Confucius*, that the *Holy one was to be found in the west*. Upon which he immediately sent ambassadors in search of him, and with express orders not to return without bringing a full account of him and his religion. But they, whether discouraged at, or tired with, the length and difficulty of the journey, proceeded no farther than *India*; where having met with the worshippers of the idol *Fo*, or *Foe* (*G*), they brought it with them, and, with it, the doctrine of transmigration, and other fables, superstitions, and atheistical notions, with which the *Indian* books are filled: all which were greedily received at court; from which the contagion quickly spread itself through other provinces, and in a little time through the whole empire, which was already but too much infected with the magical impieties of the sect of *Lau-kyun*, mentioned in a late note^c.

FROM that time this chimerical god met every-where with worshippers; the greatest number of idols, altars, and temples or pagods, were reared to him; some of them magnificent to the highest degree, whilst the Bonzas, who became his priests, filled the country with large volumes of his pretended miracles and prodigies, which they also represent in printed figures, after their manner; insomuch, that he is now celebrated by his followers as the saviour of

^a See what has been said under the last note. See also NOEL's Latin version of Confucius's Ethics. LA COMPTE, COUPLET, DU HALDE, & al. * See p. 558 of this volume. ^c Vid. MARTINI hist. Sinic. LE COMPTE state of China, part 2. letter 2. DU HALDE, & al.

(G) It is not easy to guess in what part of *India* this monster appeared, or whether he was man or devil; if half of what his disciples have reported of him were true, he could be no other than a devil incarnate. We shall give our readers a few particulars, by which they may judge what credit is to be given to the rest of what those *Indian* wonder-mongers relate of him.

His father, whose name was *In-sang-wan*, was, they say, king of an *Indian* territory, called by the *Chinese* *Shun-tyen sho*; his mother, named *Meye*, the most of the time of her pregnancy, dreamt that she had swallowed a white elephant, or, as others will have it, that she conceived by that animal, or by the devil in his shape; and hence arose that veneration paid by the *Indian* kings to the white elephant. However, she was delivered of him thro' her right side, and died soon after. They add, that he stood upon his feet as soon as he was got out of her womb, and walked seven steps, pointing with one hand to heaven, and with the other to the earth; and then pronounced the following words distinctly: *There is none either in the heaven, or in the earth, who ought to be adored, but I alone*.

At the age of seventeen he married three wives; and at nineteen forsook them, to retire into a solitary place, under the guidance of four sages; and, at thirty, he was transformed on a sudden into a god; from which time he minded nothing but the propagating his doctrine, and how to make himself adored by the vast number of miracles which he wrought, and with the account of which his Bonzian priests have filled several large volumes. There were no less than 80,000 of his disciples employed in dispersing his impious tenets throughout the east, and, amongst them, ten of a more distinguished rank and dignity, who published 5000 volumes in honour of their master. The *Chinese* call his followers, or priests, *Song* and *Ho-shang*; the *Tartars*, *Lamas* or *La-ma-seng*; the *Siamese*, *Talapouts*; and the *Japanese*, and, from them, the *Europeans*, *Bonzas* or *Bonzes*.

This strange god, however, found himself mortal, and died in the seventy-ninth year of his age, or, as his disciples believe, passed into the state of immortality; and, to crown all his impieties, finding his death approaching, expressed himself to the following purpose to his disciples: *I have hitherto concealed the truth, and spoke to you these forty years in parables and enigmas; but now I am going to leave you, I will reveal to you the whole mystery of my doctrine: Learn, then, that there is no other principle of all things but emptiness and nothing; from nothing all things proceeded, and into nothing will they all return; and this is the end of all our hope* (45).

These last words caused a kind of schism among the Bonzas; some of whom became the heads of an atheistical sect, which hath continued ever since; whilst the much greater number adhered to his former doctrine, endeavouring to palliate this last by a subtle distinction of exterior and interior doctrine, which is merely evasive, and means nothing; and to propagate his worship by the most impious cheats and fables, particularly by pretending that he had been born 8000 times, and transmigrated into the bodies of a great variety of animals before he was deified, in whose forms he hath been since worshipped by his infatuated followers. The next note will give an account of the villainous methods which those Bonzas take to delude them.

As for those Bonzas who fell in with *Fo*'s last atheistical doctrine of all things being produced out of nothing, &c. tho' they and their disciples are fewer in number, in comparison of the opposite sect, they have likewise endeavoured to refine upon their master, by introducing a great variety of subtle notions, on the hypothesis of a vacuum, which they suppose pregnant of, and producing, all things, and then swallowing them up again into their primitive nothing; but these are ever exposed, not only by the other Bonzas, but likewise by the Literati, a still more modern sect, of which we shall speak by-and-by (46).

(45) Du Halde, ubi supra, p. 630. Le Compte, ubi sup. Martini, & al.

(46) *Ibid. ibid.*

The emperor's
religion and
worship.

the world, great law-giver of mankind, sent by heaven to teach them the way of salvation, and even, according to *Le Compte*, to make atonement for the sins of all men. The emperor, who is a *Tartar*, follows the idolatry of his own nation, which differs little from the *Chinese*, excepting that the Lamas, or *Tartar* priests, worship their deity, which *Le Compte* tells us is the same with the *Chinese Fo*, under the shape of a young man, who, they pretend, never dies. He is kept in a stately temple, attended with numberless Lamas, who serve him with the greatest veneration; and, when he dies, they chuse another from among themselves, as much like him as they can in stature, features, &c. to pass on the people for him: whereas the Bonzas, or *Chinese* priests of *Fo*, worship him in several forms, such as those of a dragon, ape, elephant, &c. through which they pretend him to have transmigrated before he was deified. The Lamas that are in *China*, only serve the *Tartar* nobility there as chaplains, whilst the Bonzas engross his worship to themselves in all the *Chinese* temples, and make a vast gain of it by the vilest and most impudent impostures on the people. The emperor, to outward appearance, pays an equal respect to both, but despises their legends and superstitions in his heart; and, if we may believe the Jesuits accounts, worships only the Supreme Lord of heaven and earth. They own, however, that he paid the same honours to *Confucius*, and offers the same sacrifices in the heathen temples, that the rest of the *Chinese* did; but this, they tell us, he only submitted to for reasons of state; which, they add, was the main obstacle to his declaring himself a Christian, though they pretend to believe him to have been one in his heart.

Whether a
Christian in
his heart.

WE shall have occasion to examine this matter more closely when we come to that great monarch's reign. In the mean time we shall only observe here, that such a supposition is quite inconsistent with a declaration, which, they tell us, he once made to them: That, if he could be satisfied once of the truth of their religion, he would not delay one moment to embrace it; though he was sensible, that, if ever he declared himself a Christian, the whole empire would do the same in a few years. For, if he had been really a Christian in his heart, what could divert, much less deter, him from professing it, when he knew that his whole empire would so soon follow his example? Father *Le Compte*, therefore, seems to us to have more rightly judged, that it was partly the fear of disobliging his subjects, and partly the gratification of his predominant passion, which he knew was opposite to the spirit of Christianity, that were the main obstacles to his embracing a religion, which, how much soever he might admire it, was neither suitable to his present circumstances, nor to the superstitious temper of his subjects, much less to the taste and interest of the whole juggling and rapacious bonzaic tribe, who might easily cause an universal revolt in the empire.

Countenances
the Bonzas.

Their sad character.

AND this was, doubtless, the motive which made him not only outwardly comply with their rites, but express such an extraordinary regard for their persons, as to suffer some of those of the first rank to live in his palace, whom his mother had formerly settled there. Though he could not but be sensible that the greatest part of that fraternity were the vilest cheats and villains in his whole empire, as well as the most impudent tyrants on his bigotted subjects, if those of another society have not painted them in worse colours than they deserve. The reader may see a sketch of some of their most flagrant impostures in the next note (H); and

* Ubi supra.

† Vide auct. supra citat.

(H) They make the greatest shew of sanctity, abstinence, mortification, &c. by which they pretend to atone for the sins of the living and the dead; but, in truth, are given to the most scandalous vices, even those of the most unnatural kind. They will drag heavy chains, fastened to their arms and legs in such manner, that they wound every step they go. They beat their heads against the stones and posts, till they fetch blood, to extort alms from the people: some, we are told, have got themselves carried about in a kind of sedan, with nails drove on every side with the points towards them, so that they could not stir without wounding themselves; and these nails they sold to the gazing populace for a few pence, as amulets, and preservatives against all harms, and as efficacious means of bringing down blessings upon the buyer and his family. These jugglers at the same time declare, that the money thus given to them is not to be applied to their own private use, but to build temples, altars, &c. to *Fo*, who will not fail of proportioning his favours to them, according to their munificence to him.

The doctrine of the transmigration of the soul is another never-failing source of gain: they pretending to know precisely the present state of the dead, and the future one of the living, that is, into what kind of bodies the former are transmigrated, and even to know

the very identical creature or person into which they are past; and into what kind of one the living will shortly go. In the first case, which they seldom fail of representing to the surviving friends as either dreadful, miserable, or uncomfortable, they extort money from them to procure the deceased a speedy release, and passage into a better state, as out of a dog, snake, or insect, into an elephant, a philosopher, Mandarin, and the like. In the other, by threatening the living with an unhappy transmigration, they either get money of them to procure them a happier one, or leave them to live in dread of the fatal change.

Le Compte tells us a story of an old man, whom these Bonzas had made to believe that his soul should, in her next migration, pass into the body of one of the emperor's post horses. They had likewise advised him to eat sparingly, and bear it patiently, that so they might the sooner send him into a better habitation. The poor man, unable to reconcile himself to such a change, could neither sleep day or night, through the dread of it; but grieved at such a rate, as would soon have ended his days. Happily for him, he learned that the souls of the Christians had a particular exemption from these kinds of metamorphoses; upon which he applied himself to one of our Jesuits, and earnestly begged of him, that he would make him a Christian; assuring him,

a and a greater detail of them in *Le Compte* or *Du Halde* above quoted^u, for which we have no room, in a work like this.

As to their principles, they pretend that their god *Fo* hath left them ten commandments. The first of them is, not to kill any living creature, of what kind soever. 2. Not to take away another man's goods. 3. Not to indulge in acts of impurity. 4. Not to lye. 5. Not to drink wine. What the others are, we are not told; but they lay a great stress on acts of

mercy, charity, and in building of temples to *Fo*, monasteries for his priests, and providing for their maintenance, as the most effectual means to partake of the benefit of their prayers, mortifications, penances, and other meritorious actions, towards the atonement of their own sins, and obtaining a happy transmigration in another life. On the other hand, they threaten b no less those who with-hold their benefactions from them; telling them, that they will trans-migrate into the bodies of rats, horses, mules, and other such creatures; which last point seldom fails of making a deep impression on the credulous vulgar, insomuch that they often persuade them to burn paper gilt, or washed with silver, silk, cloth, and other garments, which, they tell them, will be turned into substantial gold and silver, clothes, &c. in the other world, for the use of their deceased parents, friends, and relations, or else be laid up for them against their coming thither: for, say they, you must not imagine that good and evil are as confused in the other world as they are in this; for there are rewards for the good, and punishments for the bad, according to every one's merit, or according as they have taken care, by their generous benefactions, to make sure of a title to those of their teachers^v.

c ONE thing they particularly recommend, viz. the often calling upon him for happiness and salvation. *Fo*, in one of his books, had mentioned another deity more antient than himself, called *O-mi-to*, since worshipped by the *Japaners* likewise, under the name of *A-mi-da*, who formerly had appeared in the kingdom of *Bengal*, and had raised himself to such height of power and merit by his great sanctity, that the bare invoking of him was sufficient to obtain the pardon of the most damnable crimes. Him the *Bonzas* have coupled with their *Fo*; whence the *Chinefe* of this sect have continually in their mouths the word *O-mi-to-fo*, which, their masters tell them, is sufficient to expiate for their blackest sins. All these pleasing notions to corrupt nature fail not to gain greatly on vulgar minds, and to inspire them with an uncommon generosity to their soothing teachers; whilst the wiser and better sort pity the former for their simplicity, and despise the latter for their extravagancies and impiety; being but too well convinced, that the greatest part of them are arrant cheats, and men of debauched lives, notwithstanding their sanctified looks, and specious pretences to mortification and holiness^v.

BESIDES the various representations under which they worship their god *Fo* in their temples, among which that of a dragon is esteemed the noblest, and next to it the elephant, they have a variety of others, which, whether they look upon as different deities, or different images of the same *Fo*, is not agreed. Two in particular they have in their pagods, commonly about twenty feet high, and pretty much in the same attitude; the one is called the god of immortality, and is represented in the form of a gross fat man, sitting cross-legged,

^u LE COMPTE, ubi supra.

^v LE COMPTE & DU HALDE, ubi supra.

^v LE COMPTE, part 2.

lett. 2 & DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 653, & seq.

him, that he would rather be of that, or any religion, than be turned into a post horse. The good father, who could not but pity his simplicity, took care to inspire him first with better motives of becoming a Christian, and then readily granted his request (47).

He relates another instance of the knavery of the *Bonzas*, to the following effect: A young prince of the blood, being inconsolable for the loss of one of his most amiable companions, applied himself to them, to know into what state his soul was passed. To which they answered, that he was now turned into a *Tartar* boy, whom, they told him, they could procure, for a sum of money, to be brought to him. The prince readily agreed; and a *Tartar* boy was accordingly presented to him, as the person into whose body the soul of his favourite was transmigrated; and he was accordingly received into favour as formerly, to the no small comfort and satisfaction of the prince, who failed not to give those jugglers some tokens of his generosity (48).

The same authors relate several other instances not only of the same unprecedented villainous kinds; but some of them of such an atrocious and barbarous nature, as can hardly be read without horror, or rather

perhaps without diffidence, though related by pretended eye-witnesses. Of this kind, we are told, is their privately seizing on men and women, and hurrying them away into a close sedan, where nothing is to be seen but the tops of their heads, and their eyes moving in a dreadful manner, to the next river or canal, and drowning them without mercy, before whole crouds of spectators, who are harangued by one of the fraternity into a firm belief that the persons had earnestly requested to be thus dispatched out of the world, in order to obtain immortality in the next. One can hardly think that those jugglers, bad as they may be, would dare attempt such atrocious enormities, in so polite and regular a government; and yet Father *Le Compte* assures us, that he saw an instance of it; and, by discovering the imposture, had saved a young man, whom they were violently dragging into a river, from becoming a victim to their inhuman knavery and impiety. But this may suffice to give our readers an idea of those religious cheats (49): those who desire to see more, or greater variety, of them, may consult the authors above quoted.

(47) *Du Halde*, *Le Compte*, part 2. lett. 2, *Martini*, & al.

(49) *Le Compte* & *Du Halde*, ubi sup.

(48) *Le Compte* & *Du Halde*, ubi sup.

Other representations.

Their chastisement when they do not answer their prayers.

One of them sued by his votary;

and condemned.

The sect of the Literati, whence sprung.

Supported by the emperor.

with a smiling or laughing countenance, and a monstrous prominent belly, quite bare; the other not quite so thick, and covered before with a thin drapery, and in the same sitting posture, whom they style the god of pleasure. Between these two is commonly placed a third, richly clad, with a rich crown on his head, and some ornamental drapery hanging loose from it. This last is called the great king *Kang*, and is thirty feet high, and richly gilt and carved. To these we may add an innumerable variety of others of all sizes and forms, which they set up in their houses, streets, ships, fields, burying-places, and such-like, to whom they burn incense, and other perfumes, and offer up their prayers, and other parts of the same worship which is performed to them in their temples. They are styled by their votaries their household deities, and are to be found among the poorest, as well as among the richest, and are often treated in the same contemptuous and vindictive manner as the *Portuguese* are said to use some of their favourite saints; that is, after having prayed to them a good while, and with some importunity, if they do not answer their petitions, they first upbraid them for their neglect and ingratitude, and then proceed to chastise them. This last is commonly done by bastonading, dragging them along the streets through dirt and mire, dunghills, &c.; which done, they throw them by, as useless, into some obscure corner of their houses: but, if they happen to obtain the effect of their prayers, they then fetch the poor idol out with great ceremony and respect, restore him to his place, with a promise to have him new painted or gilt. They then fall down and adore him; confess that they have been as much too hasty towards him as he hath been remiss and negligent towards them; beg of him to forget and forgive what is past, which cannot now be recalled; and that he will be more diligent and kind to them, and they will be more careful of their duty, and more lavish of their incense and perfumes to him².

An unwary reader might be naturally inclined to believe these to be fables, invented merely to expose some of the like kind of superstitions practised in a neighbouring church, were they not conveyed to us by some of her most eminent missionaries; one of which tells us a long, and still more surprising, story, which happened at *Nan-king* during his stay there; the substance of which is: That a man, who had lost his only daughter, notwithstanding his most fervent prayers, sacrifices, offerings, &c. to this god, and the promises of the Bonza that she would recover, resolved to sue the idol before a magistrate, either as a faithless or impotent, and therefore an unworthy or insignificant, deity. The cause was dragged from one tribunal to another; and the judges, bribed by the Bonzas, still advised him to drop his prosecution; whilst the priest endeavoured to persuade him, that, if he did, the god would make him ample amends for the loss of his child. The man, whether through grief or resentment, proved deaf to both; and, after several hearings, carried his point. The idol was condemned to perpetual banishment, as useless to the nation; the temple to be demolished; and the Bonzas that attended it to be severely chastised, though not degraded from officiating at some other pagoda³. These stories are not indeed so consonant with what these authors elsewhere tell us of the *Chinese* learning and politeness, and would induce one to believe them to be told by those reverend authors with a design to palliate the superstitions of their own church, by exaggerating those of the *Chinese*: but, whether so or not, it is allowed on all hands, that these extravagancies are despised and condemned by the wiser sort, and especially by the sect of the *Literati*, of whose rise and tenets we shall now give a short account, before we dismiss this article.

This sect, which is a very modern one in comparison of the rest, may be said to have sprung up from the dregs of those two last spoken of, *Lau-kyun* and *Fo*; by both which the whole country had been for a long series of ages immersed in all kinds of magical witcheries, superstitious idolatries, and the most universal depravity of manners; all which, together with the frequent wars and devastations which naturally flowed from so general a corruption, had driven the antient religion and learning in some measure out of the empire. There were but a small number of *Confucius*'s disciples left to keep it up, and these had neither credit nor courage enough to awaken the rest out of their lethargy. At length there started up a small number, about the years of Christ 1070 and 1200, who, by their writings and example, effectually stirred up many of the wiser sort to the love of learning; so that it began to flourish again by degrees, insomuch that, *anno* 1400, *Yong-lo*, the then reigning emperor, and a great encourager of it, made choice of eighty-two of the most learned doctors of the empire to compile a system, or body, of doctrines, agreeable to the sentiments of the antient writers, which might serve as a pattern or directory for the learned hereafter. The emperor's authority, and the reputation of those doctors; their concise and polite style, together with their high boasts of understanding the antient writings; soon gave a reputation, and gained a great number of disciples, to their sentiments.

² LE COMPTE & DU HALDE, ubi sup. Vid. & MARTIN. CARERI, NIEWHOFF, & al. COMPTE, ubi sup. part 2. lett. 2.

³ LE

^a BUT these doctors, instead of reforming the corruptions and errors of the *Chinese* religion, according to the antient books, and particularly to the writings of *Confucius*, rather strove, by forced interpretations, and false glosses, to distort their sense, agreeably to their own prejudices, and introduced a new kind of concealed atheism, and licentious freedom from the worship of God, at the same time that they spake of him in the same magnificent expressions which the antients had done. They acknowledged him to be the most pure and perfect essence, fountain, and origin of all beings; but represented him, at the same time, as nothing differing from nature, that is, from that power, energy, or natural virtue, which produced, and still keeps all things in the same constant order. They farther explained themselves to mean by it a kind of insensible soul of the world, which, they pretend, penetrates through matter, and, on it, produces all those effects and operations we see; so that, though they speak of God in the same manner as the antients did, yet they ascribe to this kind of natural power an energy, and all the perfections, which those attributed to the Godhead. These notions were, however, readily swallowed on all sides; one sort, and that by far the most numerous, admired them, because they tended to destroy all kinds of religion: and another liked them, because that little of religion they contained would cost them no pains or trouble to practise. Thus was this new sect of *Literati*, or learned, formed and propagated; and, being supported by the imperial authority, took such firm root at the court, that they began to persecute all other sects with great violence, and with a resolution of exterminating them, thro' the whole empire. They found, however, many obstacles to their design: for as, on the one hand, there was still a powerful body of learned men who protested against this upstart doctrine, and appealed to the true meaning of the antient books against it; so, on the other, the bulk of the people were too strongly biassed in favour of their idolatrous superstitions, to have suffered their temples, altars, &c. to be demolished, without making some strong and dangerous opposition against it; so that they were forced to content themselves with a bare condemning all other sects as heretical (which they still continue to do, it seems, every year at *Pe-king*) without taking any other measures to suppress them ^b.

^b BUT though this sect is become so powerful at court, and in such high esteem among the men of letters, courtiers, and great men, yet they do not care much to be thought to hold those atheistical notions which they are charged with by the rest; and, to clear themselves from it as much as possible, have clogged their systems with such subtle glosses, distinctions, such abstruse and unintelligible terms, that it is hard to guess whether they themselves really understood them, or any one else could make clear sense of them; at least, from the extract which *Du Halde* hath given us of it ^c, for which reason we shall say no more of it here.

^c FATHER *Le Compte* tells us, that even the emperor *Kang-bi*, who was at the head of that sect, and thoroughly versed in that sort of learning, told Father *Verbieft*, his mathematician, one day, that if they (the Christians) would call God by the same name that the *Chinese* did, the latter would be less averse to their religion. To which the good Father replied to this effect: *Your majesty doth indeed follow the old doctrine of China, which these new doctors have forsaken; should we therefore make use of their terms, would it not be thought that we believe as they do? but if your majesty will, by a proclamation, publicly declare, that the word Cham-ti (or rather Shang-ti) signifies the same in effect that the Christians understand by Tyen-tchu (I), we are ready to make use of the one as soon as of the other.* The emperor, our author adds, liked the Father's answer; but, for reasons of state, declined complying with it ^d. However, we learn since, that some of the new missionaries have gone so far as to tell those doctors, that there was no other way to wipe off the aspersion of atheism from their sect, than by the emperor's explaining the words *Tyen* and *Shang-ti*; and declaring, that he meant by them not the material heaven, or a blind material celestial virtue, but the supreme Lord of heaven; which if he once consented to do, the imputation of atheism would cease of course, as his majesty was the properest person, as high-priest, legislator, master of the empire, and head of the sect, to fix the true meaning and import of those words. They therefore resolved to consult that prince *anno* 1700; but in such a manner, that he should not perceive the drift of their application to him for this explication: and obtained an edict according to their desire,

^b LE COMPTE, ubi sup. part 2. letter 2.

^c Ubi sup. p. 658.

^d State of China, part 2. letter 2.

(I) *Tyen* signifies heaven, and *Tyen-tchu* the Lord of heaven, which is the name by which the Christian missionaries chose to express the Godhead, in opposition to the *Literati*, who call him *Cham-ti*, or, more properly, *Shang-ti*, sovereign emperor; though, by their explanations, they seem to mean no more than heaven, nature, or the blind celestial virtue which produces and

acts upon all things (50); so that the missionaries were certainly right to distinguish between that and the supreme Lord and Ruler of it, until they could obtain a declaration from the throne, that both terms were equivalent, and signified the supreme Almighty Creator of all.

(50) Conf. *Du Halde*, *Le Compte*, *Couplet*, &c. al.

which was soon after published in all parts of the empire, the purport of which the reader may see in the margin * (K).

Thus much we thought necessary to say of this so famed new *Chinese* sect, and their principles; but whether or no they be really so free from downright atheism as they pretend, that doth not hinder them from dealing in all the magical and diabolical superstitions of that of *Lau-kyun*: for all the *Chinese* in general, of whatever sect, rank, or condition, are extremely fond of all such kinds of witchery; and even their greatest men will practise a great variety of them in private, tho' they are obliged to condemn them in public. They are likewise all very fond of the notion of all sorts of fortune-tellers, of invoking and dealing with good and bad spirits, of apparitions, exorcisms, incantations, and all the whole tribe of sorcery and fortilegious trash; neither the philosophy of their great *Confucius*, and other learned men, nor the new refined atheism of their *Literati*, nor their pretended superiority of reason and knowledge above all other nations, having hitherto been able to root those absurd notions out of their minds. Some of their sects likewise pay a kind of worship to the sun, moon, stars, planets, to mountains, rivers, &c.; and most, if not all of them, to the souls of their ancestors, to whom they rear statues, altars, chapels, and even temples, according to their rank and faculties: and the notion that is propagated amongst them, that those souls are still present, and take particular notice of the actions of the living, generally proves as great a deterrent from vice, and spur to virtuous actions, as the many volumes of morality of their philosophers can be. The same sort of worship, but in a higher degree, they pay to their deceased monarchs, great philosophers, and other eminent persons, who have done any signal services to their country, to all of whom they build temples, altars, triumphal arches, &c. And as this last kind is the worship paid to *Confucius*, and to some of their best monarchs and great men, and styled by the philosophic and learned sects a civil one, so was it complied with by the Jesuit missionaries, and permitted to their proselytes, under that notion, tho' highly condemned and complained against by those of the *Dominican*, *Franciscan*, and other orders, as idolatrous, and a scandal to the Christian religion. Whence arose those fatal discords between them, appeals to *Rome*, and other feuds, which ended in the almost total excision of Christianity in this empire, as we shall see at the close of this chapter. And thus much may suffice for the religion and sects of the *Chinese*.

Worship paid to the sun, &c. To the souls of the dead; to those of eminent men.

The Moham-
medan reli-
gion intro-
duced.

WE have already taken notice of *Mohammedanism* introducing itself likewise into the empire, thro' some of the north-western provinces bordering upon *Tartary*. This sect hath

* DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 660.

† MARTINI, COUPLET, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat.

(K) This decree, which hath been since preserved in their archives, imports, "That it was not to the visible and material heaven that sacrifices were offered, but only to the Lord and Master of the heavens, earth, and of all things: and that, for the same reason, the tablet, before which such sacrifices were offered, bears this inscription, To *Shang-ti*, that is to say, To the supreme Lord: that it is from a deep sense of respect to that supreme Being, that none of them presumes to call him by his proper name; and that they chuse to invoke him by those of supreme heaven, bountiful heaven, universal heaven, in the same respectful manner as when speaking of the emperor, they call him not by his own name, but say, *the steps of his throne, the supreme court of his palace*, and such like: and, lastly, that those names, tho' expressed in different terms, are nevertheless the same with respect to their import and signification." The emperor, upon another occasion, in which he was speaking in public, affirms, that the learned *Chinese* say, like him, that *the principle of all things is called Tyen, heaven, in an exalted and figurative style, in the same manner that the emperor is called Chau-ting, from the name of his palace, which is the place where the imperial majesty shines with the greatest splendor* (51).

The same author farther assures us (52), that that monarch, not content with having published the abovesaid edict in the most authentic manner, got it moreover confirmed, and subscribed to, by a great number of the most eminent Mandarins, doctors, and other members of the sect, with their president at their head; all of whom appeared surprised to hear that they had been suspected by the learned of *Europe* of having honoured such a lifeless and inanimated being as the material heaven; and universally acknowledge, that they understood by

Tyen and *Shang-ti*, and as such worshipped and invoked, the *supreme Lord of heaven, principle of all things, the dispenser of all good, whose all-knowing and all-seeing providence gives us all things*. This one would think sufficient to clear the *Literati* from the suspicion of atheism; but yet there were many of the missionaries who still suspected the imperial declaration, as well as that of the *Literati* above-mentioned to have been the effect, the one of politeness, and the other of complaisance, especially as both are conceived in such ambiguous and equivocal terms as no atheist would refuse to subscribe to. Nor need we indeed greatly to wonder that these good fathers, who are such adepts in the art of equivocation, should suspect those *Literati* of the like prevarication.

However, if we may judge by their practice, and that be not likewise misrepresented, we shall have but too much reason to join in the suspicion; and though we may in charity believe that some of the wiser and better sort may still adhere to the ancient doctrine, and really acknowledge a supreme Being, and his divine providence, which, we are told, Father *Favre* proved against an assembly of 300 *Literati*, from the authority of their canonical books, and without the least opposition from any of them; yet the far greater part do, in their hearts, disbelieve it, whatever declarations to the contrary they may subscribe to, merely to avoid the odium of atheism, and of being thought enemies to all religion: for this last class is known to be as much addicted to all the extravagancies, and ridiculous notions, of demons, magic, witchcraft, and other superstitions, as the professed disciples of the other two sects, and practise them as much in private as they pretend to condemn them in public.

(51) Du Halde, p. 660.

(52) Ubi supra.

a spread itself thro' most provinces of *China*; and hath been tolerated by the rest, without any great disturbance, on account of their peaceable behaviour, they never entering into disputes with others; but quietly enjoying their liberty, without studying to propagate their doctrine, even by intermarriages out of their own kindred. They are indeed neither considerable *Makes but a small figure...* enough for their number or wealth, to harbour any such views, there being reckoned no more than about 5000 or 6000 families of them, and those dispersed thro' the whole empire, and, for the generality, of the lower rank, as husbandmen, artificers, &c. Besides, we are told, that in those places where they are most numerous, and make the best figure, as in some territories beyond the *Whang-ho*, where they have been settled during several generations, in some of the towns along the canal, and have very high mosks built after a different manner from the *Chinese* taste, they have been still looked upon as of foreign extract, and have been frequently insulted by the *Chinese* people. Even a few years ago, in the city of *Hang-chew*, in the province of *Hu quang*, the populace, upon some dislike taken at the indiscreet behaviour of some of them, made no scruple to destroy their fine mosks, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the magistracy to prevent it^e.

It is not easy to guess, from the *Chinese* accounts, when *Mohammedanism* was first introduced into *China*, some placing it no earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth dynasty, and others carrying it as far back as the thirteenth. However, from the small encouragement *The emperor not a Mohammedan* they have had, and still meet with, as well as from what we have lately observed of the emperor's religion, upon more occasions than one, it is plain, that those monarchs are not of that religion, as hath been affirmed by Mr. Collier; nor own any of *Mohammed's* doctrines, except that of worshipping one supreme Being; on which account only, both they, and the sect of the *Literati*, have thought fit to tolerate them^h.

WHETHER Christianity was preached in this empire so early as the times of the apostles, hath *Ch. Thomas* been a matter of controversy among the learned. That St. Thomas carried the gospel into *Ethiopia*, *Persia*, and several other parts of *India*, we have shewn in the octavo edition of our *Anti-ist. part 1. St. Thomas* ent History part of thisⁱ: but that he proceeded so far as *China*, we have no other proof, than an antient *Malabaric* breviary, written in the *Chaldaic* tongue; in some of the lessons and anthems of which, mention is made of that apostle's planting Christianity in *Ethiopia*, *Persia*, *India*, and *China*. To confirm which, another proof is fetched from the second part of the Synodical Constitutions (ch. 19.), wherein mention is made of *Chinese* metropolitans. Other proofs, drawn from some antient crosses, and monuments of still more doubtful authority, we omit, all of which the opposite side think sufficiently confuted by one avowed fact; viz. that the first missionaries, who set foot in *China* about the middle of the fifteenth century, found not the least footsteps of it in any part of the empire.

BUT that this is no conclusive argument against its having been formerly planted and propagated in some provinces of it, is plain from that antient and venerable monument which was dug up near the city of *Si-ngan-fu*, in the province of *Sben-si*, and of which we have given an account in the last section^k; by which it appears to have been brought into this empire A. C. 782 or 783; to have been readily received by the then reigning monarch *Lyen-tsong*, or rather *Tay-tsong*, and highly encouraged during the reigns of several of his successors, under whose auspices they freely propagated the gospel, built a good number of churches, monasteries, hospitals, &c. *Introduce 1 An. 782. Its great progress.* maugre all the opposition of the Bonzaic sect. And though it is not easy to know from the *Chinese* records, which seldom meddle with any events but those which concern the civil government, when, or by what means, it was afterwards suppressed, so as to have left no traces behind; yet it is commonly believed to have happened about the year 845, in which they mention an edict of the emperor *Vu-tsong*, given in the fifth year of his reign, and condemning, among other Bonzas, those of *Ta-tsing* or *Judea* (and supposed to be the Christian priests), in number 3000, to return to a secular life^l. Such an authentic testimony, therefore, puts it beyond all doubt that Christianity was preached, and had made a considerable progress, in that space, whatever be the cause of its having been since so thoroughly abolished and obliterated at the time of the *Roman* missionaries arrival thither^m.

In this state of superstition and gross idolatry it had continued above seven centuries; during which, severe laws were enacted against all foreigners entering into any part of the empire: *The Jesuits first attempt to replant it.* when *Xaverius* found means to land in it undiscovered, with a design to replant Christianity there; but died soon after, in a little island we have spoken of in the first sectionⁿ. Above thirty years elapsed before any other of that society ventured to come thither: but those who were settled at the city of *Ma-kau*, or *Macao*, lately described, were all that time contriving the most proper means to gain a safe entrance into it; in order to which, several of them were perfecting themselves in the *Chinese* tongue; and Father *Valignau*, the then superior-general *Their policy.*

^e DU HALDE, ubi supra, p. 76.

Univ. Hist. vol. xx. p. 106, & seq. & (H).

i. p. 195. & ii. p. 2, & seq.

NIERE, DU HALDE, & al.

^h LE COMPTE, ubi sup. See also DU HALDE, & al.

^k See before, p. 547, (L).

^l Vid. KERCHER China Illustrat. LE COMPTE, ubi sup. LA MARTI-

^m See before, p. 552, (R).

ⁿ Ant.

¹ See DU HALDE, vol.

LA MARTI-

Father Ricci
gets into fa-
vour at court.

of the mission, was procuring a great number of *European* curiosities, such as watches, clocks, maps, quadrants, globes, and all sorts of mathematical instruments, and a multitude of other valuable things, as the most powerful introducers of his brethren to the greedy Mandarins and grandees, and the most likely means to recommend them to the imperial court. They met accordingly with a very kind reception and encouragement from the viceroys and grandees; but were soon after as sternly repulsed. At length, after divers attempts, Father Ricci found means to recommend himself to the court of *Pe-king*, and became a great favourite of the emperor (L), and was permitted to settle at that metropolis; where he and his companions took a handsome house, had a pension settled upon them; and were allowed the liberty of one of the courts of the palace, into which none but the officers of it were allowed to enter. Here he soon gained an extraordinary reputation, on account of his great skill in the mathematics, and the rich presents he made to the emperor, and his court; insomuch that his house became the receptacle of all the grandees and learned men, and particularly of the principal *Kolau*, or first officer of the empire, who gave him, on all occasions, the greatest marks of his esteem.

Propagates
Christianity
with great suc-
cess.

Ricci, thus firmly settled in the favour and esteem of the emperor and his court, began then in good earnest to propagate the Christian religion in that capital; and (if we may depend upon the relations given us of it by those of his society) with incredible success and reputation; and, among other judicious precautions, ordained, that no converts should be admitted to baptism till they had made a public and solemn protestation, expressing their abhorrence of their past lives, and the sincerity with which they embraced the gospel; and this they were obliged to comply with, to prevent all doubting about their sincerity, and real sentiments. The reader may see the form of it in the author often quoted^o, from that which was made by a celebrated Mandarin, named *Li*, which was designed as a model to all the rest, and which runs in the most pious and sincerest strain; and concludes with a prayer to God, that he would enable him not only to live up to the rules of his holy gospel, but to fit and permit him to preach the same faith to others, and with the same fervent zeal as he had embraced it.

The zeal of the
new converts.

Li's example was soon followed by a multitude of other grandees, Mandarins, and Literati, and by much greater numbers of people of both sexes and inferior ranks, who all became not only zealous professors of the Christian faith, but great promoters and advocates for it. They likewise proved such liberal contributors towards the building of churches and oratories, that, we are told, there were built in the single province of *Kyang-nan* no less than ninety of the former, and forty-five of the latter. They were no less careful to translate some of the Christian comments on the gospel, together with others of the like nature; all which one single lady, a zealous convert, caused to be printed at her own charges, and to be dispersed abroad among the unconverted of all ranks (M). For these great acts of piety and liberality she was so highly respected at court, that the emperor himself honoured her with several rich presents, and with the title of *Sho-ijn*, or virtuous woman. This raised a

Candida's
great liberali-
ty.

Honoured by
the emperor.

^o DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 7.

(L) Though we are obliged to abridge the account of this celebrated missionary, the reader must not thence suppose his success to have been so quick as we relate it; on the contrary, we are told, that he spent twenty years, from his first attempt to settle at *Pe-king*, to his obtaining leave to do it; during which he met with the most mortifying discouragements and repulses from the rapacious and jealous viceroys and Mandarins, who, being apprised of the valuable curiosities he had brought with him, were all greedily gaping for a share of them. He was likewise imprisoned, and met with many other obstacles and difficulties; but his presents at length overcame them all, and procured him the settlement he had so long endeavoured after.

The presents he made to the emperor, in particular, were, a fine picture of our Saviour, and another of the Virgin *Mary*, and a clock of extraordinary workmanship; the former of which, we are told, were conveyed into an honourable place in the imperial palace; and a fine tower was built for a repository of the latter (1).

(M) This excellent lady, who was at her baptism named *Candida*, was the daughter of *Syu*, one of the most celebrated Literati, and one of the most earliest and most zealous converts that Father Ricci had made. His daughter, being also become a sincere Christian, was married at the age of sixteen; and, by her wisdom

and piety, converted her husband, who left her a widow at thirty. From this time she spent the remainder of her life in the service of religion, and the education of eight children she had had by him; and though she provided handsomely for them all, yet, by her good œconomy, she saved enough of her fortune, not only to defray the charges of printing so great a number of books, but likewise to build some churches in the provinces of *Kyang-si*, *Hu-quang*, and *Se-chwen* (into the last of which she followed her son *Basilus*, who held some considerable posts there); after which, she invited some of the missionaries to come and take care of them.

Her charity extended to the poor infants and children, whom the poverty of their parents forced to expose to the wide world: for these she erected an hospital, which was presently after so filled with these objects, that, notwithstanding the care of the nurses, and those about them, 200 of them died *communibus annis*. The very lowest dregs of people, the old and lame, or pretended so, who went about the streets cheating people out of their money, under pretence of telling them their fortunes, she caused to be taken up, instructed, baptized, and provided for. She lived forty-three years in widowhood, and in all such kinds of charities; and died, as she had lived, an eminent and exemplary Christian (2).

(1) Vide Martini, Magaillan, Le Compte, Du Halde, &c. al. mult.

(2) Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 8, & seq. noble

a noble emulation in other great ladies of quality to imitate her example; who, by their zeal and piety, brought their husbands to become not only profelytes to, but great supporters of, the Christian cause; infomuch that the churches multiplied in every province of the empire, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Bonzas, who left no stone unturned to prevent the spreading of a new religion, which was so contrary to their passions and interest (N).

THIS is the account given by those missionaries of their first planting the gospel in this great empire; and though we may reasonably enough suppose, that they have set it out to the greatest advantage, yet, all things impartially considered, there can no doubt be entertained of its having made a very swift as well as considerable progress through most of its provinces; and which might, in all probability, have proved much greater, and more lasting, had not the unhappy divisions, which began to reign among the several orders of those missionaries, and the persecutions which the Jesuits raised against Cardinal *Tournon*, and other fellow-labourers, for too freely censuring their shameful compliance, and that of their profelytes, to some pagan rites (O), put a stop to it.

Divisions among Christians put a stop to its progress.

THESE

(N) There is scarcely any room to suppose that these persecutions are much exaggerated by the missionaries, when we consider the infamous character of the whole Bonzaic tribe; though there is great reason to believe they have the many miraculous instances in which the divine Providence is said to have interposed in favour of the persecuted. The reader will readily judge of it by these two that follow, and which we have tinged out of a great variety of others which lie scattered among their other accounts, as so many authentic attestations of God's seconding their endeavours, and causing all the malicious devices of their enemies to fall upon their own heads.

The Bonzas having endeavoured to stop the progress of Father Ricci's conversions, by dispersing a scandalous lampoon about the court, in which they accused the emperor of having apostatized from his old religion, and being become a profelyte and promoter of this new one, which they scrupled not to paint in the most odious colours, as well as its preachers; the result of their wise scheme was, that they were all apprehended, and punished in the severest and most mortifying manner; and that the principal among them, though a man highly respected at court, and revered as a prophet by the people, was condemned to such a dreadful bastinado, that he expired under it; whilst Father Ricci had the pleasure to see his credit and success increase, in proportion to their opposition against him.

After the death of Father Ricci, his colleague *Adam Schaal* was no sooner chosen preceptor to the young emperor *King-bi*, than a petition was presented to the regents, by one of the Literati, full of the bitterest invectives against him, and three others of his society; and a most dreadful persecution was raised against them. They were all clapt into gaol, loaded with chains, and very severely used *Anno* 1664; and, in the next year, Christianity was proscribed, as false and pernicious, and Father *Adam* condemned to be strangled. But, that being thought too honourable a death, they exchanged it for a more infamous and cruel one; which was, that he should be brought out, and exposed in a public place, and, whilst alive, be cut into ten thousand pieces. The sentence was sent to the princes of the blood, and regent Mandarins, for their confirmation, when God was pleased to interpose in a signal manner; for, every time they attempted to read it, a sudden earthquake shook the hall with such vehemence, that they all ran out of it, to prevent being crushed under its ruins. We are not told how often this was repeated; but only, that it threw the people into the greatest consternation, and made them believe it occasioned by the unjust sentence against Father *Adam*. But, adds our author (2), the earthquake, which was renewed more violently than ever, and a fire which consumed most part of the palace, with seve-

ral other concomitant prodigies, opened the eyes of the unjust judges, and convinced them that Heaven interested itself in favour of the prisoners, who were immediately set at liberty; and Father *Adam* permitted to return to his place, till the young emperor ordered it otherwise (3). These two instances may serve as samples of the rest, which *credat quicunque vult*; only one cannot forbear wondering that Providence should display itself in such a signal manner in favour of these preachers of Christianity; and yet suffer them to fall so soon after into such violent and unchristian divisions, as proved the main cause of its utter extirpation out of the empire.

However, those good fathers did not so far trust to these miracles, as to omit other means to recommend themselves, and their religion, to the *Chinese* nation: and we must not omit one signal advantage which they gained over the Bonzas, by means of some *quinquina*, or jesuits-powder, then altogether unknown in *China*, and brought thither from *France* by Father *Fountenay*, one of their society. The emperor had languished some time under a tertian ague, which was very uneasy to him; and, upon the proclamation being made at *Pe-king*, according to custom, that those, who knew any effectual remedy against that distemper, should come and declare it at court, one of the Bonzas came, and pretended to cure, as is usual in such cases, some persons, afflicted with the same disease, by a glass of water, over which he had repeated some words, and performed some magical ceremonies. The medicine not succeeding, two eminent Jesuits proposed the trying of the *quinquina*; which effectually performed the cure. Father *Fountenay*, when in *England* in the year 1703, told the Royal Society one circumstance which *Du Halde* hath omitted; *viz.* that they prepared three doses of it, one of which the emperor was to chuse for himself; and they to drink the other two before his face, to prevent all suspicion of poison. The emperor, by that means, was easily persuaded to take it, and was perfectly cured by the first dose; and in gratitude to them, for having, as he expressed it, saved his life, assigned them a noble apartment in the *W'hang-ching*, or first court of his palace, caused it to be fitted up for them; and, being informed by them, that it was not usual for Jesuits to have houses without a church, granted them a large adjacent field, on which they built a stately one, which was finished, and opened with great ceremony on the 9th of *December*, 1702 (4).

(O) We lately mentioned a kind of worship which the *Chinese* pay to the souls of their ancestors, of some of their great monarchs and eminent men, and especially to their great philosopher and lawgiver *Confucius*; which worship, however, we are told, is styled by the philosophers and Literati, who are obliged to comply with it, a mere civil worship, in order to avoid

(2) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 15, & seq. vol. vii. p. 222, & seq.*

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid. p. 29, & seq. Vid. lettres edifiant.*

AFTER having said thus much on so remarkable a transaction as the introducing and propagating of Christianity through this vast empire, we shall not go so far out of our bounds or province, as to enter into a detail of those disputes which occasioned the total suppression of it; much less of the intrigues of the Jesuits at the court of *Rome*, and the pope's partial behaviour to that society, the subject being so well known to most of the learned in *Europe*; even those who only read Father *Du Halde's* account of it^p, and consider that he was one of them, and writes rather a vindication of his brethren against Cardinal *Tournon*, Bishop *Maigrot*, and other of their opposers, will easily perceive where the fault chiefly lay; and those, who are desirous to see those transactions more impartially stated, may read it at full length in the book intituled, *De Cultu Sinenfium*, printed at *Cologne*, Anno 1700.

^p DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 7.

the charge of idolatry. The Jesuits readily took hold of this distinction (if they were not really the authors of it); because, as they alleged to the pope, that paid to the great men above mentioned, being established by the law, could not be dispensed with without manifest danger to Christianity; and that paid to the souls of their ancestors was so deeply rooted in the *Chinese* nation, that few, if any, would have cared to become Christians, if that had deprived them of the liberty of performing what they esteemed so essential and delightful a part of filial duty; upon which account they thought it very expedient to indulge them in it. But, for both these, they were highly blamed, and at last complained against both to the pope, and to the society *de propaganda fide*; and the distinction between religious and political or civil worship exposed as a mere subterfuge, to palliate a compliance which they judged highly injurious and scandalous to Christianity.

The truth is, these complaints were made by other missionaries of the *Dominican*, *Franciscan*, or some other order, none of whom ever loved that of the Jesuits; and were, in all likelihood, joined with them in the mission, by the political court of *Rome*, to be a check upon that subtle and insinuating society. Upon which account their charge may be reasonably enough supposed to have been in some measure aggravated, and prosecuted with too great animosity. However, the Jesuits, to disculpate themselves, procured, by their great interest at court, an explanation of these *Chinese* ceremonies to be drawn up by two learned Mandarins, and to be approved and confirmed by the emperor, to the following effect (5):

“ When the *Chinese* honour *Confucius*, they do it to
“ shew their respect to him on account of the doctrine
“ which he hath left among them; and, having once
“ embraced it, how can they better perform those due
“ honours to him, than by prostrating themselves,
“ and touching the ground with their heads, to him
“ whom the whole empire acknowledges as their ma-
“ ster. As to the libations, and other rites, perform-
“ ed to their deceased parents, they are only paid as a
“ mark of respect, and acknowledgement that they
“ revere them as the heads of their race and family.
“ And as to the pictures (statues it should rather be)
“ which they set up in honour of their ancestors, they
“ do not mean by it, that their souls reside in them,
“ neither come they to ask any favours from them; but
“ only set meat, and other presents, before those pic-
“ tures, to express their constant love towards them,
“ and their sorrow for being deprived of them.
“ As for the sacrifices which the ancient kings and
“ emperors were wont to offer to heaven, they are
“ such as the *Chinese* philosophers style *Kiao che*, that
“ is, the sacrifices which are made to heaven and earth,
“ by which, they say, *Shang ti*, or the sovereign Lord,
“ is honoured; and it is for this reason that the little
“ pictures, before which those sacrifices are offered,
“ bear this inscription to *Shang ti*, that is to say, To
“ the sovereign Lord; from whence it is evident,
“ that they do not offer sacrifices to the visible and ma-

“ terial heaven, but only to the Lord and Creator of
“ heaven and earth: and, because their veneration
“ and respect for him will not permit them to call him
“ by his proper name, they invoke him under the ap-
“ pellations of *the supremest heaven, the beautiful hea-
“ ven, the universal heaven.*”

The emperor *Chang's* (or rather *Kang-hsi's*) approbation was to this effect: “ That which is contained
“ in this writing is very right, and conformable to the
“ grand doctrine: to pay our devours to heaven, to
“ our lords, to our parents, to our masters, and to
“ our ancestors, is a law common to all the world.
“ The things contained in this writing are very true,
“ and need no amendment.”

But neither this declaration, nor any other apologies which the Jesuits made for their conduct, could hinder its being publicly condemned by the pope's legate at *Canton*, Anno 1707, by a decree dated from that city, forbidding all Christians, both profelytes and others, to pay any such honours either to *Confucius*, or to the pictures of their ancestors. Upon which they found themselves obliged to procure a more favourable one in their behalf from the pope, Anno 1715; which ordained, that the word *Tyun-ki*, that is, Lord of heaven, should be used to signify the true God, as had been long since done by the missionaries; and that the same conduct should be observed with respect to the ceremonies to be allowed to Christians, confining them only to such as were *purely of a political and civil nature*: and lastly, that the apostolic commissary, and visitor-general, for the time being, in *China*, or his deputy, should be consulted, if any difficulty arose upon that head. This decree was directed to the pope's legate, bishop *Tournon*, with the title of cardinal; but he died before it arrived, and, as is supposed, of grief, on account of the persecutions raised against him by the Jesuits.

It proved, however, a means of increasing, rather than of removing, the difficulties about which both parties contended; they still differing as much as ever about what ceremonies were purely civil and political, or not so. Upon which the pope thought fit to send a new legate thither, to compromise those disputes, Anno 1720: but he was, soon after his arrival at *Canton*, not only forbid to come to court, but received express orders from the emperor to leave *China*, with all the other missionaries; for that the pope's decree being inconsistent with the laws and usages of the empire, the Christian religion could no longer subsist there. He was, however, permitted, *Du Halde* tells us, to wait upon the emperor; and was received and dismissed with singular honours, and permitted to leave *China* only to go and give the pope an account of the state of the Christian mission, and with a promise to return back in three years with the same character; but the death of that monarch, which happened soon after, and was followed by the total proscription of Christianity, put a stop both to his legation, and the further progress of that mission (6).

(5) *Jesuits letters*. See also the book above quoted, *De Cultu Sinenfium*, vol. ii, p. 31, & seq.

(6) *Ibid.* *Vid.* & *Du Halde*,

- a ALL that we need to add, by way of conclusion to this article, is, that, after the conquest of *China* by the *Tartars*, the two emperors *Shun-chi* and *Khang-li* likewise favoured them with their special friendship and protection during their whole reigns; but, immediately after the demise of the latter, a number of petitions and remonstrances were presented both to his son and successor, and to the *tribunal of rites*, against the Christian religion; upon which it was proscribed by several edicts, and these published in most of the capitals of the empire. *Remonstrances and edicts against the missionaries.* The tribunal above-mentioned gave this decision against the missionaries (or, as they are there styled, *Europeans*): That such of them as were at court might be kept there, as they were useful for reforming the calendar, and other services; but that those who were dispersed in the provinces, were not only useless, but dangerous, as they built churches, and drew the ignorant people, both men and women, to their religion; and should therefore be all sent away to *Ma-kau* (a *Portuguese* town on the *Chinese* coast, and lately described). This order was confirmed by the emperor, in words to this effect, written with the red pencil: That it should be done according to the above decree; and that the *Europeans*, as foreigners, should be sent to *Ma-kau*: but that, to prevent any insult being offered to them in their way thither, a Mandarin should be appointed to conduct them safe through every province, and convenient time allowed them for repairing to that place. *Emperor's decree against them.*

THE Jesuits made use indeed of all their arts, and interest they had with the emperor and Mandarins, to ward off the fatal blow: but all they could obtain from him, was, to have the city of *Canton*, instead of *Ma-kau*, to be the place of their exile; and this only on condition that they behaved so as to give no cause of complaint. This last order was immediately published in all the gazettes, and in all the provinces of the empire; and the missionaries, without distinction, were all driven out of their churches, and conducted either to *Pe-king* or *Canton*; the emperor further declaring, in a new book written for the instruction of his subjects, that he tolerated only some few of them, on account of the advantages which the empire received from their skill in arts and sciences. Pursuant to those edicts, more than 300 churches were destroyed, or turned into pagods, schools for the Literati, and other common uses; and above 300,000 Christians deprived of their pastors, and exposed to the mercy of the unbelievers, and without any prospect of seeing their religion restored. *Destruction of their churches.*

- THE Jesuits, however, have still three *Chinese* natives, and the society *de propaganda fide* a few priests of the same country, who privately mingle with the new converts, and officiate among them; and, as these are too few for so great a number of converts, they employ some of the most skilful catechists, who disperse themselves among the provinces, furnish them with calendars, books of devotion, and other helps, and endeavour to keep up the spirit of Christianity among as many as they can; for the doing of which with more safety, they put themselves under the protection of some Mandarins, which is not to be obtained but by some considerable presents; and this is the present melancholy state of Christianity in the *Chinese* empire. *Sad state of Christianity at present.*

BUT this is far enough from being the only country in which not only the Christian religion, but the very names of Christian, *Praguay* or *Portuguese*, and *European*, are held in the utmost abhorrence, through the misconduct, or rather ill designs, of those who are sent to propagate it; and where, after a most promising prospect of a plentiful, if not an universal conversion, and the greatest encouragements given to them by the reigning monarchs and great men, all their hopes have been quashed as in an instant; the preachers, and their proteytes, persecuted with the greatest severity, their religion proscribed and detested; all farther avenues closely stopped, and carefully watched against; and as many as have since attempted, under any disguise, or upon any pretence, to gain admittance, have been put to the most speedy and excruciating deaths. That this has been the case of a great number of those *Romish* missionaries, not only in *Ton-king*, *Cochin China*, and *Korea*, as we have seen in a former part, but in *Japan*, *Siam*, *Tibet*, and the greatest part of *Industan*, we have from their own testimony, and the letters that have been transmitted from time to time from those parts, and are to be found in that large collection printed at *Paris*, under the title of *Lettres curieuses et edifiantes*; and with this aggravating circumstance, that those missionaries, who attempt to penetrate into any of those *Indian* dominions, to avoid the suspicion of being either Christians, *Praguays*, or *Europeans*, which would not fail of proving fatal to them, are obliged to disguise themselves under the name, garb, and profession, of eastern *sanjassi's*, or penitents, such as we have described in a former chapter, and to conform to all their rules of living; that is, to abstain from eating any thing that has life, drinking any thing exhilarating, to eat but once in twenty-four hours, to lie and fare hard, sleep little, and rise by the earliest dawn, and observe a great number of other austerities peculiar to that sect; the omission of any one of which would render them suspected, and despicable to the Brotherhood. To avoid, moreover, the suspicion of their being *Europeans*, on *the names of Christian and European are disguised.*

9 DU HAIDE, vol. ii. p. 15. & seq.

account of the difference of their complexion, they affect to call themselves northern *sanjassi*, a or teachers; and tell the *Indians*, that they come among them with no other view than to instruct them in a more worthy way of worshipping the supreme Creator, to give them more just ideas of his attributes and perfections, and to direct them into a better way of obtaining his favour and blessings in this and in the next life, than any they have been able to learn from their own teachers. By these, and such-like disinterested suggestions, they introduce themselves among them; by their learning and address they quickly gain the esteem and protection of the great; whilst the austerity of their lives draws upon them the eyes and admiration of the vulgar: the result of which is, that they soon make a sufficient number of proselytes to build a church, and perform the divine worship. The mission goes on and flourishes, without meeting with any opposition, except from the idolatrous priests, who are great enemies to, because great losers by, this new religion, which is levelled against their own. But no sooner is the pretended *sanjassi* discovered, or even barely suspected, to be an *European*, and his doctrine that of the *Praguays*, or *Portuguese*, than a dreadful persecution is raised against the preacher and his converts, and their religion is proscribed and forbidden, under pain of death: so odious and detested are become the very names of Christian and *European* all over the eastern parts of *India*, even to the farthest boundaries of the *Chinese* dominions*.

Whether there were any Jews in China.

WHETHER any *Jews* were ever settled or tolerated in *China*, hath been a question among us in *Europe* till the beginning of this century; though whoever considers how they swarm in *Spain* and *Portugal*, where the laws are so severe against them, could hardly find any room to doubt of their being invited in much greater numbers into that rich and opulent empire, by the same prospect of a gainful commerce, where there are not, that we can find, any laws, or imperial edicts, to interdict them from it: but all that while our news from thence made no particular mention of them. Father *Ricci*, and some others of the first missionaries, seem indeed to hint, that there were some of that nation dispersed about the country; but, whether they met with any difficulty in it, or did not think it worth their while to find them out, we heard nothing farther about them till the year 1704, when Father *Paulo Gozani*, a Jesuit missionary, being come upon some occasion into the province of *Ho-nan*, had the good fortune to find a considerable synagogue of them, and, as they themselves told him, the only one in the whole empire, in the city of *Kay-fong fu*, the capital of that province, and situate in the very centre of the *Chinese* dominions. He soon contracted an acquaintance with some of their learned chiefs; who, on account of his character, shewed him a more than ordinary respect, introduced him into their synagogue, and shewed him one of the volumes, or parchment rolls, of the pentateuch†, written in *Hebrew*, and in fair and legible characters, together with some others of the Old Testament, as those of *Josbuz*, the *Judges*, *Samuel*, *Kings*, some of the prophets, and some others containing their liturgy, commentaries, and the like: these last much worn, and kept in boxes under their seats; but all of them written in the *Hebrew* tongue and character. They owned to him, that they had lost some of the sacred books, and some of their targums or paraphrases, expositors, &c. by a violent overflowing of the great river *Hoam-bo* (*Whang-bo*), or yellow river, which had laid that capital wholly under water, and had likewise much damaged their thorah, or roll of the pentateuch: upon which they ordered twelve fair copies to be taken of it, which are still preserved in the like number of partitions in the tabernacle, where it is kept.

A synagogue of them in Ho-nan.

Their sacred books in Hebrew.

Twelve new copies of the pentateuch.

THEY informed him, that they divided the *Cbin-kin*, or five books of *Moses*, which they distinguish, like all other *Jews*, by the name of the first word in each book, as *Beresbith*, *Elleshemoth*, &c. into fifty-two parashahs, or lessons, one for every sabbath-day throughout the year; which division is supposed to have been instituted by *Ezra*‡. They retain the same number of letters, which they reckon twenty-seven, including the five final ones§; but whether they have admitted the use of the vowel points, we are not told; our author not being, as he frankly owns, acquainted with the *Hebrew* tongue, and consequently not capable of making all the inquiries one could have wished, about this and other curious matters. They acquainted him furthermore, that two famed Jesuits, viz. Father *Roderigo de Siguero*, who flourished under the last dynasty, and Father *Enriquez*, who flourished about the beginning of this, had had frequent conferences with the then chiefs of that synagogue, but without coming to any agreement; from which, as well as from those two learned men neglecting to get a transcript of their pentateuch, he supposes that they found it corrupt and mutilated: and concludes, from the whole, that those *Jews* are of the *Talmudist* sect.

Their synagogue described.

THEIR synagogue is there built much after the manner that they are 'in other parts of the world, excepting that it is turned towards the west, that is, towards *Jerusalem*, towards g

* Vid. Recueil de Lettres cur. & edifiant. pass.

† Ibid. vol. iv. p. 13. & seq.

‡ De his, vid. Antient Hist. vol. i. part 2. p. 656.

§ Vid. ibid. vol. i. part 2. p. 719. & seq.

a which they turn their face when they pray, as all others did, which were situate eastward of that metropolis, once the centre of their worship. It is moreover divided into three ailes, or partitions; but whether in imitation of the three courts of *Solomon's* temple as *Father Gobien*, the publisher of this account, would insinuate in his remarks, at the end of it, or no, is scarcely worth inquiring after, or easy to determine from the imperfect sketch here given of it: but, if so, it differs in that particular, from all those we have seen in *Europe*, it not from all that are in the world.

In the centre of the middlemost aisle is placed their reading-desk, or, as it is styled, *Moses's Reading-desk*, chair, where the law, and other portions of the Old Testament, and their usual liturgy, are read with great ceremony. This chair, or desk, our author tell us, is grand and lofty, and
 b richly adorned with crimson velvet, with gold fringe, tassels, &c. with stately candlesticks, and large candles, perfume-pots, and other ornaments; and over it, instead of the emperor's arms, which their law doth not permit them to represent, is fixed a fine large board, with his name and titles superbly inscribed upon it. At the farther end of the same aisle, and facing
 c the chair above-mentioned, is the tabernacle, or repository of the sacred roll of the law, of the twelve transcripts lately spoken of, each of them in a separate niche, shut up with folding-doors, and a rich curtain drawn before it; the whole inclosed within a handsome balustrade, into which none but their khakam, or chief officer, is permitted to set his foot. The rest
 of the synagogue is decorated with inscriptions taken from the pentateuch, and other sacred
 d books, and proper to inspire them with devotion; they also cover their heads with the usual
 e thaled, or veil, all the time they are praying.

THEY strictly retain the rite of circumcision, and observance of the sabbath, during which
 they suffer no fire to be kindled in their houses: the three grand feasts, of the passover, weeks
 of pentecost, and of the tabernacles, together with other occasional festivals, fasts, and other
 f ancient institutions, are likewise kept with great strictness among them, though in some other
 cases they readily comply with the *Chinese* customs, and religious ceremonies. They call
 themselves *Kiao-kin kiao*, a name which was at first given to them by the *Chinese*, on account
 of their abstaining from blood, and their peculiar way of killing the animals they eat; but
 which they gladly retained, in order to distinguish themselves from the *Mohammedans*,
 who are called *Tee-mo-kiao*, with whom they entertain not the least commerce, and from
 d whom they affect to distinguish themselves by some peculiarities in their dress, and the differ-
 ent turn of their whiskers.

THEY call the Supreme Being by the *Chinese* name *Tyen*, and worship him under the titles of
Cham-tien, *Cham-ti*, *Sham-ti*, or rather *Shang-tyen*, the Lord of heaven, *Shang-ti*, the
 supreme Lord, *Teao-wan-voe-tche*, or Creator of all things, and of *Van-voe-tchu-tcai*, or
 Governor of the universe; which names, they owned they had taken from the *Chinese* books,
 that of *Tyen* signifying properly heaven, as we have already observed upon another occasion*.
 Their law they call *Tyen-kiao*, or the law of God, or of heaven; they likewise style it some-
 times *Kow-kiao*, or the antient law; and *Israel's Kiao*, or the law of *Israel*: where, by the
 way, we cannot but observe, that they have, by long disuse, lost the pronunciation of the
 R, for which they substitute the L, as do the *Chinese*, among whom that letter is never
 e used, when they pronounce some *European* name that hath it, as *Aalon*, *Miliam*, instead of
Aaron, *Miriam*, &c.

AGAIN, as they have their Literati and graduates, our author asked them, whether they
 paid the usual honours to *Confucius* that the rest do? To which they answered, one and all,
 in the affirmative; and added, moreover, that they performed they same ceremonies that other
 Literati did, at the halls of their great men. They likewise owned to him, that they all con-
 formed to the solemn rites which are performed to their ancestors, with this only difference,
 that, instead of offering swine's-flesh, which is forbidden by their law, they substituted that
 of some other clean animal; and that, in their more usual ceremonies to the deceased,
 f they contented themselves with setting before them some dishes of meat, sweetmeats, and
 perfumes, served in china-ware, accompanied with profound prostrations, after the manner
 of the country.

THEY conducted our author to this grand hall of ancestors, which is contiguous to their
Ty-pai-sou, or synagogue, and where those rites are performed every spring and fall. Here,
 instead of such pictures and figures as are used by the *Chinese*, but forbidden by their law,
 they had only a number of perfume-pans, or boxes, answerable to that of their *Chingins*,
 or great men, the largest of which was that of their great Father *Abraham*, and was placed
 in the heart of the hall. Next to that were those of *Isaac* and *Jacob*; and, next to them,
 g those of his twelve sons, whom they styled *Che-cum-pai-tse*, patriarchs, or heads of the
 twelve tribes. The next in rank and dignity were those of *Moses*, *Aaron*, *Joshua*, *Samuel*,
Era, and other illustrious persons of both sexes, belonging to their nation; excepting, how-

* See before p. 565 (1).

ever, that the Mandarin, who is over them, is intitled to have his tablet set up in this hall, a inscribed with his own name, and all his titles.

Never heard
of Jesus Christ.

Conformity of
their bible
with ours,

but not with
the septuagint.

The time of
their first com-
ing into Chi-
na.

If true, they
could not be
Talmudists.

But is proba-
bly antedated.

They are re-
duced to seven
families.

There are pro-
bably more of
them in other
provinces.

THE missionary, being thence conducted to a house of entertainment, took occasion to ask them some questions about the promised Messias; and tells us, that they seemed greatly surpris'd at what he told them concerning Jesus Christ: but gave him no other answer, than that their sacred books made indeed mention of one *Jesus*, the son of *Sirach*; but that they had never heard any thing concerning the other of whom he spoke. He took likewise that opportunity to compare some parts of his own bible with their *Hebrew* one, particularly that which relates to the lives of the patriarchs from *Adam* to *Noah*; and assures us, that they agreed exactly in every particular. Now if his bible was the vulgate *Latin*, of which there is not any room to doubt, that being the only one authorized by his church, it follows, that their *Hebrew* is exactly conformable to those we have in *Europe*, because the vulgate is so; and, consequently, that the æra between *Adam* and *Noah*, or the creation and the flood, according to the septuagint, exceeds them by 606 years, as the reader may see by the tables we have given of it at the beginning of the Antient History †. As for the occasion of this present remark, it will be best seen when we come to speak of the *Chinese* chronology, towards the end of this chapter.

ALL that needs be added concerning those *Jews*, is the time in which they first settled in that empire; concerning which, they told our author in general terms, that it was during the *Han-chau*, or fifty dynasty, which began 206 years before, and ended in the 220th year after, the birth of Christ; but in what part of it, they did not tell, and, in all likelihood, could not inform him: but, supposing it had been at the very latter end of it, it is plain they could not be *Talmudists*, as he suspects them, much less guilty of mutilating and corrupting their sacred books with their false and fabulous glosses; seeing neither of the *Talmuds*, nor any of their fabulous traditions and commentaries, are of so old a date by several centuries, as we have shewn in our Antient History ‡. Neither is it just, on the other hand, to suppose the *Talmudists* to have corrupted the sacred text, which they have been scrupulous to preserve, even to a superstitious degree, though they have visibly perverted the sense of it by their false glosses and comments. Our author, therefore, seems plainly to have misapprehended what they told him out of the latter to have been quoted out of the former: but as their adopting the fabulous traditions of the *Mishnah* and *Ghemarra* shews them to have been infected with the *Talmudic* leaven, so they must of course have imposed upon him with respect to the time of their first coming into that country, and that it must have been of a much recenter date. This is no strange supposition, especially from a *Jew* to a *Jesuit*; and, if so, may we not as justly suspect what they told him about their having no other synagogue in the empire; and what they further added to him, probably from the same spirit of diffidence and fear, that, though they were pretty numerous at their first coming, they were at that time reduced to seven families, whose names were *Thao*, *Kin*, *Che*, *Tbe-man*, *Li*, and *Ngni* *?

THUS far our author's account goes, of those that he met with in that great city. How many thousands more there may be of them, dispersed and disguised throughout the empire, and who outwardly conform to the religion and customs of the country, as they do in *Portugal*, *Spain*, and other Christian countries, where, instead of being tolerated, they are proscribed by the laws, can only be conjectured by those who know what stratagems they will use, what hazards they will run, for the sake of gain. But we have dwelt long enough upon this one article, and shall now proceed to a new topic.

† Vol. i. c. 1. sect. 3. p. 69, & seq. & edifiant. vol. vii. p. 4—28.

‡ Vol. iv. p. 174, 175, & seq. & notes.

* See Lettres cur.

S E C T. III.

Of the government, laws, politics, &c. of the Chinese.

Chinese go-
vernment mon-
archical and
despotic.

THE *Chinese* nation had been, from its first beginning, so inured to, and, we may add, so highly delighted with, a monarchical government, that, when the *Dutch* ambassadors, made their first application to it, they found it very difficult to make them comprehend what they meant by the high and mighty lords the states general, and the republic of *Holland*. What their antient form and state was, we have already given an account of in a former part ^a, as far as could be collected from the *Chinese* records, for no mention is made of it in any other authors; neither is there any reason, from the singular tenaciousness of that nation for its antient laws, customs, &c. or from what we read of the reigns of so long a succession of monarchs, to suppose that it ever received any considerable alteration; so far from it, that we find their very conquerors, contrary to the usual practice in such cases, of altering and inverting,

^a See before, Introduction p. 497.

a have shewn a singular readiness to conform to it, and made as few changes in it as they possibly could: and this not so much out of complaisance to the conquered, as from an unavoidable esteem and regard for the excellency of their laws and constitution; inasmuch that, in this respect, they seem rather to have submitted to, than to have given their laws to, their new subjects.

It cannot, however, be denied, nor indeed is it at all to be wondered at, that this vast overgrown state hath formerly split itself into a number of petty kingdoms, some of which (tho' all of them, according to the fundamental constitution of that monarchy, were dependent on a supreme emperor) would yet now-and-then shake off their subjection, and make themselves despotic in their respective states; but time and fortune have never failed to reduce b them back to their former dependency (P); so that there is no reason to doubt of its having continued, in the main, much in the same despotic form of monarchical government in which the *Tartars* found it at the time of their conquering it: since that time it is become, if any thing, rather more absolute and arbitrary than ever; seeing the power of those new monarchs extends itself not only over all civil and military, but, as we have seen under the last article, is absolute and uncontrouled in all religious matters.

THE *Chinese* monarchs, besides their own proper names, were wont to assume some high *Emperors pomp- and swollen titles, such as holy sons of heaven, lords of the whole world, sole governors over pous titles. the earth, great fathers of the people, and others of the like pompous sound; besides which, when the government passed from one branch or family to another, he who was the first or head of it gave his name to it, which continued as long as the dynasty remained in his family, Dynasties, which was, from him, called the dynasty (or rather, as the Chinese word Chau imports, the from whom epocha, or term of years) of such a king. Since the conquest by the Tartars, that monarch named. styles himself Cham, or Kang, or emperor; and his power extends itself not only over all the Their exten- sixteen provinces described in the first section, but likewise over several others of eastern Tar- sive power. sary, over some of which he hath an absolute sway, whilst other are only tributary, and some of them only pay a kind of homage to him; but is no-where more despotic and arbitrary than in these his new conquered dominions.*

HERE he hath the power of life and death not only over all his subjects, but even over all the princes of the blood. His will is the sole law, and his commands admit not the least dis- Absolute sway. pute or delay, under the severest penalties. He is indeed obliged to govern according to the laws; and to consult his proper courts and council in all important matters, whether civil or criminal, military or religious: but as he is the supreme and uncontrouled interpreter of the former, and bears an absolute sway over the latter; or, in case of any too strenuous opposition from these, can displace, punish, or new mould them at pleasure; the whole govern- ment must center at last in his sole will. The crown is hereditary in his family; yet he hath Crown heredi- the power to alter the succession, and either during his life, or even on his death-bed, may tary. name his successor out of what branch of it he pleases, or even out of it, as some affirm; but, in this last case, his choice must be confirmed or ratified by his great or supreme council, which Their grand consists of princes of the blood, and the chief ministers of state; for their concurrence is council. e esteemed of such consequence, that not only the Chinese monarchs before the conquest, but even those of the Tartaric race, have always thought it necessary, before they ventured to enact any new laws, to reverse or suspend the old ones: inasmuch that we read of some instances, in which, though the emperor and his Tartars have agreed upon passing some decree, especially in matters of religion, or such as related to the ancient Chinese laws and customs, yet they have chosen to lay it aside when they have found too great a majority of the Chinese against it, rather than run the hazard of a rebellion*. But these instances, we may say, happened when those monarchs were not quite so firmly settled on the throne: for it hath since plainly appear- ed, that the late emperor Kang-hi, both in these religious matters which were brought before him, and in his appointing his fourth son to succeed him, ventured to act in a more despotic f and uncontrouled manner; and no wonder he should, when he saw himself so firmly secured

* PALAFOX Conquest of China. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

(P) This is plainly hinted by the *Chinese* author often quoted (7), who speaks of several such revolutions, civil wars, &c. which made a short alteration in the form of government, but which soon after disappeared; after which, things returned to their former state. He adds, that the empire was one while divided into 100, nay, into 300, parts or polyarchies, and afterwards reduced to seven, then to three, and at length to its primitive state of one intire monarchy, solely subject to one sovereign (8).

We need not therefore wonder that they should be at

such a loss what to make of the pompous language and titles used by the *Dutch* ambassadors to them, as we lately hinted out of *Nieuwboff* (9); much less at their being able to comprehend, as the same author adds, how such a political state (which appeared to them rather as a monster with many heads, the spurious offspring of lawless ambition and stubbornness, begotten and bred, as they supposed, in times of anarchy and confusion) could possibly subsist without some sovereign power to curb and suppress the one, and steer and govern the other (10).

(7) *Dion. Kao, apud Isbrandtz Ides, ch. 25.*

ubi sup. part 2. letter 1.

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) *Dutch Embassy to China.*

(10) *Le Compte,*

4. Ping-pu. 4. THE court of *Ping-pu*, or *tribunal of arms*, superintends all the soldiery in the empire; a examines their arms, exercises, &c.; grants commissions to the army and fleet; orders levies to be made for both; replenishes the magazines, and keeps all the garrisons, towns, and fortresses, in repair, and furnishes the soldiery with arms.

5. Hing-pu. 5. THE court of *Hing-pu*, or *Him-pou*, superintends all criminal causes brought hither from the inferior courts, by appeal, and passes a final sentence in all criminal matters: and under it are fourteen subordinate tribunals according to the number of the provinces.

6. Kong pu. 6. THE court of *Kong-pu*, or *Cam-pou*, or *tribunal of public works*, superintends all public structures; such as, the king's palaces, fortifications, public roads, public temples, palaces, sepulchres, bridges, towers, triumphal arches, dykes, navigable rivers, lakes, canals, &c.; and hath four inferior courts under it, who prepare matters for their inspection. Both upper b and lower tribunals have likewise different chambers, or committees, appointed to their respective businesses, for the more regular and ready dispatch of them. Every high court hath a chief inspector appointed by the emperor, who gives him an account of their proceedings, as well as of their failings and misbehaviour. These are commonly of the first rank of Mandarins, or kolaws; and are in such authority, that the very princes of the blood stand in awe of them^y.

The four military tribunals. OF the four, or, according to others, five military courts, which are, in some measure, subordinate to the fourth superior one, called *Ping-pu*, or *tribunal of arms*; the first disposes of all military employments; and sees that the troops be well armed and disciplined. The second distributes the officers and soldiers into their respective stations, for the securing the public tranquility, and the cities and high roads from robbers and highwaymen. The third superintends the horses of the empire, the posts, stages, imperial inns, and barges appointed to convey provisions for the soldiers to their respective stations. The fourth orders the making all sorts of arms, and laying them up in arsenals^z.

The courts inspected by proper officers, THERE are several other courts of the military rank, of which we shall take notice, when we come to speak of the military government; and only observe here, that all these tribunals have likewise an inspector set over them by the emperor, who gives him an account of every thing that is transacted in them, and of the behaviour of every member; and these are obliged, by their office, not only to assist at all their assemblies, and watch over their conduct there, but even to pry into their most private management (U), and make a faithful report of all to d him. This obliges every member to speak and behave with the utmost circumspection. And several provinces of those courts are so prudently linked together, as to be a check to each other. Thus, for instance, the army, which is under the command of the *Ping-pu*, or fourth tribunal, and paid by that of the *Ho-pu*, shall be ordered to march by the former, but cannot stir till their subsistence-money is sent to them by the latter.

Viceroy, and other magistrates, subordinate to the tribunals. SUBORDINATE to the above-mentioned tribunals, are the viceroys and governors of provinces, judges, and magistrates, and all inferior officers, in city and country, for the easier dispensing of justice to the subjects, and maintaining the peace of the empire. It is even affirmed, by most writers, that all those viceroys, governors, &c. are obliged, from time to time, to transmit to court a full and just account of their administration, and with it a note of all the miscarriages and mismanagements laid to their charge, to be examined by the superior tribunals; and, in case they be found to have concealed or palliated them, are liable to be severely punished. This was indeed practicable enough before the conquest, when the *Chinese* monarchs had, besides the inspectors over every court, some private ones in every province, who were to give the emperor an account of every fraud, bribery, and oppression, committed by any of those officers. But the *Tartarian* monarchs found afterwards, that those spies, or informers, had so grossly abused their trust, by making their reports rather according as they were bribed, than to the merit or demerit of those under their inspection, that they thought fit to set them wholly aside, and only oblige the persons in the administration to be their own accusers, by sending the above-mentioned transcript of all their good and bad actions. That this, however, f is seldom practised, is very plain, from the common complaint of all those writers against the

Inspectors of the provinces set aside.

Chinese laws abused.

avarice, bribery and corruption, which reign through the whole empire, from the highest tribunals down to the lowest offices; insomuch, that he who can bribe highest is morally sure to carry his point, let his merit or demerit be what it will. It is therefore in vain, they tell us,

^y LE COMPTE, ubi sup. Vid. & DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 248. & seq. COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

^z De his, vide MARTINI, LE

(U) These inspectors, or, as the *Chinese* call them, ko-taus, are commonly men of such penetration, that nothing hardly escapes them; and therefore, much dreaded by the ministers of state, and other officers. Some of them have been intrepid enough to censure

and accuse princes, and persons of the highest rank, and to run the risque not only of their places, but of their lives, rather than desist from what they thought justice and equity, and the good of the state, exacted from them (14).

(14) Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 250. Le Compte, ubi sup. & al.

a that the *Chinese* government and laws are the best calculated to make a people happy, above all others, if those that are at the head of affairs are such rapacious creatures, as to make all places, and even justice itself, venal; and if their laws, like those excellent ones of a certain country in *Europe*, are so little observed or regarded, that magistrates, and people, are suffered to act not only in contradiction, but open defiance, to them, and a circulation of bribery is left to run from the highest to the lowest rank.

BESIDES these tribunals, which do always reside at *Pe-king*, every province hath a supreme *Provincial* one, under its viceroy, or governor (W), and that hath several inferior ones under it, and a *tribunals*. certain number of inferior Mandarins, to assist that minister in the dispatch affairs. Next to the provincial ones, are those of the *Fú's*, or capital cities of each province, of which we spoke, in the first section of this chapter; and these are under a Mandarin, who is styled *Chi-fú*, under whom are the *Chi-chews* and *Chi-yiens*, or Mandarins of the cities of the second and third rank, with their respective inferior tribunals; and these are subordinate to each other, and all to the supreme or provincial one, which hath none above it, except that of *Pe-king*. And thus much may suffice for the civil; let us now take a short view of the military government^a.

WE have already taken notice of the four tribunals subordinate to the fourth supreme one, *Military governing*, styled *U-fú*; that is, *the five classes, or troops of the military Mandarins*; the first of which *five courts* is, that of the Mandarins of the rear-guard; the second, that of the left-wing; the third, that of the right; the fourth, that of the main body; and the fifth, that of the van-guard. Each of them hath a president, and two assistants, who are of the first order of Mandarins; and all of them are subordinate to a supreme tribunal of war, called *Xong-chin-fú*, whose president is one of the greatest nobles of the empire, and hath authority over them, and all the officers and soldiers of the court. He hath likewise a Mandarin, and two inspectors, to be a check over him: and his tribunal is subordinate to the fourth and sixth supreme ones, which prevents his abusing his extensive power.

ALL the military Mandarins are obliged to undergo the same examination as those of the *Mandarins*, *Literati* order; that is, as those must give proofs of their knowledge and learning, to be admitted to their respective degrees, so must these of their strength, courage, dexterity, and experience, in the art of war. The principal military Mandarin, answering to our general, hath a number of inferior ones under him, answering to ours lieutenant-generals, &c. and all of them have a train and insignia suitable to their rank, and are always attended by a company of officers under their command. These are obliged to exercise and review the soldiery often; *Soldiers however* but those exercises have nothing regular in them, consisting only in some disorderly marches, *exercised*, when they attend their Mandarins, or in forming of squadrons, marching, filing off, rallying, encountering each other, at the sound of their horns or trumpets, and in a dexterous using and handling their sabres, bows, muskets, cuirasses, helmets, &c. and keeping them clean, and in right order; and as the military life is neither laborious nor dangerous in time of peace, it is bestowed, as a favour, on those who can make most friends with the military Mandarins, *How employed* their service being commonly confined to the places where they dwell, and have their families, so that they may at proper times follow their own employments.

THE military Mandarins are computed to amount to 18,000, and the soldiery to above *Number of* 700,000, who are all dispersed thro' the several provinces, especially the frontier ones of the *em.* empire, and along the *Chinese* wall, and are stationed in the military cities, towns, fortresses, and castles, we have elsewhere described; and, being commonly well clothed and armed, *How employed* make a very good appearance either in their marches or reviews; but come vastly short of those *ed, clothed, and paid* of *Europe* in courage or discipline, and are easily put into disorder, and routed; and, as the country hath now been a considerable time free from foreign or domestic wars, they have had little employment, except in suppressing the highwaymen and banditti in the inland, and the pirates on the sea-coasts, and in guarding the frontier towns. Their pay is about five-pence and about a pint of rice *per* day, and the horse in proportion^b.

^a MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 249. & seq.

^b Ibid.

(W) There is a difference of names, as well as dignity and power, between these governors; the one, who is called *Fú-ywen*, is only viceroy of one province; and the other, styled *Tsong-tú*, hath a government over two or three. Both are nominated by the emperor; and both are at the head of the supreme tribunal of the province, wherein all causes, civil and criminal, are decided. To

them the imperial commands are transmitted, and by them dispersed through all the other cities and districts of the province. Only the *Tsong-tú's* dignity is reckoned more considerable, as it is more extensive; so that he cannot be advanced to any higher, except he be made a minister of state, or president of one of the supreme courts(15).

(15) *Du Halde, & al. ubi supra.*

Their artillery
imperfect.

That of Eu-
rope introduc-
ed and admir-
ed.

Verbieft
casts some hun-
dreds of can-
non.

His way of
bleffing them.

Government of
the provinces,
cities, &c.

Wards.

Guard and
watch.

Common pro-
stitutes, how
tolerated.

THEIR artillery, till the Jesuits taught them a better way of casting and using it, was very pitiful, and hardly worthy of that name (X); and though it be allowed, that they had the invention of gunpowder much earlier than the *Europeans*, they hardly used it for any thing but fireworks, in which they excel. This made them at first be much surpris'd and terrified at our *European* guns, and the havock they made both in their being fired, and their recoiling; infomuch that they fled from them in the greatest panic, and could hardly be persuaded to come near them again: but, since then, the good missionaries have not only reconciled them to those frightful engines of destruction, but taught them the way of casting and using of them, so that they are now as well understood by them as by us: especially as Father *Verbieft*, the emperor's chief mathematician, did, by his order, cast, in one year, 132, and, in a little time after, 320 more, after the best *European* manner; and soon after published a treatise on founding and using of cannon, and presented it to that monarch, with forty-four tables, or cuts, shewing the whole art, and the manner of using the instruments necessary for levelling them. For this singular piece of service, Father *Verbieft* was highly honoured by that monarch, and all the the military tribe of Mandarins, who were present at the trial of them, and surpris'd at the exactness with which they hit the mark; whilst the good father was severely lampooned for it in *Spain* and *Italy*, as a person who deserved to be doubly excommunicated, for furnishing an infidel prince with such destructive arms: however, Pope *Innocent XI.* did not suffer him to labour long under those censures; but, by a particular brief, highly applauded what he had done, as tending to promote the conversion of the *Chinese*; and exhorted him to go on in the same laudable track, promising him his apostolical blessing, and pontifical assistance and protection in it. Besides, those pieces appear to have been of a religious cast, and had been blessed in a solemn manner: for the good father had before erected an altar in the foundery, with a crucifix upon it; and, in his surplice and stole, paid his homage to it, with the same prostrations and ceremonies as the *Chinese* use to their images; and gave each gun the name of a he or she saint, which he caused to be engraven on their breech; which, we are told, was done to prevent the *Chinese* using any of their superstitious ceremonies about them, who commonly offer sacrifices to the spirit of the air, mountains, rivers, lakes, &c. according to the nature of the work they go about, or put the last hand to^c.

HAVING taken thus far a view of the civil and military government of the empire, there remains that we say a few words of that of the provinces, capital cities, and of the districts under them. We have already hinted, that every province hath a viceroy, or governor, who commonly resides at the metropolis of it, and is the supreme judge and magistrate of it, excepting only his being subordinate to the supreme tribunals of *Pe-king*. He sits as president of the provincial courts, and superintends all the governors, judges, and members of the inferior ones, as well as the governors of all the cities of the first, second, and third order, and all the inferior magistrates of every district. Every city, besides its own governor and tribunal, is divided into a certain number of wards, every one of which hath its own respective head, who is answerable to the governor for every misdemeanor that happens within his precinct, as the master of every family is to him for what is done within his own walls, whether by children, servants, or lodgers; and, in some cases, as of a tumult, robbery, murder, and the like, the houses on each side are so for what is committed in that one. Not only the gates of each city, but even of each ward, are shut up at nights, and kept by a sufficient guard, who watch over all that passes within their respective boundaries; seize on all disorderly persons, suspicious strangers, and all night-walkers, who can't give a good account of their errand, and bring them on the next morning to the governor, to be either punished or released: but, for this, we shall refer the reader to what hath been said in the first section^d. One thing, which we did not there take notice of, we shall add, concerning their extreme care of keeping every part of the city in the profoundest peace that is possible; *viz.* that they suffer none of their common prostitutes to live within the walls, but in some outskirts of the suburbs, because they are apt to cause disturbances. Some of the governors will oblige a certain number of them, as ten or more, to live together in one house, and under the care and government of a man, who shall be answerable for their behaviour. Some governors will even deny them the liberty

^c DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 262, & seq.

^d See before, p. 500, & seq. & (L).

(X) All that we find mentioned of their old artillery, is only a few short and thick bombards, kept rather for shew than use, at the gates of *Nang-king*; but antient enough to shew, that they had some notion of cannon, tho' little or nothing of the *European* way of using them. We read likewise of some sort of patereroes, which they had in their vessels, of the use of which they knew little more than of that of their bombards.

The first they ever saw of the *European* fabricature were three handsome ones, which the *Portuguese* of *Makau*, or *Macao*, made a present of to the emperor, Anno

1621, together with proper artists to manage them. The first trial of them was made before some Mandarins, who were much surpris'd at the novelty; and much more at one of the pieces recoiling, and killing a *Portuguese*, and two *Chinese*, who did not get out of the way time enough. They were still more terrified at the havock which they saw them make among the *Tartars*, who came in swarms towards the great wall; intomuch that they fled from them in the greatest fright and confusion, and never dared come near them more (16).

(16) Du Halde, ubi sup. Vid. & Martini, Le Compte, & al.

of living within their districts, and severely punish as many as are found to do so after such a prohibition; so that they can, at the most, be said to be but barely tolerated^e.

EVERY province, besides its own viceroy, hath several orders of Mandarins, which are subordinate; and might be such an effectual check to him, that it would be impossible for him to be guilty of mal-administration without their knowledge and connivance: but the misfortune is, they find it so much their interest to wink at one another's crimes, that the people are fleeced and oppressed by them all in their turns. The first class of these Mandarins are the judges of the courts, who determine civil and criminal causes; the next attend the affairs of the treasury and revenue; and the third command over the militia. All these, according to the Chinese constitution, ought to remain in their offices no longer than three years; and are never to be natives of the province where they officiate, lest, if they be of mean descent, they should be despised; and if rich, they should be too well respected, or become too powerful, in it. This is esteemed one of their wise maxims in politics, in which they excel; to which we may add another, equally just and salutary, if strictly kept, viz. never to sell any office, but to confer them on persons merely out of regard to their merit, learning, and probity; and to allow them sufficient salaries, that they may be enabled to discharge their offices, and administer justice without fees or bribery.

THEIR palaces, and places of residence, are likewise provided for them at the charge of the government, to prevent their running into profusion of furniture, &c. notwithstanding all which wise precautions, those governors and Mandarins find means of amassing vast estates in those few years, and to conceal their extortions from the emperor; so that it plainly appears they all in general combine to conceal them from him, that they may more easily divide the spoil among themselves. Thus we are told the supreme tribunal at *Pe-king* extorts vast sums from the viceroys of the provinces, and these again from the Mandarins under them, who, by consequence, must fleece their inferior officers; and all of them join hands in oppressing the people, who dare neither resist nor complain, for fear of being ruined. Upon the whole, the Chinese appear to be little better than a nation of signal hypocrites, who boast of the equity and excellence of their laws, and stick at no violation of them; and, under the fairest outside, and pretence of justice and probity, indulge themselves in all manner of extortions, fraud and villainy: for we must not imagine this shameful depravity and corruption to be confined to the placemen, and officers of the government, it being observed to run no less through all the inferior ranks, from the richest merchants and tradesmen to the lowest porter or mechanic, who, though they cannot oppress like the great ones, are commonly given to cheating and cozening all they deal with; insomuch that there is scarce any country in the east, where oppression, corruption, and all manner of fraud, is more universally practised, according to the unanimous report of all who have written of it.

THERE may be added another cause of this general corruption; viz. their constitution not allowing of hereditary nobility, or distinction of quality, but such as arises from their offices, and the dignities bestowed on them by the emperor; so that though a man be arrived at some of the highest of them, yet his children have still their fortunes to make; and if they either want ability, or are given to pleasure, may, and do often, descend to the lowest rank and occupations: the preventing of which, by making some handsome provision for them, or getting them into some civil or military posts, by dint of presents, proves a new source of avarice and corruption; to say nothing of the figure, state, and retinue, which those ministers are obliged to keep up; all which, added to the exactions they labour under from those above them, help to keep them poor, craving, and extorting.

EVEN the princes of the blood, who are alone intitled to the dignity of nobles by birth (except the family of the great *Confucius*, of which we shall speak by-and-by), are subjected to the same necessity of bribing the kolaws and inspectors, in order to get into, or preserve themselves in, such high posts as the emperor is pleased to nominate them to; and, in order to keep up the grandeur of their rank, prove often as voracious as the Mandarins; and as for those who cannot obtain some such advantageous posts, they are often forced to conceal the only badge of their rank (which is a yellow girdle, and is common to all the imperial race), because they cannot appear in an equipage suitable to it: and yet it must be observed here, that, by these, are not meant the descendants of the former Chinese monarchs, whose race is quite extinct (Y), but those of the Tartarian emperors, who are not consequently above five generations

^e DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 265. & al. sup. citat.

(Y) We shall see, in the historical part, how every dynasty endeavoured to extirpate those of the foregoing. We are told, that, at the time of the conquest, there were still above 3000 families of these princes of the dynasty of *Ming*, in the city of *Kyang-chen*, several of whom were reduced to the lowest poverty: the greatest part of them destroyed by the pirates, who made them-

selves masters of *Pe-king*; and those who escaped were forced to lay aside their yellow girdle, change their names, and mix themselves with the people. It was but lately that one of them, who was reduced to be a servant of the missionaries, being discovered to be of the royal blood of *Ming*, was forced to flee, to avoid a worse fate from the *Tartars*, who were in search after

rations backwards ; but who are, however, multiplied to some thousands in that short time ; a polygamy, as well as poverty, causing them to increase to such a degree, that their pensions and appenage are thereby continually lessened, for they are allowed neither lands nor estates ^f.

Confucius's
family the only
noble one.

Their titles.

As for the family of *Kong-fû-tse*, or *Confucius*, above-mentioned, they are still to this day looked upon as the most respectable, or indeed the only, nobility, not only on account of the extraordinary merit of that excellent philosopher, but likewise on account of its great antiquity, it having been continued in a direct succession for above 2000 years, from one of his nephews, who is, on that account, styled *Sbing-jin-ti-shi-el*, or the nephew of the great sage. There has been always one of the family honoured with the title of *Kong*, or duke ; and the place of that philosopher's birth hath been always governed by a Mandarin of that family. Upon the whole, if we except the princes of the blood, and the *Confucian* family, the *Chinese* nation b may be rightly said to be divided only into three classes ; viz. the Mandarins, the Literati, and the plebeians ; which distinction seems to have been thus settled by the *Tartarian* emperors since the conquest, as the most effectual to keep their new dominions in greater subjection and dependence.

Another politi-
cal maxim.

THERE is one more excellent piece of politics among those monarchs, worth taking notice of, and which we shall close this article with ; viz. their obliging the petty kings, their tributaries, the viceroys, Mandarins, and other great officers, to send their children to court, under pretence indeed of giving them a better education, but in reality to remain there, as hostages for their fathers good behaviour and loyalty, and to prevent their forgetting their duty to the emperor. With the same view he obliges those great ministers themselves, as well as the princes c his vassals, to reside at court during a certain time, to attend on the prince by turns ; during which time none of them dares, on any pretence, repair either to their respective governments, or to their own paternal estates, without his particular leave, under the severest penalties ; neither dare any of them dispense with this attendance, except by a special licence, without the the manifest hazard of exposing their families to the severest resentment of those jealous monarchs ^e ; and this we may also look upon as another source of the avarice and corruption of those great ministers ; who are not only obliged to appear themselves, but to maintain their families there, in the greatest splendor that their circumstances can possibly allow ; all which can never be done by their bare salary, if what most authors tell us be true, that the highest of them doth not amount to much above 2000 crowns a year ^h.

The splendor of
the imperial
court.

Fast retinue.

By what we have just now hinted of the numerous and splendid appearance of these grandees, the reader may easily guess at the magnificence of the imperial court ; and indeed, by all the accounts we have of it, nothing can be imagined more grand and superb, especially when that monarch makes his public appearance, as he commonly doth four times in a month, at which times he is accompanied by all those tributary kings, viceroys, Mandarins, and other officers in waiting, to the number of 4 or 5000. As often as he is called out of his palace by his imperial function of high-priest, and the only person fit to offer sacrifices to *Tyen*, or to perform any other religious rites, he is always attended by 8000 men, four elephants, a great number of trumpets, several hundreds of horsemen, with banners and other insignia, all dressed and adorned in the most pompous manner ; whilst he himself appears commonly on horseback, the harness covered with gold tissue, and glittering with the richest variety of precious stones. The umbrella that is carried over his head, and covers him and his horse, sparkles so with diamonds, that the eye can hardly bear the lustre of them, especially in a clear sunshine. One hundred large gilt lanterns with flambeaux are carried before it ; and, after him, follow all the tributary kings, princes of the blood, 200 Mandarins and ministers of the first rank, 2000 commanders of his army, 500 youth of quality, attended each by two footmen dressed in fine coronation silk, richly embroidered with gold, silver, &c. d

Hunting di-
version.

His retinue is still more numerous whenever he goes out of his capital upon any particular expedition, or to visit some places at a distance from it ; at which time his attendance looks more like a little army than a princely escorte. But the grandest of all is, when he goes out f to take the usual diversion of hunting, as he commonly doth in the province of *Lyau-tong*, without the great wall ⁱ, or in some forests on the frontiers of *Tartary* ; at which time he is attended with an army of 40,000 horse, stationed at proper distances along the road, 3000 *Tartarian* archers, and a party of lancers riding before and after him, besides his usual retinue of nobles, viceroys, courtiers, &c.

^f DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat.
& seq. See MARTINI, NAVARETTA, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, &c.

^e Ibid.

^h Ibid. ubi sup.

ⁱ See before, p. 554.

him (17) ; so that none are now styled princes of the blood, but those who are related to the present imperial family ; and, in favour of these, they have created five

honorary titles, the highest of which, that of *Kong*, answers to our dukes, and the others to our marquises, earls, viscounts, &c. (18).

(17) Du Halde, ubi supra, p. 269.

(18) Nieuhoff, Navaretta, & al.

a It is on these occasions that the *Tartarian* princes, his vassals or tributaries, to the number of thirty or forty, are obliged to come and pay their homage to him, in the most splendid equipages, and with a retinue suitable to their rank : for, though vassals, or tributary to him, they are still permitted to bear the title of *Chams*, or emperors, and strive to make the noblest appearance they can, and to outvie one another in the splendor of their train : all which still adds more lustre and magnificence to that of the *Chinese* monarch, and is an effectual means of keeping those princes more steady in their obedience ; because he commonly obliges them with some marks of his favour on all such occasions, either by bestowing some of his daughters on them, making them some considerable presents, or assisting them with some of his forces, to protect them from the western or *Muscovite Tartars*. Homage paid to him, by his vassals.

b It is not easy to reckon what the imperial revenue amounts to, because a great part of it is paid in goods as well as in specie. *Niewhoff* computed it at about thirty-seven millions sterling *per annum*^k ; and *Le Compte* only at twenty-one or twenty-two millions^l ; others, as *Magailan*, *Martini*, and *Navaretta*, still differ from them, and from each other ; which shews there must be either some considerable fluctuation in it, or, which is more likely, too great a difficulty to come at an exact calculation of it. The last author that wrote upon it makes the whole to amount to about 200,000,000 of taels^m, each tael weighing an ounce of silver, worth 100 *French* sols, or somewhat above five of our shillings, which will be about equivalent to fifty millions sterling. That of grain, such as rice, wheat, and millet, is com- In goods.

c 1,315,937 loaves, each loaf weighing 50 pounds ; beans for his horses, 210,470 sacks ; trusses of hay and straw, 22,598,597 ; wrought silks and stuffs, 191,530 pounds weight ; each pound of 20 ounces ; unwrought silk, 409,896 pounds ; callico, 367,480 pieces ; linen cloth, 560,280, besides vast quantities of velvet, satin, damask, and other silks ; china-ware, varnish, oil, oxen, sheep, hogs, deer, wild and tame fowl, fish, pot-herbs, meal, biscuits, butter, vinegar, fruits, spices, and other provisions, and several sorts of wines, &c. ; all which are annually brought into the palace by the imperial barks, amounting to 9999, or, according to others, 10,000 (Z), and employed by the emperor in gathering and bringing his revenue from every province to his capitalⁿ. All these provisions are levied on the subjects, Tribute, how raised. as particular duties on their respective lands : for it appears from all our accounts of that empire, that lands are there enjoyed in property, and not at the prince's disposal, as in other parts of *India* ; and hence it comes that the tenants are here commonly very poor, because they farm the lands from the owners at the rate of half the crop, out of which the landlord pays the Lands how held and lett. taxes ; and the tenant, out of his, pays the tillage and manure^o.

Another part of the revenue arises from the tribute laid on every male in the empire that is above 20, and under 60, years of age ; and is said to amount to an immense sum, though we are not told how great (A). The third is levied out of the mines and manufactures of the country : besides all which, the emperor hath power to raise new taxes on the people whenever the exigencies of state require it ; but, those already settled being commonly more than sufficient to answer all his expences, he is so far from making use of that power, that that there scarcely passes a year in which he doth not ease some one or more provinces of a great part of their tribute, if they happen to labour under any famine, or other public calamity^p.

As polygamy is allowed both in *Tartary* and *China*, the emperor hath commonly a good number of wives, though but one who is properly called *empress*, or *select consort*, who alone Imperial wives and concubines.

^k Dutch Ambassy. ^l State of China, part 2. let. 1.

also before, p. 505, & seq. & alib. pass.

^m *See* MARTINI, MAGAILLAN, LE COMPTE, NAVARETTA, DU HALDE, &c. See before, p. 476.

ⁿ *Ibid. ibid.* ^p MARTINI, MAGAILLAN, LE COMPTE, NAVARETTA, & DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 244, & seq.

^m DU HALDE, ubi supra, p. 224. See

ⁿ *See* MARTINI, MAGAILLAN, LE COMPTE, NAVARETTA, DU HALDE, &c. See before, p. 476.

^o *Ibid. ibid.*

^p MARTINI, MAGAILLAN, LE COMPTE, NAVARETTA, & DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 244, & seq.

(Z) Most authors tell us, that the former is the true number of those barges, which the *Chinese* prefer to the latter, as carrying a more pompous sound : for which reason they will not add one more to it (19). Whether the *Chinese* were ever guilty of so low a piece of pride, or whether it was not rather done out of a superstitious regard to the number 9 four times repeated, we will not affirm. *Du Halde* makes use of the round number 10,000 ; but whether to conceal their weakness in that point, or because the *Tartars* have since added another barge, out of contempt to the *Chinese* superstition or folly, we are not told.

(A) There have been reckoned formerly, we are told (20), above 58,000,000 of persons that paid this tribute ; and, at the poll taken in the emperor *Kang-hi*'s reign, there were found 11,052,872 families, and 59,788,364 men able to bear arms, exclusive of the

princes, officers civil and military, discharged soldiers, Literati, licentiates, doctors, Bonzas, and all males under 20, and above 60 ; all which must amount to an immense number, seeing the very Bonzas are computed at above 1,000,000, and the licentiates, or literary bachelors, at 90,000.

The whole land, and the number of families, being duly surveyed, it is easy to compute what each province, city, and district, is to pay yearly to the tax-gatherers ; but these, it seems, are not permitted to seize the goods of those who are slow in their payments, or even refuse it, which would ruin their families : the only course they take, is either bastonading or imprisonment, or quartering upon them some of the old men of each city, which are maintained by the emperor's charity, till they have consumed what is equivalent to their arrears (21).

(19) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 224. See before, p. 476, & seq.* (20) *Ibid. ibid.* (21) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 244.*

is allowed to sit at table with him. Among those of the next order are reckoned nine of a second, and thirty of the third rank, and all of them styled wives. Next to them are those styled queens, but are in reality rather concubines; and of these he takes as great a number as he pleases, and keeps them in different apartments from the former, except he should take a particular fancy to any one of them, and bring her into the inward court (B). But, in general, he shews the most respect and favour to those who bring him most children, and especially to the mother of the first son; though they are all inferior to the imperial consort, and obliged to wait on her whilst she sits at table with him. However, with respect to their children, those of the lower rank stand as good a chance to succeed in the empire as those of the first, some of them having been raised to that dignity by the bare will and nomination of the emperor; for though he commonly bestows some high title on those women he takes to his bed, especially when they are the daughters or sisters of some *Tartarian* princes, yet doth it not appear that he ever endows her by any contract, or other engagement, as shall intitle her issue by him to the succession; no, not even the empress's consort, though she be at the head of all the rest (C); for that right of naming a successor he wholly reserves to himself.

*Their children
equally capable
of succeeding to
the throne.*

As soon, therefore, as he hath once named one to it, whether elder or younger, all the rest readily submit; and live in palaces assigned to them, either in the capital, or some other cities, but without any government, and never remove from them without the emperor's leave. Their appenage is duly paid to them by the treasurer of the province where they reside, and live as private gentlemen; nor dare they ever complain of an injury being done to their birthright, though the person nominated to the succession, or upon the throne, be ever so much younger, which, in either case, would be interpreted as no less a crime than treason.

*The imperial
palace de-
scribed.*

HAVING mentioned the various apartments, or rather palaces, of the imperial wives and concubines, it may be expected that we should subjoin a particular description of them here: but, as that would unavoidably carry us beyond our bounds, we shall content ourselves with referring our readers to what we have said on this head in the last section, when we were describing the metropolis of *Pe-king*^a; and only mention here that stately part of it called the hall of audience, where foreign ambassadors are admitted to the imperial presence, in order to give them a clear idea of that august ceremony.

*Hall of audi-
ence described.*

THIS noble fabric stands in one of the inner courts of the palace, and in the center of a square solid basis, of an extraordinary bigness, the top of which is surrounded by a spacious balustrade, and over it another building somewhat less, and over that three more, all decreasing in size as they do in height, and all of them of white marble. On the uppermost of these is a large room of slate, supported by four rows of pillars of a considerable height, and beautifully gilt and varnished, where the imperial throne is placed, and the roof covered with shining yellow tiles. Those vast bases, with their balustrades, which are disposed in form of an amphitheatre, make a magnificent appearance; and, with their varnish and gilding, quite dazzle the eye. Here the emperor, attended by a great number of his grandees, and prime ministers, in their robes, by the princes of the blood, tributary kings, &c. all prostrate on their faces before the throne, and each of them at a proper distance from it, according to their rank, gives audience to the ambassadors, who are conducted to the throne by some of the viceroys in waiting. The

*Reception of
ambassadors.*

^a See before, p. 500, & seq.

(B) *Martini* relates a singular story of one of this last sort of ladies, named *Pan*, who, for her wit, beauty, and singular prudence, was become such a great favourite of the emperor *Ching-hi*, or *Kang-hi*, that he could no longer brook that she should lodge in outward and inferior palaces, allotted to those of her rank, but resolved to bring her into one of those more splendid ones of the inward court; but which she refused with a modesty peculiar to her, and in words to this effect: "I have learned from some of our antient paintings, for I am ignorant of letters, that good emperors admitted none near their persons but the wisest and most faithful ministers; and that bad ones, on the contrary, delighted to have such women about them as debauched them into the greatest irregularities and crimes. You are now desirous to prefer me to your own imperial consort: but take care, lest, by such a step, you do not begin to tread in those of wicked monarchs. As for me, who have a sincere love and esteem for you, who am always proud of being commended by you, and the height of all whose wishes is, to see you excel daily more and more in all kinds

of princely virtues, I cannot consent we should increase the number, you of bad emperors, and I of wicked women. You have a worthy empress at the head of your other wives, and it is her whom you ought to keep near your person, and not such a one as I, who am only a servant to you both." This signal instance of female modesty, our author adds, was highly applauded by the emperor; and much more so by the empress, who failed not to send her her thanks, as soon as she was apprised of it (21).

(C) It is also upon the same politic account that none of those wives, or other ladies, are allowed any share in their government and councils, though there have been instances of some of them being much fitter for it than those that sat at the helm; but this is a maxim which runs through most eastern countries, that that sex is excluded by nature from all government, either civil or even domestic; and for that reason it is that they call *Europe* the kingdom of ladies, in contempt; where, they have been told, they were suffered to succeed to the crown, and to be invested with the sovereign power (22).

(21) *Martin. Hist. Sinic. l. x. temp. 11.*

(22) *Navaretta, Martini, Le Compt. Nieuboff, & al.*

a throne is raised about three or four feet from the ground, in the fashion of an altar, and covered with fables, on which the emperor sits cross-legged, after the manner of the *Tartars*. It is *The throne described.* placed against the farther wall, facing the eastern entrance; and opens with two folding-doors, curiously carved and painted. It is about three fathoms high, and as many in breadth; and before it are two ascents, with six steps each, adorned with rails beautifully wrought and gilt. The platform on which it was raised is likewise encompassed with a balustrade of curious workmanship, and either of beaten gold, or of silver deeply gilt.

THE hall itself is about thirty fathoms long, and ten broad; the sides and top curiously panelled, carved and varnished; and the floor covered with carpets representing landscapes and histories, with variety of figures and ornaments. As to what relates to the ceremony of receiving, and giving audience to, foreign ambassadors, the reader may see the most material part of it in the next note (D), as we have chiefly taken it from the relation which his excellency Mr. *Izbrandts Ides*, formerly ambassador to the emperor *Shang-tu* from the Czar of *Muscovy*, hath given us of his own*. That of Father *Le Compte* was indeed somewhat different from it; which may be supposed to have been more suitable to the character in which he appeared, or perhaps, as likely, to the mourning which the emperor and court were then in for the death of his mother, who therefore chose to be seen in that state, rather than in the usual splendor of a *Chinese* monarch†. However, either of those audiences sufficiently shews the politeness and magnificence of that court, as well as the vast respect it pays to its princes.

WE have already taken notice, that the *Chinese* laws had their original from the canonical books of the first and second rank, of which books we have given an account in a former part of this work‡. But, as their monarchs are the sole interpreters of them, so that no sentence can be valid, whether in civil or criminal cases, how conformable soever to those laws, till it hath been ratified and confirmed by them; and as all the edicts and declarations have the force of laws, and admit of no dispute or demur, under the severest penalties, so one may say that the sole legislative power is lodged in their breast, and wholly depends upon their will. *The Chinese laws depend on the monarch's will.*

* Chap. 14, & seq.

† State of China, part i. let. 2.

‡ See before, Introd. p. 449, & seq.

(D) He was, he says, conducted to the palace by three Mandarins, in their robes of state, richly embroidered with gold on the breast and back, some with figures of dragons, others with lions, and a third sort with cranes and tygers. These brought him fifty horses for him and his retinue; and, being alighted at the gate of the outward court, he passed through five others, and came to the hall of audience. Here he found his majesty seated upon his throne, attended by a vast number of Mandarins, and delivered his credentials to him; and, after a short speech, was reconducted to his house with the same ceremony and attendance. The emperor was dressed in a dark-coloured damask waistcoat, a coat of deep-blue sattin, lined with ermines; he had a string of coral about his neck, and on his head a cap faced with sable, with a red silk tuft or knot, and some peacock-feathers hanging down behind, and boots or buskins of black velvet on his legs; but had neither gold nor jewels about him.

He was afterwards invited to an entertainment at court, to which he was conducted by the same attendance as before; and, after having crossed six courts, was introduced into the palace, where, soon after his entrance, the emperor seated himself on a high throne, attended by some persons who played very finely on the small flute, and a life-guard of twelve men with halberds gilt, and without any point, but adorned with leopards and tygers tails. As soon as the emperor was seated, the music ceased, and the halberdiers sat down cross-legged on each side of the throne. The viceroy, the emperor's uncle, and two other grandees, stood on each side of his majesty; and the ambassador was at first placed about eight yards distance from him, but was presently after ordered to come nearer to him. The viceroy, who received his majesty's command on his knees, conducted him, by the hand, four yards nearer to the throne, whilst his retinue were placed about ten or twelve yards behind him. Here the emperor sent again the viceroy to inquire after the czar's health; and returned his excellency's answer to him in the same kneeling posture.

The covering of the emperor's table, which was of

yellow damask, being taken off, the ambassador, who had one spread for himself, was desired to fall to, as were also about 200 Mandarins more, who were seated two and two at their tables also. They all sat cross-legged upon carpets, and the ambassador was forced to submit to that uneasy posture. The entertainment consisted of cold meats and fruits: and, among the former, the emperor sent his excellency a cold goose, a pig, and a loin of mutton, all roasted. Three Jesuits being afterwards sent for to serve as interpreters, and having paid their respects to the throne on their knees, one of them was ordered to ask his excellency several questions concerning his journey, the length and manner of it; and, having communicated his answer to the emperor, the viceroy was again bid to bring him nearer to his throne; and, having led him five or six steps higher, set him at the table opposite to the imperial one, where, after many other questions, a golden cup filled with *kumis* (a *Tartarian* liquor, said to be distilled from mares milk) was handed to him by the viceroy; and, after his having drank some of it, his retinue, being ordered to advance five or six yards nearer, were treated likewise with it. Presently after that ceremony, the viceroy conducted him to his former place; where, after having sat about a quarter of an hour, the emperor arose; and, saluting him, retired to his own apartment; and then the Mandarins conducted his excellency to see a *Chinese* play of the heroic kind, and interlarded with a farce of two acts.

In his audience of leave, he observed a new kind of ceremony, which was used upon the emperor's being seated on his throne; viz. a herald calling aloud to the grandees then present to stand up, and bow themselves to the earth; which they did three times, the drums beating, musick playing, and bells ringing all the while. His excellency was afterwards brought up, and placed within nine or ten yards of the throne, between two *Tartarian* lords, and there made his compliments to the emperor; after which, he was reconducted to his own house with the usual ceremony, and in one of the emperor's chariots, drawn by an elephant (23).

(23) *Izbrandts Ides Ambassy. c. 4, & seq.*

Some of their
excellent de-
clarations.

Whether their power was antiently so extensive, we dare not say; the contrary seems rather a more probable, both from their history, and from the imperial collections of edicts of the several dynasties, since compiled by order of the emperor *Kang-hi*, with his judicious remarks at the end of almost every one, and written with the red pencil, that is, with his own hand, and translated into *Latin* by Father *Hervieu*, one of the missionaries in *China*. From both these it appears, that several of those antient emperors have repealed and annulled some of their old established laws; and substituted others in their stead, which they thought more beneficial to the commonwealth, though it must be also owned, that they seem rather, from the tenor of their declarations, to have recommended the doing of it to their supreme courts and councils, than to have done it by their sole authority: such, for instance, were some of the declarations of the emperor *Ven-ti*, in one of which, *viz.* against prosecuting those that criticised upon the then form of government, after having given his reasons against the law that condemned them to be prosecuted, he concludes in these words: *No; I can never suffer the continuation of such a law, and therefore let it be repealed*; and in another, which subjected the parents, children, and relations of a criminal, to the same punishment, which he calls *a cruel and unjust one*, he concludes with saying, *such that law seems to me, of which I cannot see the good tendency: let it be maturely deliberated, whether it be not necessary to have it repealed*. We shall give our readers the substance of two or three other such declarations in the margin (E), that they may see

(E) That against involving the innocent relations in the punishment of a criminal, runs in words to this effect: "Laws, being the rules of government, ought to be faultless; and should not only punish the guilty, but protect the innocent: yet I find, among our laws, one still in force, by which, when a man is criminal, his father, mother, wife, and children, are involved in his punishment, and the least punishment they have to dread is slavery. This law I can by no means approve of: it is a sure maxim, that laws, when perfectly just, are the surest means of keeping the people in their duty. When punishment falls only on the head of the guilty, all the world commends the judgment. The first duty of a magistrate is, to guide the people like a good shepherd, and to prevent their going astray. If our magistrates have not succeeded in this, and have still laws to judge by, which are not consistent with the strictest equity, those laws, though well designed at first, turn to the prejudice of the people, and favour of cruelty." Such is the law I have mentioned; and therefore the emperor *Kang-hi*'s remark upon it is as follows:

These wise princes, the antient [Chinese] emperors, often descended from the majesty of their throne, to bewail and weep over the guilty. How unreasonable is it to include, in the punishment of a malefactor, his father, his mother, his wife, and children? Ven-ti was for the abolishing of that law, and therefore we may conclude him to have been a good prince.

Another declaration of the same emperor *Ven-ti*, for the promoting of agriculture, is to the following purport: "They who have the government of the people in their hands, ought to inspire them with all possible concern for whatever contributes to the good of the state: such, without doubt, is agriculture.

"For this reason I have been recommending it to them these ten years; yet I do not observe that they have sufficiently cultivated their new grounds, or caused a greater plenty of grain: on the contrary, I see hunger and want painted on the face of the poor. Surely either the magistrates, and subordinate officers, have not had a due regard to my ordinances on this head, or they are unfit for the rank they possess. Alas! if the magistrates, who are immediate witnesses of the people's misery, are regardless of it, what effectual remedy can I apply for their relief: this must be thought of. In the mean time I remit half of my revenue in grain for the current year."

The emperor *Kang-hi*'s reflexion upon it is no less remarkably beautiful; and runs to this effect: *Nothing can be more just than this declaration, or more admirably expressed; even to this day it is affecting, and what must it have been when it was first published?*

The reader may see, by these two instances, in how amiable a manner they endeavoured to enforce the ob-

servance of their salutary edicts, and the repealing of such old laws as tended to the detriment, rather than the peace and safety, of their subjects; and in how different a style they recommended the one, and condemned the other, from what we usually observe, not only in most of the other eastern monarchs, but even among those in our western kingdoms, where their power is neither so extensive, nor their wealth or strength so great, to support them in their tyrannic government. The reader may see a much greater number of them in the above mentioned collection, all running in the same gentle and fatherly strain. We shall only single out one more, which, for its excellence in this way, may be termed an original in its kind. It is from the same admirable prince; and the occasion of it, the many constant prayers and supplications offered by his ministers on his behalf, whilst they neglected their duty towards his subjects. It is to this purport.

"I am now arrived at the 14th year of my reign; and the longer it continues, the more I am sensible of, and confounded at, my want of abilities: and though I have not hitherto omitted the yearly discharge of those ceremonies prescribed to *Shang-ti*, and to my ancestors; yet I am sensible, that, in those ceremonies, none of those antient and wise princes had any view to their own private interest, or offered up their petitions for what is commonly termed happiness. On the contrary, they set all considerations of blood or family-interest aside, to promote an able worthy man, though no way related to them, and preferred the wise counsel of another to their own natural inclinations. Nothing can be more commendable or wise than such a disinterestedness in great princes.

"At present I am given to understand, that many officers strive to outdo one another in their prayers for the good fortune, of whom? not of my people, but of my person. This is what cannot by any means be agreeable to me. Could I approve that officers unmindful of their duty, and unattentive to the welfare of my people, should be wholly taken up with promoting that of a prince who has so little merit as I have, I should think it no inconsiderable addition to my other failings. I therefore ordain, that my officers, instead of their pompous petitions for me, do give all possible application to a conscientious discharge of their duty."

This declaration, like most others, is subscribed, and much approved, by the wise emperor *Kang-hi*; and with this judicious observation, that it is a man's virtue, and not the offerings and prayers of other people, that draws down blessings from *Heaven* upon him: to which our author adds an observation of one of the famed Literati, named *Tsing-ang*, who flourished under the dynasty of *Song*: That the good emperor *Ven-ti* ascribed all the defects that happened in the state to

- a see not only how much some of those excellent monarchs had the peace and welfare of their subjects at heart, but also how tender they were of wounding the antient constitution of the empire by too despotic a use of their power and authority; for one may plainly see, that it was chiefly owing to this strict observance of the fundamentals of their government, that the *Chinese* have been able to preserve it in such wealth and splendor during so long a series of ages; and still continue to do, even under a foreign yoke. It is no less visible likewise, that the present peace, wealth, and grandeur, which both they and the *Tartars* enjoy under this new sett of emperors, is no less owing to the tender regard which these have, as far as possible, shewn to the antient *Chinese* constitution: and one may plainly judge how much the late emperor *Kang-li* admired it, as well from the strict observance he paid to it, as from the judicious reflections he made on *style*. *Condescending*
- b the declarations above-mentioned. We may add, that he could not have fallen upon a more effectual means to endear the *Chinese* nation to him, and make his yoke sit easy upon them, than by causing those declarations of the best antient *Chinese* kings to be collected and published, with his sagacious animadversions and encomiums upon them; by which he seemed to give them a moral security, that he designed to make them the model of his own conduct and government". Accordingly we find, that he admitted none in his collection, but those which either proposed the repealing of such old laws as were manifestly hurtful to the subjects, or the enacting such new ones as were best calculated to promote their peace and welfare; as the reader may see by the heads of the most remarkable of them, which he will find in the next note (F).

" See DU HALDE Engl. vol. i. p. 454, & seq.

to his own self; but with regard to happiness, he disdained it all, except where his subjects had their common share in it; in which he was a worthy imitator and successor of our antient monarchs (24).

(F) Besides the three singular ones above mentioned, the collection mentions these that follow:

4. A declaration of the same emperor *Ven-ti*, on occasion of an eclipse of the sun, in the days of *Han*; wherein he acknowledges that phænomenon to be a warning from *Tien* (heaven), both to him and his subjects, of some future calamity; and, as bad princes often draw them upon the people, he desires his ministers and subjects to examine with the utmost strictness into his conduct, and to acquaint him with what they find amiss in it, that he may, by his reformation, and good example, induce them to do the like, and thereby avert the threatening omen. One of the glosses upon it adds, that this is the first time that a *Chinese* emperor had, upon such an occasion, desired to be told of his faults; but that, since the days of *Ven-ti*, many of those monarchs had followed his example.

5. A declaration of the same, for exchanging some severe mutilations, inflicted on offenders, into some milder punishments. In this the good emperor bewails himself, that under the reign of *Sbur*, a prince of extraordinary wisdom, the executing delinquents in effigie was deemed sufficient to keep people within their duty; whereat, in his days, the most severe mutilations, such as cutting off the nose, hand, foot, branding in the forehead, could not deter men from the blackest crimes. However, he ordains the exchanging of these for such other punishments, which, though severe according to the nature of the fact, shall not fix an indelible brand, but rather prove a means of their amendment, and being restored to the common privileges of a subject.

6. Another of the same, charging all his ministers, from the highest to the lowest, to inquire after men of the most approved virtue, merit, learning, &c. and to present them to him; and, in the mean time, that those, who were in the highest posts, should assist in examining the four following essential points; viz. 1. His daily and personal faults. 2. The defects of the present administration. 3. The injustice of the magistrates. 4. The necessities of the people.

7. Another of the same, giving his reasons for putting an end to a bloody and expensive war, and making peace with *Tan-yu* a *Tartarian* prince, on the north of *China*, and which he concludes with these remarkable words: *In this year, I can say I have acquitted myself of the first duty incumbent on a prince; which is, to establish peace in his family.*

8. Another of the same, in which he exhorts his subjects to give him their advice in his administration, to send him people of virtue and experience, to assist him with their counsels, and to apply and speak to him with freedom. This declaration procured him a memorial from one of his head ministers, so much to his liking, that he issued out a

9th, to the same purpose with the former, but still more earnest and pressing, to the rest of his officers, to come and acquaint him with every defect in the administration, and to advise him how to remove them in the most effectual manner.

10. A declaration of the emperor *Sun-ti*, ordering persons remarkable for their filial piety to be presented to him, out of every government in his empire, in order to their being promoted by him according to their merit.

11. Another of the same, which grants an exemption from all attendance on public service to those who had lost their father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, till they had performed all the usual duties of mourning to such parents. What these duties are, will be seen in the sequel.

12. Another of the same, by which he dispensed, for the future, with a son's accusing his parents, or a wife her husband; but made it capital for a father or a husband to conceal certain crimes of his son, or of his wife.

13. A declaration of the emperor *Ching ti* to the great ministers of his empire, recommending to them the care of suppressing all unnecessary expences of equipages, clothes, entertainments, weddings, houses, furniture, gardens, ponds, &c. and forbidding all people to go beyond their rank in any of these.

14. A declaration of the emperor *Ngay-ti*, for the reformation of music, and suppressing that kind of it which inspired people with wantonness and effeminacy, and discharging his own band of musicians, by way of example to his subjects, and by which, the gloss observes, he saved the yearly salary of 440 persons. We shall go no farther with them; but only observe, that these excellent declarations from the throne commonly produced some good memorials, or discourses, on the subject they treated of; which were handled with such politeness, and strength of reasoning, that they seldom failed of the desired effect: they being chiefly written by some of the wisest and most experienced ministers of those monarchs, and by those confirmed, and deposited in their archives, for the benefit of those that were to come after (25).

(24) See *Hervieu's Collection* above quoted, *Du Halde's version* of it, and the *English version* of that, vol. i. p. 254, & seq.

(25) *Ibid.* p. 454, & seq.

Their constitution polished by degrees.

WE may farther observe under this head, from the tenor of several of those imperial declarations, that though the *Chinese* constitution be cried up as such an excellent model of government, yet it had originally, or at least antiently, several severe laws, that favoured rather of tyranny, than of a well-calculated polity between the prince and his subjects. Of this nature was that which condemned all the relations of a criminal to the same punishment with him; and another which hurried the condemned persons to execution, without allowing them a sufficient respite for farther inquiry; so that great numbers of guiltless persons had been unjustly put to death, whose innocence had manifestly appeared afterwards, when it was too late. The reader may see many others of the same nature in the list below, as likewise in that of those new ones since enacted, by which it plainly appear, that the *Chinese* government did not arrive to that mildness and excellency, but by degrees, and that it was chiefly owing to those wise and good princes, who made it their chief study to reform and improve it by their wholesome edicts, and laudable example.

Some cruelties still practised.

NEITHER can it be said that this reformation hath been so effectually and universally completed, as to answer the great character which some have given us of this government; witness the corruption and depravity which still reign amongst them; and the great power, or rather tyranny, which the viceroys, or governors, still exert against the subjects, in the fines and corporal punishments they inflict upon them: for though, as we hinted above, no criminal can be put to death, according to their laws, till the emperor hath confirmed the sentence, yet whether the reducing them to beggary by fines and confiscation, torture and imprisonments, or bastonading them till they expire under the blows, or become poor miserable cripples by it, as is commonly, and impune, done by those merciless Mandarins, be not much more cruel than the worst death the law condemns any criminal to, and do not argue a defect in their constitution, more fit to be reformed than any of those mentioned in these declarations, will hardly admit of a question.

Various punishments; for treason;

THEIR punishments are either capital, as in cases of rebellion, murder, &c. corporal, as in lesser crimes, or pecuniary. Rebellion and treason, being esteemed the greatest of all crimes, are punished with the greatest rigour, viz. by cutting the criminal into 10,000 pieces, in the following manner: The executioner, having first tied him to a stake, tears the skin off his forehead and head, and lets it hang over his eyes, to prevent, as some tell us, his seeing how dreadfully the rest of his body is mangled; he next slashes the other parts with a kind of cutlance, till he hath cut almost all his flesh in pieces; and then abandons him to the cruelty of the gazing populace, who commonly dispatch him in the same butcherly manner. This punishment, however, is seldom executed to the last rigour, unless it be under some cruel princes; for, according to the law, it consists only in cutting the body of the criminal into several pieces, ripping up his belly, and taking out his entrails, and throwing the carcase into a river, or ditch, as is commonly done to great malefactors^w (G).

for disobedience to parents:

THE next crime to rebellion, or treason, against the emperor, is that against the parents, which is punished with the same, if not greater, severity. In this case, if a father charges his son with it before a magistrate, no farther proof is required, and the criminal is immediately condemned and executed, though it be but for obstinate disobedience, or disrespect; but if it amounts to a higher guilt, such as mockery, insult, or lifting up a hand against them, especially striking them, the whole country is alarmed, and the appointing of his punishment reserved for the emperor himself. In this last case, the magistrates of the place are turned out with disgrace, and the whole neighbourhood is threatened with some severe punishment, for having given birth to a monster, and suffered it to grow by degrees to that pitch of wickedness, without informing their governors of it. The criminal is condemned to be cut, like a traitor or rebel, into 10,000 pieces, and afterwards burnt; his lands, house or houses, and the houses next to his, to be destroyed, and to remain so, as a monument against so detestable a crime (H).

Their great respect to them.

MURDER

^w DU HALDE Engl. vol. i. p. 413, & seq. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, & al.

(G) This punishment, as was hinted in the last note but one, used to be inflicted on all the near relations of the criminal, till the emperor *Yen-ti* caused that cruel law to be repealed: and it may, in the same manner, have been mitigated, with respect to the execution of the criminal, by that or some other monarch, though originally it was performed according to the letter, and as the name of the punishment implies; so that one may truly say of some of the antient laws of *China*, what the *Greeks* said of those of *Draco* the *Athenian* lawgiver, that they were written in blood (26), till they were afterwards mitigated by princes of a milder disposition.

(H) There is no duty which the *Chinese* laws so much require, or lay so great a stress on, as obedience to parents, whose authority reaches, in some cases, even beyond their funeral, as we shall shew in the sequel. Even the emperors are obliged by them to shew as deep a respect to them as the meanest of their subjects; and we read of one of them, who, having banished his own mother for entertaining a criminal conversation with one of his courtiers, was so importuned by his ministers and subjects with petitions for her recall, and with daily remonstrances against his breach of filial duty, in banishing her, that he was forced at length to comply,

(26) See before, *Anc. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 421, & seq.

though

- a MURDER is likewise punished with death, according to the nature of it. If a man kills his adversary in a duel, he is strangled, which is there reckoned the lesser punishment; but if by assassination, or with any aggravating circumstances, he is beheaded, which is reckoned the more dishonourable, because his head, the principal part of a man, is severed from the body, so that he doth not go out of the world with the same intire body with which he came into it: in either case, persons above the common rank are always carried to the place of execution either in a sedan, or a covered cart. The emperor, when he confirms any of these sentences of death, commonly subscribes the dead warrant according to the nature of the crime; as, when it is of an atrocious kind, with these words, *As soon as this order is received by you, let him be executed without any delay*: but when the crime is of a common nature, and hath nothing to aggravate it, he writes this sentence under it, *Let the criminal be kept in prison till autumn, and then be executed*; for there is a fixed day in that season, on which all criminals of this nature are to be put to death through the empire*.

Murder punished by strangling and beheading.

- ADULTERY is so far from being esteemed a capital crime by the Chinese, that some fond parents, out of a tender regard for their daughters weakness, will contract with their future husbands, in consideration of some valuable present, to allow them the liberty of indulging themselves now-and-then with a gallant, without being called to an account for it. But, where no such precaution hath been taken before marriage, the husband hath power to inflict some corporal punishment on a wife whenever she transgresses, or else to divorce her from him; and, if the adulterer hath committed any violence in the fact, he may be sued and punished for it, either by a pecuniary or corporal punishment, according to the sentence of the Mandarin or judge before whom he is brought. However, the women here value themselves so much, at least outwardly, for their modesty and conjugal fidelity, and are besides kept so closely shut up by their husbands, and under so great a restraint, that cases of this nature very seldom happen.

Adultery not capital.

- NEITHER is theft capitally punished, unless it be aggravated by some other circumstances. Those that are guilty of it, are either condemned to the bastonado, that is, to receive such a number of blows of a cudgel on their back or buttocks, lying with their faces downwards on the ground, as the magistrate, who presides, shall appoint. After which, if the offender be able, he is to kneel down before him, and thank him for his kind correction; though one blow would be sufficient to lame a man, if the executioner was not bribed, as we are told they frequently are. Even the Mandarins are liable to this punishment, which shews that it is not reckoned a very scandalous one: however, we are told, that there are some sort of sturdy fellows, who, for a sum of money, will let themselves out to receive it in the room of the offender†; which, if true, discovers either the weakness or corruption of the magistrate.

Bastonado, how given.

- WHEN the theft is of a higher nature, the offender is condemned to the Kan-ghe, or wooden ruff, which is a kind of portable pillory, consisting of two pieces of wood; hollowed in the middle, so as to fit the neck of the offender, and of such a breadth, that the wearer can neither see his own feet, nor put his hand to his mouth, so that he must be beholden to some other person for his food. It is made heavier or lighter, according to the nature of the crime, or the favour of the Mandarin: the lightest are about 40 or 50, and some of them even 200, pounds weight; and so troublesome and grievous to the person, that many of them, through pain, hunger, want of sleep, &c. die under it (1). The time of wearing it is

Theft, how punished. The Kan ghe, or wooden ruff, described.

* DU HALDE, Engl. vol. i. p. 313, & seq. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, & al. sup. citat.

† LE COMPTE, & al.

though not till he had tried to deter them from applying to him in her behalf, not only by some severe edicts, but by putting to death several of those zealous intercessors: infomuch that his grandees entered into a combination not to let one day pass, without one of them preferring a petition to him in their turn, though sure to be cut off for it on the spot, till they had carried their point. Accordingly two of them came on different days, and were immediately put to death; and on the next came a third, who brought his horse and coffin with him, and left it at the gate of the palace; and, finding the emperor still more incensed at what he called his insolence, spoke to him to this effect: *What shall we lose by our death, but the sight of a prince upon whom we cannot look but with horror and amazement? Since you will not hear us, we will go and seek your, and the empress your mother's, ancestors; they will hear our complaints: and you will probably, in the dark silence of the night, hear our and their ghosts reproach you for your injustice.* This noble speech drew upon him the most

cruel death that monarch could devise; which was, however, so far from deterring, that it spurred a number of other Mandarins to follow his example, and to come daily to die martyrs to the cause; till the emperor, wearied with sacrificing so many worthy lives, and fearing it might occasion some revolt, was at length obliged to recall her; so tenacious is the Chinese nation of their ancient laws with respect to this filial duty (27), that they would not suffer a monarch to shew a just resentment against a mother who had so shamefully sullied the honour of his family.

(1) We are told, however, that they find means to render this wooden ruff more supportable, some by procuring friends to walk before, behind, and on each side, and lending their shoulder to help to bear it. Some rest it on a table, or a bench, or upon four sticks of a proper length, to heave it from their shoulders; others get a chair, made with four pillars, to support it; and others lie on their bellies, and stare about on the spectators, as through the hole of a pillory: never-

(27) Le Compte, part 2, letter 1. Martini hist. Sinic. l. iii. imp. 28, & al.

is likewise appointed by the Mandarin, and written, together with the nature of the crime, on a two labels, one of which is pasted before, and the other behind, the wooden collar, which is commonly between four and six inches thick. The place where the offender is condemned to wear it, is commonly at the gate of some temple, some public square, or such parts of the city as are most frequented. When the time is expired, he is brought back to the Mandarin; and, after a suitable reprimand and admonition, and a sound drubbing, which commonly begins and ends every such punishment, he is released from his burden, and set at liberty. Even women are sometimes, tho' not so frequently as men, liable to that punishment; particularly we read of a Bonzess, who was condemned to it by a Mandarin for incontinency (K), and to be expelled her convent.

Branding on
the cheek.
Banishment.

THERE are certain enormities, for which the offenders are burnt on the forehead, or on the two cheeks, with a *Chinese* character, signifying the crime: for others, they condemn to banishment, which is often perpetual, if the place be any part of *Tartary*; and these are commonly condemned to receive a certain number of blows of the bastinado, according to the nature of their crime, before they set out. In some cases, they condemn the offender to tow or row in the imperial barks for a certain space, which seldom exceeds three years. Some other punishments they have for lesser offences, such as carrying a weight on their heads from six to ten or more pounds, according to the direction of the Mandarin who presides at the tribunal.

The torture;

THEY use two sorts of torture in *China*, to extort confession; the ordinary one, which is however very acute and painful, is a kind of engine, which they clap the hands or feet, or both, of the unhappy person in, which distorts the bones to such a degree, that that on the feet squeezes the ankle-bone quite flat: however, we are told, that they have some remedies to diminish, or even stupely, the exquisiteness of the pain; and others to restore their limbs in a few days, after having been so terribly distorted. The extraordinary torture is seldom used, except in cases of treason and rebellion, and in order to make the person confess his accomplices, after the fact hath been proved. This last is done by cutting slight gashes on the body, and stripping off the skin in narrow slips or fillets². These are the punishments most in vogue: some there have been, indeed, of a much more cruel nature, formerly inflicted by some of their tyrannic monarchs, one in particular not unlike in its effects, as well as barbarity, to that of *Phalaris's* bull (L); but those princes were not only detested during their lives, but their memory hath been ever odious to this day.

Prisons better
kept than in
Europe.

ONE thing must be said in praise of the *Chinese*, with respect to the prisons in which they confine their offenders; viz. that they are much more capacious, airy, and sweet, than the common goals in *Europe*, especially in *England*. They are generally large spacious courts, on whose four sides are the apartments of the criminals, raised upon wooden columns in the form of a gallery; and on the four corners are secured the more notorious rogues, in strong cells and fetters; and these are never let out in the day-time, as the others are, who are allowed the freedom of the court, and of conversing with each other. The women are confined in a separate court, where no man is admitted to come to them, or even to speak to them but through a grate, or the turning-box, by which their victuals, and other necessaries, d

² See DU HALDE, ubi supra, p. 313, & seq.

theless, when they are of that monstrous weight as to exceed 100 pounds, and of a breadth and thickness proportionable, no way nor posture can make them supportable; and yet, if the person is in ever so great a danger of dying under it, none of the officers about him dare take it off, to give him ease, except the Mandarin, who ordered it to be put on, be well bribed, and order it off; and, if he dies under it, there can be no complaint made against him for his too severe sentence (28).

(K) These Bonzesses are a kind of nuns, who dedicate themselves to the worship and service of some of those temples or idols we have formerly described, and are obliged to abstain from all converse with men; and, on that account, are incloistered in large monasteries, like those of the *Romish* and *Greek* churches. The offender we mentioned above was one of them, but had been unfortunately got with child; upon which, being brought before the tribunal, the presiding Mandarin condemned her to wear the wooden collar, on which was pasted, as usual, a label, specifying her crime, with this addition, that if any man would marry

her, she should be released from it, and the man receive from the Mandarin an ounce and half of silver, to defray the expences of the ceremony; that is, one third part to pay the musicians, and the rest to procure a wedding-feast. She soon found a man who went and demanded her, on those conditions, of the Mandarin; who paid him the money accordingly, and delivered her up to him, free from her shameful and more insupportable yoke (29).

(L) The *Chinese* records mention, among other such detested tyrants, the emperor *Cheow*, one of whose concubines, on whom he passionately doted, was the inventress of this new kind of punishment called *Pau-lo*. It was a brass tower, or column, twenty cubits high, and eight in diameter, and hollow in the middle, with three openings for putting in of fuel. To this they fastened the unhappy objects, making them embrace the pillar with their arms and legs. A great fire was afterwards kindled within it, which roasted, and soon after reduced them to ashes, in the presence of this monster of cruelty, who it seems took an unnatural delight in such dreadful spectacles (30).

(28) See Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 311.
Contancin apud Du Halde, p. 314.

(29) Fath. Contancin apud Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 312.

(30) Fath.

a are conveyed to them. Both prisons are very well guarded, and kept at nights in profound silence. The centinels are relieved every hour; the rest of the guard are ordered to patrol *Will guarded.* all the night; so that all attempts of a rescue or escape prove not only vain, but dangerous. Every goal hath a Mandarin, who is trusted with the care of it, and is obliged to visit it frequently; and, if any prisoner is sick, to provide him with a physician, and proper remedies for his recovery; which is done at the emperor's charge. If any dies, the emperor must be acquainted with it (or, in the other provinces, the viceroy), who often sends a superior Mandarin thither, to examine whether the inferior one hath done his duty. And thus much may suffice for criminal causes.

THE civil ones are determined by proper tribunals. We took notice in a former section, *Civil causes* b that every city of the first, second, and third rank, had their proper courts and judges, the latter subordinate to the former, and all of them to that of the metropolis of the province, *how judged.* unto which a plaintiff or defendant might appeal; or even, passing by all the inferior ones, bring his cause to, if he thought he should not obtain justice in the inferior ones. In greater matters, a man may even appeal to the supreme tribunal of *Pe-king*; but in none of these cases *Not managed* is the appeal, or even the cause, brought to a court by lawyers, advocates, and attorneys; *by lawyers or* but every man is to be his own counsellor and manager, unless he gets perhaps some expert *attorneys.* person to draw up his plaint or case for him, in such a manner and form as custom requires; which being done, he is to bring it himself to the tribunal; and, being arrived at the second *Laws suits* gate, beats on a drum, and then falls on his knees, with his hands lifted up as high as his *how carried* c head, and presents his plaint to the officer in waiting, who comes out to him at the sound of the drum. This last takes the paper from him, and carries it to the tribunal, where it is examined by the judges; and, if the suit proves to be of a frivolous or vexatious nature, or if the plaintiff cannot make good his allegations, he is commonly sent home with a sound drubbing of the bastonado: but if the plaint be just, and well supported, the defendant or accused is sent for by a proper officer of the court, and obliged to appear in person, and to make the best defence he can (M). In some cases the judges allow them a longer day; as when the defendant's witnesses are at some distance, or any circumstance happens, that requires a further examination; otherwise the controversy is decided upon the spot, according to the appearing merit of it. If either of the parties is dissatisfied with the sentence, he may d appeal to a superior court, and, from that, to a higher; and, whether they do, or not, the judge of the inferior is obliged to transmit an account of every such trial to the next superior court, to be there further examined, and be either confirmed or cashiered: for, if the sentence given appear unjust, the superior court is obliged not only to reverse it, and do justice to the injured person, but to punish the inferior judge, for not having done it, whether any appeal be lodged against him, or no. This, one would imagine, must be a most excellent way of administering justice to the subjects, and banishing fraud and corruption from those tribunals, by making the superior ones to have such a powerful check over the lower: but, as we have e lately had occasion to observe, all this is mere formality and grimace; and there is such a *Tribunals corrupted by* fellow-feeling between all those tribunals, or rather the higher ones do so prey on the lower, *bribery.* that a plaintiff will stand but a poor chance, let his cause be ever so just, if he doth not back it with such round bribes as may turn the scale on his side. Notwithstanding all these discouragements, we are told, that the people in some districts are so litigious, that they will *Some of the people very* mortgage their lands, houses, goods, and all they have, for the pleasure of going to law, *litigious.* and procuring a bastonado to be given to an antagonist; though it often happens that the defendant, by privately bribing the Mandarin with a higher sum, will divert the blows from his own to the plaintiff's back. Hence arise mortal discords and enmities among them, which will stick in their hearts till they find new opportunities of satisfying their revenge; whilst those ministers of iniquity, more intent on their gain than their duty, or the peace and welfare of the subject, rather strive to blow up, than to suppress, the flame, in hopes of new f presents and gains, to satisfy their boundless avarice^a.

^a DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 278. LE COMPTE, MAGAILLAN, & al.

(M) This last circumstance of summoning the defendant is not mentioned by *Magailan*, or any other writer, nor in what manner he is to make his defence before the tribunal; which was an unpardonable oversight in them. However, we have ventured to insert thus much; as it is impossible for the judges to determine any cause regularly, without hearing both sides; it being unjust and illegal in any well-governed nation, especially such as that of the *Chinese*, to forejudge

any man, before he be permitted to offer what he has to say in his own defence. This may likewise be concluded from some of the *Chinese* stories which *Du Halde* hath inserted in the history of that country, wherein mention is made of such kind of trials, and their manner of proceeding (31), which may be reasonably supposed to be founded on the laws and customs of the country.

(31) See vol. ii. p. 156, & seq.

S E C T. IV.

Of the learning, arts, sciences, language, &c. of the Chinese.

*Learning,
arts, &c. of
the Chinese.*

Their genius.

*Missionaries
encouraged by
the emperor.*

*Their great
progress.*

THE *Chinese* have doubtless been too much cried up by the missionaries for their learning, and as unjustly undervalued by other writers for their want of it; neither is it possible to reconcile what we are told, on the one hand, of their having carried some of their sciences to such a high degree from the times of their earliest monarchs, separate as they were from the rest of the world, with the small improvements they have since made to them during the space of near 4000 years; whilst the *Europeans*, who received theirs so recently from the *Greeks* and *Romans*, have so far outstripped not only them, but the *Chinese*, within the compass of two or three centuries. This may be clearly seen by what we have already observed of their maps of the world, and of the heavenly constellations, as well as from the imperfect apparatus of their famed observatory of *Pe king*^a. What indifferent astronomers, and worse geographers, they were when the first *European* missionaries came into those parts, is no less manifest, from the reception which they gave to those learned strangers. The progress they have since made under them in those sciences, plainly shews that their inferiority to the *Europeans* was not so much owing to want of genius and capacity, as to their being situate at so great a distance from them, and to their being debarred the benefit of travelling, and corresponding with other learned nations of the world; so that, all things considered, it ought to be rather a wonder that they had made so great a progress in them, with those slight assistances they had only from themselves, than that they came so far behind us in every point. And it appears no inconsiderable commendation of their understanding and capacity, that they so readily submitted to be taught by a people of whom they had scarcely heard before; and to be instructed in such a variety of branches of learning, which they were not only strangers to, but which were so very opposite to those which had, till then, passed for current among them. It is true, indeed, that the Jesuits took care to be well backed by the imperial authority and favour, before they ventured upon any thing of that kind; else the *Literati*, who, till then, had looked upon all kinds of science and knowledge to be centered in them, might have give them, in all likelihood, a quite contrary reception, for presuming to introduce a new kind of learning, which cast so disadvantageous a reflexion upon their old. And this is no other than what Father *Verbiest* intimates in some of his letters, that it was with great difficulty, and not without the emperor's interposition, that the generality of their learned submitted to their exchange^b.

HOWEVER that be, whether by compulsion, or their own liking, they soon found reason more than sufficient to acknowledge the superiority of the *Europeans* with respect to several branches of the mathematics, and other sciences; and to admire the surprising experiments which were shewn to them in optics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, statics, catoptrics, perspective, &c. as well as their various instruments for navigation, astronomy, mechanics, &c. their watches, clocks, chimes, organs, and other such curiosities, as were not only perfectly new to them, but were looked upon, if not as so many new and strange automata, such as the vulgar imagined them, yet as machines vastly exceeding human capacity and contrivance (A), till, by a longer continuance with them, they were let into both theory and practice;

^a Apud Le Compte, ubi sup. part 2. let. 3.

^b Idem ibid.

(A) One of the most surprising experiments in optics, which they shewed to that monarch, was a pretty large semi-cylinder, of a very light kind of wood, in the middle of whose axis was placed a convex glass, which, being turned towards any object, represented it within the tube, in its natural figure. This was so much admired by that monarch, that he ordered a machine of the same nature to be made, and set up in his garden at *Pe-king*, by which he might see every thing that passed in the streets, and places adjacent, without being seen: which was accordingly done, to his no small satisfaction and wonder; but much more so of his empress, and other princesses of the court, who, being confined within the palace, could have no other way of beholding what was done abroad; on which account the object-glass was made of a larger compass, in order to take in a greater scope.

Father *Grimaldi* gave the monarch another instance of the wonderful effects of optics, which astonished all the grandees of the empire. He made, on the four walls of the Jesuits garden, a human figure, of the

same length with the wall, which was fifty feet; and as he had strictly followed the rules, there was nothing to be seen on the front but hills and dales, forests, chaces, &c.; but, from a certain point of sight, one observed the figure of a man handsomely shaped, and well-proportioned.

The magic lantern, catoptric instruments, telescopes, microscopes, and other glasses, which they presented to the emperor, and other grandees, did no less excite their admiration; particularly a tube in the form of an octagonal prism, which, being placed parallel to the horizon, exhibited eight different scenes in so lively a manner, that they were easily mistaken by the *Chinese* for the objects themselves.

Among other hydraulics, they presented that monarch with an engine of a new invention, which threw up a continual stream or cascade, and gave motion to a very regular clock, which exhibited the motions of the heavens. The e, and a great variety of others in the static, pneumatic, and mechanic way, some curious barometers, thermometers, instruments for dis-

a practice; and confounded to find, that any nation so distant from, and till then unknown to, them, should have arrived to a height of knowledge so far surpassing their own. The emperor *Kang-bi*, in particular, was so charmed with every thing he saw and heard from them, that he seemed to grudge every moment he was absent from them, ^{a great admirer of their learning.} fast friend and benefactor so long as he lived. His example, and the singular favours and honours he shewed to those missionaries, soon encouraged the whole court, and the rest of the grandees, to seek their friendship and acquaintance, and to express an uncommon desire to be instructed in these new branches of *European* learning; so that in a little time the greatest part of the Literati and nobles became their disciples, admirers, and patrons; and, by reading the books which they wrote, hearing their lectures, and assisting at their experiments, became themselves almost as well acquainted with them as their masters ^b.

THIS hath been their case ever since; and tho' they have, as we have shewn in a former section, expelled all the missionaries out of the empire, yet they still take care to cultivate what they have learned from them, and to teach it in all their academies: but it will not be amiss, before we go farther, to give some idea of their learning, before it received the improvements above-mentioned. Astronomy was one of the sciences which they valued themselves most upon, as having been very intent, according to their accounts, in observing the motions of the heavens ever since the foundation of their monarchy; and having some severe laws to punish those who were entrusted with that employment by the state, for every neglect, and, in some cases, even with death. And if what we are told by the Jesuits be true, of the exactness with which they calculated eclipses from the earliest times, insomuch that, of the thirty-six mentioned by *Confucius*, there are but two false and two doubtful, and all the rest have been incontestably verified by some of the best astronomers of their society ^c, it must be owned that they excelled all other nations in that science: but we hope we have elsewhere given such reasons for our doubting of the truth of that assertion ^d, as will at least incline an unprejudiced reader to suspend his judgment about it. Those state astronomers might, in all probability, only record those early eclipses, together with the exact time when, and sign where, they happened, as they did all other celestial phænomena that came under their observations; and in process of time, when the way and method were found out of calculating them, those records might be made to pass for calculations or predictions (B). Father *Gaubil*, who hath greatly extolled their skill in astronomy, doth himself acknowledge, *That he was not yet certain of their method of calculating; but only that they expressed in numbers the quality of those eclipses, the quantity eclipsed, the parts where visible, &c.* He adds, *that the figures*

^b VERBIEST apud Le Compte, ubi sup. part 2. letter 3. MAGAILLAN, NAVARETTA, MARTINI, & al. DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 126, & seq. ^c DU HALDE, ubi sup. vol. ii. p. 128, & seq. ^d See before, Introduction, p. 510, & seq.

covering the degrees of moisture and driness, prisms, clocks, watches with chimes, alarums, and other contrivances, which would barely serve for amusements to our learned in *Europe*, we only mention here, to shew how ignorant the *Chinese* nation was in those various branches of the mathematics; so that we need not wonder if such a great variety of new instruments, experiments, books, lectures, and demonstrations, in some measure abated their natural pride, and caused them to look upon the *Europeans* as superior to them at least in all those respects (1).

(B) There is, however, a singular passage in one of their antient books, called *Shu-king*, the sense of which, if rightly given us by the translator (2), will, if not quite explode what we have offered as a probable conjecture, at least prove, that they had the art of calculating eclipses much earlier than any other nation we know. It contains a charge against *Hi* and *Ho*, the two state astronomers, who, drowned in wine and debauchery, had neglected to give timely notice of an eclipse which happened on the first day of the moon, which was also the time of the autumnal equinox, at eight in the morning, not far from the constellation *Fang* (a star in the sign *Scorpio*). But, says that writer, *Hi* and *Ho* pretend they knew nothing of it. Our antient emperors severely punished those whose business it was to examine the celestial motions, and did not exactly foretel them. It is written in the laws, which they have left us, that if the celestial phænomenon be not truly set

down in the kalendar, or hath not been predicted, such a neglect ought to be punished with death.

Now, if *Ju*, speaker of the above sentence, was really cotemporary with the emperors *Tau* and *Shun*, the eighth and ninth in descent from *Fo-bi*, as is there affirmed, it will evidently follow, that they had this art much earlier than some modern authors are willing to allow them, even though we should retrench some centuries from the pretended antiquity of *Fo-bi*; especially, if what *Du Halde* adds may be depended upon, that the above-mentioned eclipse hath been since verified by several eminent mathematicians among the Jesuits, and was such as could not be seen in any part of *Europe* or *Asia*, but in *China* (3).

But, if what we have formerly observed concerning the great uncertainty of the *Chinese* chronology (4) be allowed to be well founded, it will appear to be more probable, that this quotation out of the *Shu-king* might imply no more than that *Hi* and *Ho* neglected to make, and record, their due observations on this eclipse; they being, as the text says, drowned in their cups and debauchery when it happened; which is more likely to be the case, than that they should do so when they were compiling their kalendar for that year, if any thing like that was really done in those early days. Lastly, if those antient records have been destroyed, what could hinder those who pretend to have recovered, or revived them, from representing things in a more advantageous light, than ever they appeared in those protocols (5)?

(1) *Du Halde*, ubi supra, p. 311. vol. ii. p. 127, & seq. p. 128, & seq.

(2) *Id. ibid.* p. 127, & seq. (3) *Id. ibid.*

(4) See before, Introduction, p. 491, & seq. & auct. ib. citat.

(5) *Ibid* pass.

were written above 100 years before our Saviour; but that the numbers are obscure, and understood, at present, but by few Chinese.

The certainty
of the Chinese
records.

BUT whether those early eclipses were really calculated, or only observed, and recorded, by those antient astronomers, nothing can give us a more irrefragable proof of the exactness, and consequently of the authenticity, of their annals and records: and we may add farther, that the various testimonies alleged in favour of their early skill in, and cultivation of, astronomy, are, notwithstanding all the difficulties alleged against them, sufficient to convince the most incredulous, that it manifestly bears a much older date than any other nation can pretend to. But we shall not here anticipate some curious hints and observations, which have been lately communicated to us, by some of our learned correspondents, upon this subject, and which, we flatter ourselves, will strike a much greater light upon these dark and controverted points; but which, we think, will be best deferred, till we come to speak of the origin, chronology, and antiquity, of the *Chinese* nation, which they more properly regard.

Motions and
aspects of the
planets.

THE same Father *Gaubil* further assures us, that they had curious diagrams of the positions of the heavenly bodies, computed above 120 years before Christ, exhibiting the number and extent of the constellations, what stars answered to their solstices and equinoxes, the declinations of the stars, with the distance of the tropics and the poles. They were acquainted with the motions of the sun and moon from west to east, and likewise of the planets and fixed stars, though they did not determine the motions of the latter till 400 years after Christ. They likewise had a pretty exact knowledge of the solar and lunar months; and gave nearly the same revolutions to *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus*, and *Mercury*, as we do, though they had no way of accounting for their seeming retrogradations and stations. Some suppose the heavens and planets to revolve about the earth; and others, though few in comparison, about the sun: nor is there any thing to be seen like this last system, in their astronomical calculations, but only in the writings of some private persons^c. Thus far that learned Jesuit.

Antient ob-
servatories.

WE are told by others, of their antient observatory at *Nang-king*, in which were large globes, armillary spheres, quadrants, astrolabes, &c. not unlike those of that of *Pe-king*, which we have elsewhere described^f, and which Father *Ricci*, who viewed them some time after the year 1599, when he first came into *China*, says, looked as fine and beautiful as any he had seen in *Europe*, though they had been exposed above 200 years to all the injuries of the weather (C); but, as to their use and exactness, they stood, like the others, in great need

That of Tong-
song.

of improvement, or rather were set aside, to make way for a better sett. They had another observatory at *Tong-song*, a city of the third rank, in the province of *Ho-nan* (of which we have likewise given an account, in a former section^g), and which the *Chinese* pretend to have been built by *Chew-kong*, one of the most expert mathematicians their nation ever had, and who is said to have flourished 1200 years before *Ptolemy* was born, and to have spent whole

No right no-
tion of comets.

nights in observing the rising, motions, and figures, of the constellations. Among their other observations, upon record, of eclipses, notable conjunctions, &c. we meet with some relating to the transit of comets; but it doth not appear that they had any right notion of those bodies, their motions, orbits, nature, periods, &c. but looked upon them as some portending meteors, such as they interpreted every phænomenon they could not account for: and as for the rest of their astronomical observations, they were no more exact, till they received their farther improvements from *Schaal*, *Verbiest*, and other missionaries, appointed by the emperor *Kang-hi* to reform, or rather to new-model, their old kalendars; for these, notwithstanding the pains which the *Chinese* astronomers pretended to have taken, if they really did so, to regulate them according to the canons formerly compiled by Father *Ricci*, were yet found so defective, at the beginning of that monarch's reign, as to stand in need of fresh correction, and some farther amendments.

Kalendar
mended by the
Jesuits.

WE shall add another remark, which will much lessen the credit of the *Chinese* nation, with regard to their great application to, and boasted skill in, astronomy, though they had attained to a greater degree of it than they really appear to have done; which is, that their excessive fondness for that science was owing to a superstitious infatuation for astrology. They believed, and do so to this day, that every star or constellation, and every planet, hath a

Chinese
much given to
astrology.

^c GAUBIL, apud Souciet. Observat. Math. Vid. & DU HALDE, ubi sup.
^g Ibid. p. 544, & seq.

^f See before, p. 503, & seq.

(C) It is not easy to reconcile what these good fathers tell us, of globes, armillary spheres, and other instruments, which necessarily suppose their having a right notion of the figure of the earth, with what they tell us elsewhere, of their supposing it to be flat, and their country in the very center of it, and all the

other kingdoms and countries planted about it as so many diminutive ministers attending on their overgrown empire, as, it seems, all their maps did represent it, till the Jesuits gave them a juster notion of it. The reader may see what we have said on this head in the first section (6).

(6) See before, p. 493. (D).

a particular influence on all sublunary things, either good or bad, according to their nature, or various configurations; and that it was possible to foretel a vast number, if not all events, by calculating before-hand their motions, transits through every sign, and their various aspects to each other; infomuch, that, like the generality of our almanack-makers, they point out the lucky and unlucky days in each yearly ephemeris, and pretend to foretel wars, famines, sickness, droughts, good or bad seasons, and a vast number of other such trash: and it *Their astrological tribunal;* was, in all probability, to prevent the many frauds and abuses that were committed by those pretended astrologers, and to have those planetary calculations more exact, and the predictions from them more sure and regular, that there was an astrological tribunal erected; which is one of the most considerable in the empire, and subordinate only to that of the rites; whose business it is to present to the emperor, every forty-five days, a complete scheme *its office.* of the heavenly motions, and aspects, for the next forty-five days: and to set down the alterations of the air, according to the various seasons; together with their predictions relating to diseases, drought, plenty, or scarcity; the days on which there will be winds, rain, hail, thunder, snow, &c.; and to give a particular account of the eclipses that are to happen within that space; together with their duration, the day and hour when, the place of heaven where, the number of digits obscured, and the effects they suppose it will produce, according to the signs they happen in, and the configuration of the heavenly bodies at that time. These accounts must be presented to the emperor some months before the eclipse happens, in order to have them conveyed, by proper officers, into every one of the fifteen provinces, exactly calculated according to the longitude and latitude of each of them, and there to be published, in a most solemn manner, and with such strange ceremonies, as shew their great fondness for astrology and superstition, rather than a true and well-founded skill in astronomy; as the reader may see by those few we have inserted in the following note (D).

THEIR geometry is still more superficial; and their method of solving of problems is *Geometry.* rather by induction than any settled principles, they having neither theory nor practice, in any tolerable degree; they are indeed more exact in measuring, their method being both easy and exact. But what they most excell in, according to *Du Halde*, is their arithmetic, in *Excell in arithmetic.* which are found all the rules for adding, subtracting, multiplying, and dividing, exactly laid down in their books; not indeed by arithmetical characters, like ours, from 1 to 9, which they know not the use of, but by the help of an instrument, which they call *Swan-pan*, which the reader will find described in a former part of this work*, it being affirmed to have been invented by a learned ko-lau, ever since the reign of *W'hang-ti*, their third emperor, and to have continued in use ever since. By this instrument, we are told, they are able to dispatch any arithmetical operation, with more surprising ease, quickness, and exactness, than the best master in that art can do in *Europe*, either by counters or figures^b. How far that method will extend beyond the four general rules above-mentioned, whether to decimals, fractions, fellowship, &c. we are not told; yet, considering what a trading nation they are, and that they have no other way of reckoning but this, one would suppose, that it must take in all those branches. Some notion they seem to have of algebra, by the use they are said to make of some of its problems, in their geometry^c; but in this, as well as other parts of the mathematics, they are still very imperfect, much less were they furnished with any such excellent helps as our tables of sines and tangents, logarithms, &c. so very necessary and

* See Introduction, p. 576, & seq. letter 8. CARRERI, NAVARETTA, & al.

^b Vide MARTINI Hist. Sines. lib. 1. LE COMPTE, ubi sup.
^c LE COMPTE, ubi supra.

(D) The ceremony of it is as follows. First, there is affixed, to all public places, some days before-hand, a scheme of the eclipse, the time when, duration, and other particulars, above-related. The Mandarins, having likewise had previous notice, are to appear on the day it happens, dressed in their formalities, at the astronomical tribunal, and to have tables set before them, on which the whole process is delineated, in order to observe the exact time of its beginning and ending, and other particulars, compare them with the scheme, which lies before them, and to communicate to each other their remarks upon the whole transaction.

As soon as they perceive that the luminary begins to be darkened, they fall upon their knees, and beat their heads against the ground; while the drums and kettle-drums make a fearful noise along the streets of the city, accompanied with the shouts of the people; pursuant to an old notion they have had, from the earliest times, that the noise succoured those two useful planets, and

frighted the dragon away, whose horrid claw, they imagine, hath got hold of the luminary, in order to devour it, and is the cause of the defect of its light. For though the wiser sort are, by this time, sensible enough, that eclipses are natural effects, yet can they not divest themselves of the old prejudice, that they commonly portend some sinister events to their nation; and, for that reason, the same ceremony is observed throughout the whole empire, in hopes to avert the omen.

Whilst the Mandarins, and other officers, continue thus prostrate, all the time the eclipse lasts, there are other persons employed in observing and examining, with the utmost carefulness, the beginning, length, end, and other circumstances, of it, and comparing it with the scheme delivered to them. These observations are afterwards to be brought, written with their own hand, and sealed with their own seal, to the emperor, who compares them with those he himself hath made on it, with equal attention, in his own palace (?).

(7) Vide Navaretta, Martini, Le Compte, Du Halde, & al.

expeditious, and exact, in all astronomical calculations; except the missionaries above-mentioned have thought fit to instruct them in the use of them: but that is what we can hardly suppose any of them ever did, the *Chinese*, in general, being naturally averse to every kind of abstruse learning, and incapable of too close application; and these they could not be taught, without being made previously acquainted with the *European* arithmetic; which, besides its novelty, would have appeared to them an insurmountable task: and this, joined to their reluctance to be beholden to strangers for any branch of learning, could be but a small encouragement to the Jesuits to force so sure and expeditious a one upon them, the concealing of which would still secure them a visible superiority over them.

Navigation
and shipping.

THEY continue still very unskilled in the art of navigation, though they pretend to have had it from the earliest times, and to have sailed, some thousand years ago, over all the *Indian* seas, as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*, and that without the help of the compass; which, though they boast themselves to be the first inventors of, yet they did not discover till a long time after.

Whether they
ever sailed to
the Cape of
Good Hope.

THE learned *Huetius*, in his treatise of the navigation of the antients, hath endeavoured to confirm this, from a passage in what he calls the *Annals of the City of Ormus*; in which it is affirmed, that 400 *Chinese* vessels have been observed to come into the *Persic* gulf, and to lade and unlade a prodigious quantity and variety of the richest merchandizes. The misfortune is, that that learned prelate doth not give us any account of those annals, nor about what time such a prodigious number of vessels were seen in that gulf. Neither doth it appear, from any of the *Chinese* records, or in any of what is styled their classic books, if we may believe the celebrated Jesuit *Parrenin* *. From which he conjectures, that the word *Ta-lan-chan*, which the *Chinese* give now to the cape above-mentioned, and signifies no more than the mountain of high waves, might have been formerly given to some of those which they met with in their sailing to *Batavia*, *Siam*, &c). and many such there are, doubtless, along those seas) and to have been since appropriated to that far distant one, out of a fond ambition of being thought to have extended their naval commerce so far beyond whatever they did, or indeed could possibly do, considering the unsuitness of their trading vessels, and their imperfect skill in the art of navigation.

Ships, how
built.

THEIR shipping, indeed, as it is at present, and hath been ever since the coming of the *Europeans*, appear altogether unfit for such long and dangerous voyages; and though they have them of all bulks and sizes, yet the very best of them seem only designed for those seas which surround their country, and the rest for sailing on their lakes, rivers, and canals. The former are properly no other than flat-bottomed vessels, with two masts, and not above eighty or ninety feet in length. The forepart is not made with a beak, but rises up somewhat like two wings, or horns, and makes but a very odd figure; and the stern is open in the middle, to receive the rudder, and shelter it from the beating of the waves. This rudder, which is about five or six feet broad, may be easily raised or lowered, by means of a cable fastened to it from the stern.

Sails.

THESE ships have neither mizzen-mast, bowsprit, nor scuttles, but only a main and fore-mast, to which they sometimes add a small top-mast, of no great use. Their sails of mats, made of bamboo, divided into leaves, like a pocket-book, which fold and unfold in the same manner as a screen, and are jointed together by a pole, made also of bamboo. On the top is a piece of wood, serving for a sail-yard, and at the bottom a sort of plank, above a foot broad, and four or five inches thick, which keeps the sail steady, when they hoist it up or down. In a word, these ships are only made to sail on those seas, and would be of little use in the hands of any but *Chinese*s, who know how to manage them; and though they take in and retain more wind, on account of the stiffness of their sails, yet they lose that advantage in other respects, by being built so differently from ours.

Wooden an-
chors.

THEIR anchors are made of a hard and heavy sort of wood, which they call *Tye-mu*, or *iron-wood*, which, they say, is not so apt to bend as those made of iron: however, they take care to tip both flukes with that metal. Their ships are caulked, not with pitch and tar, as ours, but with a kind of gum, which is so good, that a well or two at the bottom of the hold is sufficient to keep the vessel dry; for, hitherto, they know nothing of the use of the pump, but draw the water out with buckets. Their ships have neither master nor pilot on board, but are left to the management of those that steer them, who are commonly pretty good pilots in coasting, though indifferent ones in the main sea, and would be still more so, were they to take any long voyages (E).

WE

* Lettres edifiant. vol. xxvi. p. 78, & seq.

(E) Their method, it seems, is to lay the head of the ship upon the rhumb on which they propose to sail, and hold on their course, without giving themselves any trouble about the deviation of the vessel; which is done

by the help of a silken thread, which divides the surface of the card into two equal parts, from north to south. This may be performed two ways; viz. either by putting the rhumb parallel to the keel, and then turning the vessel

- a We have already spoken of the 10,000 imperial barks, which carry the tribute and provisions from all the provinces to the city of *Pe-king*, and are, by far, the finest and largest, and of equal breadth from head to stern. The next class is that of those which are kept by the emperor, to convey the viceroys, governors, and Mandarins, to their respective governments, of which he hath likewise a great number, and of them finely gilt, carved, and adorned without, and furnished with most commodious and handsome apartments within. Next to them, are those which belong properly to the princes of the blood, to the nobles, grandees, Literati, and, last of all, those that belong to merchants and tradesmen. All of them are built, adorned, and furnished, more or less sumptuously, according to the rank of the owners, yet so, that those of the lowest order are still very beautiful and convenient, and in such number, as to make a very noble shew on their canals and rivers, and especially in their most considerable cities, for concourse, where they appear in such vast quantities, as to extend themselves for some miles together, in exact rows, three or four deep, on those rivers and canals. But those which belong to the princes and nobles appear quite magnificent, and more like castles on the water, being divided into a variety of sumptuous apartments, for state and convenience. Their windows and doors, which are made like grates, have oyster-shells, or some fine linen or silk spread over with fine white wax, instead of glasses, to let the light through: and even those which are employed, to the number of 365, to carry the emperor's fish from some distant provinces to *Pe-king*, together with some of the finest silks, brocades, and other rich merchandizes, for the court, are all painted with a fine vermilion, curiously gilt and carved.

ALL kinds of vessels in general, that sail upon those canals, rivers, lakes, &c. (F) are under the best regulation; and all are obliged to strike to those which belong to the emperor, and the rest to each other, according to their rank: and as the whole country abounds with lakes, rivers, and especially artificial canals, so one may behold there, with pleasure, an infinite variety of vessels sailing on them, some for diversion or grandeur, others for commerce and carriage, all swarming with people busily taken up with their various employments.

- We shall close this article with a word of their floating villages, and their rafts on the rivers and canals. The former of these are flat-bottomed barges, neatly built, with little houses upon them, in rows, some larger, some smaller, in which live several families, who carry on some sort of business or manufacture, and seldom go on shore, except to buy or sell,

vessel (supposing they design to sail north-east), till the needle becomes parallel to the string; or, which answers to the same, by putting the thread parallel to the keel, they make the needle point to the north-west. However, the main difficulty is to keep the vessel steady on its rhumb, which is next to impossible, considering the smallness of their rudder, and the stretching and wabbling of the ropes to which it is fastened.

Their compass is still more defective, being only a box, the rims of which are divided into twenty-four equal parts, and make the different points or winds. This box they place upon a bed of sand, or something of that soft nature, not so much to keep the needle steady from the agitation of the ship, which is ever jogging it out of its equilibrium, as to hold the pallil with which they perfume them every moment: for such is their superstition, in this respect, as not only to regale the winds with such perfumes, but even to offer vicinals to them, by way of sacrifice. The needle of the largest compass is not above three inches long, and hath at one end something like a flower-de-luce, and on the other a kind of trident: but for these, we are told, they are beholden to the *Japanese*; for they are brought to them from *Nanga-saki*.

This account of their method of sailing, vessels, tackle, &c. which we have extracted out of the observations which five Jesuit missionaries made, on their passage from *Siam* to *China*, in a vessel belonging to *Canon*, anno 1687 (7), will suffice to give our readers an idea of the rest, and serve to convince them, that if the *Chinese* were such antient sailors, and the real inventors of the compass, they have reaped but small advantages from them, and made but very poor improvements in both.

These needles, whether they were brought from *Japan*, as the last quoted authors affirm, or made in *China*, as *Du Halde*, and some of his fraternity, seem to inti-

mate, do not receive their virtue, if we may believe what another of the same order tells, upon the authority of one of their famed *Chinese* books, from the loadstone, though they have it there in great plenty; but from a strange mixture of orpiment, cinabar, sandrak, and filings of steel, all reduced into a fine powder, and made into a kind of paste, by a sufficient quantity of blood drawn from the comb of a white cock. This paste, in which the needles are to be put, and closely rolled in paper, is to be kept seven days and nights over a clear and constant charcoal fire; after which they being taken out and worn three days longer, next to a man's skin, will be found fit for use, and point directly to the north; and, what is still more surprising, without being liable to those frequent variations with those that are touched with the loadstone (*).

Our author doth not seem indeed willing to think such an odd mixture, and much less with such a process, likely to produce such extraordinary effects. Nevertheless, from the *Chinese* being ignorant or insensible of the variation of their needle, so much complained of by other mariners, he seems to conclude it probable, that those which are in use among them have that peculiar quality, above those which are touched with the loadstone, whatever be the means by which it is conveyed into them.

(F) To these we may add a kind of gallies, in great use amongst them, not only along the coasts, and between the islands, but also on the rivers, canals, and lakes. These are likewise flat-bottomed, and about as long as our merchantmen of between 300 and 400 tons, and draw not above two feet water; and, as their oars do not reach to the opposite side of the ship, as ours do, but are placed on the outside, in a position almost parallel to the body of the bark, each oar is easily moved, with few hands, and the vessel made to go very swiftly.

(7) *Du Halde*, ubi sup. vol. i. p. 529, & seq. p. 464, & seq.

(*) *D'Entrecolles*, in *Recueil de Lett. edifiant.* vol. xxii.

Timber floats. but live wholly in those vessels. The other, *viz.* the rafts or floats on the rivers, do mostly belong to the salt and timber-merchants, who are commonly the richest in *China*. These, instead of barks to carry their goods, make use of those rafts; which are made in the following manner. After the timber, which they cut down in the woods and forests of the province of *Se-chwen*, is brought to the river *Kyang*, they take what is necessary to make a raft four or five feet high, and ten or more long; then boring holes at each end of the pieces of wood, run through them twisted osiers, by which they fasten the rest of the timber together, so as to form a raft of any length, to float upon the river, some of which will extend half a league, or more. The several parts of the raft, being thus put together, are easily moved any way, like the links of a chain, and four or five of the foremost men guide it with their poles or oars; while others, placed at proper distances along the sides, help to conduct it. These men build upon them little huts, covered with mats, or boards, from space to space, and there keep their moveables, dress their victuals, and take their rest. At every city they touch at, they sell their houses along with the timber. In this easy manner do those floats perform their course upon those lakes and rivers, the longest of which is reckoned above 600 leagues, when they carry their wood to *Pe-king*^k. And thus much will suffice for their skill in navigation.

Defective in other arts and sciences.

SHOULD we carry our inquiry higher, with relation to their skill in other arts and sciences, we shall still find them more defective. They know but little of natural philosophy, that is well founded, but what they learned from the *Europeans*. Some of their greatest virtuoso's appeared quite astonished at some common experiments the Jesuits shewed them; such as, causing hot water to freeze before a large fire, the petrifying or making of artificial stone only with two different liquids, the effects of the *aurum fulminans*, and others of the like nature; and owned, that nothing less than ocular demonstration could have convinced them of the possibility of them. Much more were they surprised, at least inwardly, to have those effects clearly explained to them, from natural principles, and that by strangers, born at such a vast distance from them, who had, till then, imagined all kinds of learning confined within the limits of their own empire*.

As to moral philosophy, though they have more good books written on that subject than on any other, and think themselves to excel all other nations in it, yet a little acquaintance with their writings will easily convince an unprejudiced reader, how short they come not only of ours, but likewise of some of the best heathen philosophers. The whole of it is reducible under the two following heads; *viz.* the relative duties of parents and children, and of princes and their subjects. They make no distinction between morality and politics, between the art of living and governing well. In these, says *Du Halde*, their sages, who are very numerous and voluminous, have endeavoured to excel, not so much in high flights of eloquence and rhetorical style, as in adapting their reasoning and persuasives to the meanest capacities, in order to make mankind wiser and better by their writings.

They have neither logic nor rhetoric.

LOGIC and rhetoric one would have reasonably expected to have been in no small perfection among a people who value themselves so much, and have been so highly cried up, for their just way of reasoning, and polite method of speaking and writing; nevertheless, what talents they have in that way appear to be intirely natural to them, since they have not one rule to teach them how to argue closely and regularly, nor for speaking or writing politely and elegantly, but trust wholly to the light of their reason, and the justness of comparing their ideas together in the one, and in the clear and succinct arrangement of their periods, lively and energetic expressions, bold metaphors and allusions, in the other. To this last, however, they add commonly the wise maxims and sentences of their sages; which being in highest repute among them, and couched in such a concise and mystic style, as to contain a great deal of reasoning, and variety of thoughts, in few words, commonly make a much stronger impression than the boldest figures of our artificial rhetoric, or at least will not fail of silencing, if they do not altogether convince, an antagonist^l.

Physic.

PHYSIC, they pretend to be as antient as their good emperor *Whang-ti*, or *Hoang-ti*, the third in succession from *Fo-bi* their founder. This good prince, they say, observing that mankind, being tormented by the rigour of the seasons from without, and by their passions and intemperance from within, did seldom live their full time, ordered three eminent persons of his court to examine the nature and œconomy of the blood-vessels; after which, he appointed proper medicines for every disease^m: these were chiefly of the vegetable kind, to which they have made some few improvements since, hardly worth mentioning; such as introducing some of the minerals into use, together with sweating, cauterising, and sometimes (though very seldom) phlebotomy. As to purging, vomiting, and clysters, they have but a

^k De his, vide MAGAILLAN, NAVARETTA, CARRERI, MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.
^{*} PARRENIN, ubi sup, vol. xxiv. p. 51, & seq. ^l Ibid. p. 51, & seq. ^m MARTINI, Hist. Sinic. imp. 3. DU HALDE, ibid. & al.

a mean opinion of their efficacy, if there be not, perhaps, something in them that offends their modesty, and makes them averse to them. However, as their skill in anatomy, natural philosophy, physics, &c. which are the foundation of that noble science, is so very small, we cannot expect them to have made any great proficiency in it.

THEY pretend, indeed, to an extraordinary knowledge in pulses, and to discover not only the nature and degree of a patient's distemper, but likewise how long it will last, and whether it will prove mortal, by the sole feeling of his pulse; and, if we may believe the missionaries, their skill in this way is surprising, though not so sure, but that they are sometimes mistaken. The misfortune is, that they are more expert at discovering the distemper, than happy at prescribing proper remedies for it; though this seeming defect may probably enough be owing to avarice, that they may keep their patient the longer under their hand, and ply him with a greater quantity of medicines: for they have no apothecaries among them; but every physician prepares his own prescriptions, which they commonly administer in pills or bolus's, and seldom in draughts.

IN most sorts of pains and aches, which they attribute commonly to some malignant winds, they apply burning-hot needles, or irons shaped like small buttons, and cauterise and torment their patients, upon the slightest occasion; and in violent cholics, which are caused by indigestion, and attended with vomiting, &c. they will even apply a hot iron plate to the soles of the feet. But those who treat their patients in a less butcherly manner, will rather have recourse to cordials, which are extracted from alexipharmic herbs and roots.

THEY are seldom afflicted with gout, sciatica's, stone, or other chronic diseases, which is commonly attributed to their frequent drinking of tea; besides which, their country abounds with great variety of excellent herbs and roots, and among the latter, those called *Yin-seng*, or *Gen-seng*, and *China*, or *Pao* root, of which we shall speak under another head, and which are esteemed excellent sudorifics, and correctors of the blood. To conclude, every man is permitted to practise physic; no degrees or qualifications being required, but a good assurance, and a great pretence to astrology; without a sufficient skill in which, a man would be thought a fool or a knave, that should set up for a physician; so that, upon the whole, they are no better than quacksⁿ.

TO what we have hinted above of their ignorance of physic, let us add their extreme aversion to anatomy, at least to that part of it which is called dissecting; and which is so rooted into them, that no kind of benefit that can be obtained from it, hath ever been able to reconcile them to it, or make them look upon it in any other light than as a most inhuman practice. To suffer the body of a dead parent, or near relation, to be opened, to know the distemper he died of, would be looked upon amongst them as a most horrid sacrilege; and to dissect a human body, though executed for some heinous crime, is cried down as a piece of injustice done to the criminal, to which the law had not condemned him. Much more unjust do they deem it to cut and mangle any other dead body which dies a natural death. If, say they, the very apprehension of being treated in such a butcherly manner, after one's decease, would make a man miserable all his life, how much more grievous must it be to the soul, to behold the horrid operation performed? Is it therefore just or reasonable to suffer such a cruel practice, merely for the sake of gaining a little more skill in the art of curing diseases, and lengthening life a few years, which could scarcely be justified, could it enable those inhuman manglers to render men immortal? Thus they reason, or rather exclaim, against the anatomizing of human bodies: and it is much to be questioned, whether the principle upon which they argue hath not saved more lives among them, than ever anatomy did among us*. However, this may serve, at present, to shew our readers what kind of surgeons, as well as physicians, the *Chinese* are glad to take up with. We may have occasion, in the sequel, to say something more on that subject, when we come to speak of their diseases, and their manner of curing of them. All we shall further observe here, is, that, according to the generality of authors, who have written of this nation, the circulation of the blood hath been known amongst them from time immemorial; though, for want of a tolerable skill in anatomy, they neither know how it is performed, nor how to make those improvements from it, which they might otherwise do, in their common practice of physic†.

MUSIC and poetry, though seemingly adapted to the airy genius of the *Chinese* nation, are to this day very crude and irregular. The former, they pretend to have been brought to its highest perfection, and to have been in the highest esteem among them, long before *Confucius's* time, who was himself a great admirer and master of it. But their books which treated of that art having been since lost, it is dwindled into a mere uncouth jingle of

ⁿ MARTINI, Hist. Sinic. imp. 3. DU HALDE, LE COMPTE, & al. de Lettres Edifiantes, vol. xxi. p. 148, & seq.

* Vide PARRENIN, in Recueil de Lettres Edifiantes, vol. xxi. p. 148, & seq. † Id. ibid. p. 135, & seq. Ibid. vol. xvii. p. 389

Vide & LE COMPTE, MARTINI, NAVARETTA, DU HALDE, & al. plur.

*Musical in-
struments, very
un-outh.*

sounds, without harmony, contrast, or variety of parts, and, at the best, is but like our common airs, and consequently not deserving the name of music. They know nothing of the use of notes, but learn all their tunes by the ear (G). Their instruments are still more uncouth; some like bells, others like drums, of several sizes and makes; one somewhat like our trumpet; and a few of them like our viols, and other stringed instruments; two or three kinds of flutes; and one of them composed of about twelve or fourteen pipes, of different lengths, made of cane, and not unlike in sound to the open flute of our organs, except that it is blown with the mouth, and not above fifteen or eighteen inches in length, and about three or four in diameter, the pipes being stuck, circular-wise, into a socket, which serves for the sounding-board, and receives the wind by a mouth-piece. They now seldom use either vocal or instrumental music, except in plays, feasts, marriages, funerals, and other such solemnities: and the very best of it never yet could appear tolerable to any of our *Europeans*, except it be played by a very good hand, or sung by a very good voice^a.

*Poetry, very
imperfect.*

THEIR poetry is still more difficult to describe to those who have no knowledge of their language, and consequently cannot be easily made to comprehend in what the beauty, elegance, cadence, and harmony, of it consist. Those who know that their language is chiefly composed of monosyllables, will be still more at a loss to conceive the possibility of reducing it into any regular and harmonious verse: and it must be confessed, that the best of their performances in this kind come infinitely short of ours, their poetry consisting chiefly in a kind of relative proportion, which one verse bears to another, both in rhyme and the tone of the feet; which last is what distinguishes the variety of significations which every such word hath. Neither are their compositions of that length, much less of that sublimity of thought, variety of imagery, boldness of metaphors, &c. as ours are, but rather resemble our sonnets, madrigals, or epigrams, whose beauty chiefly consists in varying the length of the verses, the choice of such words as are to be pronounced in a musical tone, and, we may add, that carry some quaint or witty idea with them, or some pathetic passions and allusions, that serve to enliven the style. They have another sort of poetry, without rhyme, which consists in a continued antithesis, or opposition of the thoughts that form the piece; so that if the first thought relates to the spring, the next shall relate to autumn; if the one speaks of fire, the other shall mention water; and so on. Which kind rather requires patience, than skill or genius; though one meets, even in some of these, something of the poetic enthusiasm, and now-and-then some noble metaphor, which gives an elegance to the contrast^b.

*Another kind
of it.*

*Plays and
novels.*

THE last thing we shall speak of under this head, is their dramatic pieces and novels; neither of which have indeed any other excellency in them above those of *Europe*, except that they are generally calculated to instruct and reform, to recommend virtue, and expose vice, to inculcate the necessary reward of the one, and punishment of the other: whereas ours, at least those of this last century past, seem rather designed to captivate and inflame the passions, by dealing so much in love-affairs, intrigues, and other immoral scenes and characters, as commonly produce a quite contrary effect. In other respects, their dramatic performances, which are mostly of the tragi-comic kind, interlarded perhaps with a short farce, have little of the sublime or heroic, and have a manifest defect running through them all, which shews the poverty of their genius; viz. that, instead of surprising their audience in some imperceptible way, and as it were undesignedly, with the character of the persons who compose the drama, they oblige every actor to declare it, at his first appearance on the stage, in some such words as these: I am the emperor or king of * * *, and a declared enemy to all tyranny and cruelty; I am the great general * * *, or prime minister of king * * *, and a steadfast friend, or irreconcilable enemy, to such and such, meaning some other character in the play. The reader may see some few instances of their genius, in the dramatic and novel kind,

^a MARTINI, Hist. Sinic. imp. 3. DU HALDE, LE COMPTE, &c.

^b Ibid. ibid.

(G) The Jesuits first taught them the use of notes, when being invited, by the Emperor *Kang-hi*, to a *Chinese* concert, in which an air composed by that emperor was to be played, Father *Peirera* took out his pocket-book, and having pricked down the whole tune, whilst the musicians were playing it, repeated it from end to end, without missing one note, to the no small surprize of the audience, and much more of the performers, who had been at such pains to make themselves masters of it.

The emperor being made acquainted with the secret and having, with pleasure, heard some musical performances after the *European* manner, and beheld the method by which each performer took his part out of

their books, was so taken with it, that he ordered a musical academy to be erected, composed of the most skilful persons in that art, and committed the care of it to his third son, a prince of uncommon genius. These began with reading all the authors that had written on the subject, and reducing all the instruments to the ancient standard, except where that was found defective, or capable of some improvements from those of *Europe*. Which being done, they compiled a book, in four volumes, intitled, *The true Doctrine of Li-hi*, written by the emperor's order; and to them added a fifth, containing the elements of *European* music, composed by Father *Peirera*, above-mentioned (g).

(g) Vide *Le Compte, Martini, & al.*

a in *Du Halde*¹, by which he may form an idea of the rest, without our enlarging any farther upon them.

As to their history, if we may rely upon what both the *Chinese*, and the generality of writers, say of it, no nation ever took more care to preserve and transmit a faithful and succinct one of their empire, from the very foundation of it, and to record the annals of their good and wicked monarchs with greater impartiality, and free from that flattery and sycophancy which those of other empires are commonly fraught with (H). This was their practice, not only at the imperial court, but in every kingdom under its dependency, and in every province of the empire; insomuch that not only every government, but every city belonging to it, hath been obliged, from time immemorial, to publish an account of every considerable transaction which happened within its district. This account extends itself to the situation, boundaries, climate, soil, and the most remarkable places in it; the genius, commerce, and number, of its inhabitants; the persons who have been most distinguished for their valour, learning, probity, &c. not excepting those of the female sex who have signalized themselves for their chastity, conjugal, parental, or filial, piety; nor even the monstrous births (I), and other prodigies, that have happened at any time; all which, if they could but be stripped of the marvellous and fabulous, for which those historians betray but too great a fondness, would doubtless be of great service to compile and enrich the history of their nation².

But though we should allow that they have been thus careful in preserving their records for a great number of ages, yet, with respect to those of their earliest times, we have sufficiently shewn in a former part of this work, how little dependence can be had either on the ancient *Chinese* records, or on what we find written concerning those early monarchs, by persons who lived so long after all those ancient and venerable writings had been designedly destroyed by some of their tyrannic princes³. We may indeed more safely rely on those which are of a more recent date, and after the time of their great *Confucius*, when they began to be more regularly kept and digested after his model: but as to that, we shall refer our readers to what hath been already said of it in the *Antient History* above-quoted, and to what we shall have farther occasion to add in a subsequent section.

THE last thing we have to speak of, under this head, is their language, which doth the more properly belong to it, as the thorough knowledge of it is one main branch of the *Chinese* learning, and such a one as cannot be attained to without great study and application; but, once acquired, is the most sure and direct road to the highest preferments and dignities in the government. What the ancient language of the *Chinese* was, its primitive roots, and affinity to the *Hebrew*, and other ancient tongues, we have in some measure shewn in a former part of this work⁴: neither shall we here enter into the controversy about which of them is the most ancient or primitive language, which is a subject too copious to be discussed as it ought to be, in a work like this; but only observe in general, that it is not without good grounds that several very learned men have given it the preference above all the ancient ones, that of the *Mosaic* books not excepted, as carrying a much greater variety of such characteristics as one would reasonably expect to find in an original or primitive tongue⁵. The paucity

Antient Chinese.

Some pregnant proofs of its being the primitive language.

¹ Ubi sup. vol. ii. p. 143, &c.

² Vid. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

³ See before,

Introduction, p. 491, & seq. et 501, & seq.

⁴ Ibid. p. 501, & seq.

⁵ De hoc, vid. int. al. HOWEL'S

Essay on the Chinese language, passim. BAYER, MUSE. SINIC. WELBER, SHUCKFORD, & al.

(H) Their method for doing it effectually is admirable, and deserves an universal imitation. There is a set number of doctors, of known probity, whose business is to observe all the words and actions of the emperor, and, unknown to one another, to set them down in a loose sheet of paper, which is afterwards to be put through a slit into a chest made for that purpose. In that paper they relate, with great freedom and sincerity, every thing that hath been said or done by him, whether well or ill. For instance, on such a day the emperor forgot his dignity, and gave too great a loose to his passion. On such a day, unmindful of every thing but his resentment, he unjustly condemned such a person, or disannulled an act of the tribunal, without a cause. In such a year, day, &c. he gave such a singular mark of his paternal affection for his subjects; undertook a war for the defence of his people; or put an end to an expensive one to ease his subjects, or for the honour of the empire; was congratulated by his whole court, &c. for such an action, law, or speech, and appeared with an air full of modesty and humility, in the midst of the praises and applauses of his people.

The chest, wherein these papers are carefully preserved, is never opened, either while the prince is liv-

ing, or any of his family upon the throne: but, when the crown passes into another house, or branch of the royal family, then all these memoirs are carefully collected, examined, and compared, in order to discover the truth; and, from them, the history of that monarch is compiled (10).

(I) There is hardly a prodigy, or the most absurd and incredible story, that they will not insert in their local records. Thus, in those of the city of *Fu-chow*, they relate, that a woman was brought-to-bed of a serpent, and suckled it; in another place, that a sow brought forth a little elephant. Stories of apparitions, hobgoblins, &c. often occur, especially where the Bonzas have had a hand in the repelling, expelling, or suppressing, them; sometimes also some rich persons of both sexes will, by presents, or some kind of bribery, to the governors, get themselves recorded in those annals for some remarkable piece of merit; tho' none can obtain that honour, unless he be found deserving of it: and, to prevent any abuses of that nature, all the Mandarins of every city assemble once in 40 years, to examine those records, in order to expunge whatever part of them they disapprove of (11).

(10) *Du Halde*, ubi sup. vol. ii. p. 146.

(11) *Id. ibid.* & seq. al. ubi sup.

of its radical words (which to this day exceed not 330), and the simplicity of their sounds, of which we shall speak in the sequel, cannot but be allowed to be every way answerable to the best notions we can frame of those earliest times, wherein mankind could have but very few ideas, and such as could be easily conveyed by the simplest words or sounds.

Their few radical words multiplied to a vast number of meanings,

according to the increase of their ideas.

ON the other hand, their chusing to split those original words into such a vast variety of significations, according as their ideas gradually multiplied, rather than coin new ones for every new idea, must needs appear to every unprejudiced person a manifest proof of their tenacious fondness, or perhaps we should rather say respect, for their mother-tongue; especially if he considers how much easier it would have been for them to have coined new words for all such new ideas, than to express them by the mere difference of sound or accent of their old ones; but that is a point we have neither time nor room to enlarge upon. It must be easy to every reader to guess to what a prodigious height the introduction of arts and sciences must in time have multiplied the variety of sounds and accents, and consequently of their characters or hieroglyphics: and accordingly some authors make them to amount to no fewer than from 60 to 80,000, a number too great for any one, especially a stranger, to attain in so small a space of time as three or four years, as some of the Jesuit missionaries pretend to have done, unless we suppose there is either some alphabet, or some other equivalent expeditious way of coming to the knowledge of such a variety of combinations than they have been pleased to acquaint us with.

WE, and other nations, who make use of an alphabet, and combine our letters lengthwise, which seems the easiest and most natural way, and clog them with so inconsiderable a number of accents, plainly see what time it requires, even with all these advantages, for a youth to become so far a master of his spelling-book, as readily to catch every such combination, and form it into a character or word; for that, we take for granted, every reader is sensible to be the case: for, as soon as he is once become a tolerable proficient in reading, he no longer joins letters into syllables, and these into words, but takes at one glance of the eye the whole word, be it short, or ever so long, as the *Chinese* do one of their compound characters; so that, unless he chance to meet with some irregularity in the word, as when it is wrong spelt, the letters misplaced, inverted, and the like, which recalls his alphabet to his mind, he runs over every one of them, as over so many intire characters, and the exotic words *elephant, hieroglyphic, Constantinople, &c.* offer themselves, under that notion, with the same ease and speed as his own native monosyllables *ox, sheep, bread, wood, &c.* But if this easy method of ours doth yet require some years to be attained in any tolerable perfection, what must it be supposed to do in an *European* who attempts to acquire the same readiness in the *Chinese* characters, which, besides their being combined in a quite different manner, are clogged with such a vast variety of accents of so many different imports, as to multiply the number of those characters to above 60,000, unless there be some particular, some fundamental clue, equivalent to our alphabet, to facilitate the learning of them?

Their three languages at present in use.

The Mandarin, in its use.

ESPECIALLY if, to what hath been mentioned already, we add, that there are, properly speaking, three sorts of languages in *China*; viz. that of the common people, which is only used by them, and in compositions of the lowest class, as being by far the rudest of the three, and splitting itself into a great variety of dialects and pronunciations. The next is that which is called the language of the Mandarins and Literati, and is used by all the politer part, and more polished dialect, of the former, are written an infinite variety of histories, novels, and other compositions of the like nature, in a style no way inferior to our best writings either for clearness, elegance, purity, or politeness. This is the language which was formerly used at court, and hath been since propagated among the more polite and neighbouring provinces to it: and hence it is that it is best spoken in those that are next to that of *Kyang-nan*; but it was with no small difficulty, and by very slow degrees, that it was afterwards propagated thro' the rest of the empire, for the conveniency of the government.

The written language.

The paucity of its primitive words.

THE third is that which may be properly styled the language of the learned, or of books, that is, of those that are not written in the same familiar style as that of the two former, but in such a one as is vastly superior to them in sublimity, majesty, and brevity. This last is now no longer used in common discourse, but is only written; and runs with such a noble flowing harmony, when read by those that are masters of it, that the nicest ear may hear it with delight, notwithstanding its surprising conciseness, and the variety of accents in which it is to be pronounced. But as the knowledge of this third sort is only a kind of dead one, and chiefly known by the learned of the highest rank, we shall only add, to what we have said of its singular conciseness, that each thought is generally expressed in about four or six characters, and without any pointing; so that the learned are left to judge where the sense concludes, by the mere nature of the diction, and yet they are seldom, if ever, mistaken in that particular.

BUT to return to the Mandarin or polite language: it hath this peculiar property, to be the most concise, and barren of words, and the most copious and extensive in sense, of any either antient or modern, in the whole world. The number of its words doth not amount,

a as was lately hinted, to above 330, all monosyllables, indeclinable, and for the most part ending with a vowel, or with an *n* or *ng*; and yet contains such a variety of meanings, according to the accent or tone they are pronounced in, as to serve in all exigencies, and to be extremely copious and significant. Again, the compounding of those monosyllables multiplies their primitive signification into a vast variety of new ones; all which doth so enrich it, that they are never at a loss how to express themselves, not only in all exigencies relating to human life, but in all their various arts and sciences, in the most proper and intelligible manner. We can give a more pregnant proof of the almost infinite variety of ideas which are conveyed by the few monosyllables above mentioned, than the dictionary which was compiled by order of the late emperor *Kang-hi*, which, though printed in a small character, yet amounted to 95 volumes, most of them very thick; and yet was found so short of comprehending the whole language, that they thought it necessary to add a supplement to it of 24 volumes more. As there is therefore no language in the world that would not be exhausted in less than half the number of those volumes, so there can be none so copious as the *Chinese*, or that can boast to have existed so many thousand years in the same state in which it continues to this day.

b We have still a more pregnant proof of the richness of this language, from the number of inflexions by which they alter the signification of original words. These are chiefly five; the first of which consists in speaking it in a plain even tone: the second, in raising it a note or two higher; the third in giving it a very acute sound or pronunciation; the fourth, a swift descent from the acute to the grave accent, or from a higher to a lower note; the fifth and last, in descending still lower. There are still some other accents, so peculiar to their nation, that it would be impossible to give any idea of them to an *European*, and which yet serve to the same end. But, from these five, our readers may easily judge of the whole; for if we can, by the combination of 24 letters, form some myriads of words, what must be the result of their 330 original words, when multiplied by all those inflexions?

c It would be an useless task to carry our inquiries farther into the genius, grammar, and other peculiarities, of this language (K), which the curious may see in those authors who have written upon it *ex professo**, or to dwell longer on the difficulty of learning it, especially to strangers, from the various significations which the words acquire by that variety of accents, as well as from the difficulty of rightly distinguishing them. To give an instance of it; the word *Chu*, or *Shu*, pronounced in the higher note, and lengthening the vowel *u*, signifies a *master*, or *lord*; in a lower tone, a *kog*; pronounced short, it signifies a *kitchen*; and with a strong masculine tone, a *pillar*, or *column*. According to the same variation of accents, the word *Po*, tho' so short a monosyllable, hath no less than eleven different significations; in the one it signifies a *glass*, in another to *boil*, in a third to *fan* or *winnow* corn, in others it means to *break*, to *split*, to *water*, to *prepare*, an *old woman*, a *slave*, a *liberal* man, a *prudent* person, and a *little*. Very near the same thing may be said of all their other primitive words, and the great difficulty a reader will find to investigate their variety of significations, from any rules hitherto given us, and much greater still to comprehend the different sounds, fix the various meanings from the several ways of spelling, by which the missionaries, and other *European* writers, have endeavoured to express them; so that, after the most curious and intense application in consulting all the grammars and lexicons of the *Chinese* tongue, and observing the vast difference in which those authors spell the very same word; and what pains some of the latter sort, particularly Father *Du Halde*, and his *English* interpreter, have taken to fix some more certain rules for writing that language in our *European* characters, and how short they themselves own they have come of the mark†; it will not be a wonder if, after all these pains, they do not set down at the foot of the account LABOUR LOST.

* Vid. MACAILLAN, LE COMPTE, MARTINI, DU HALDE, &c. BAYER, Grammatic. Sinic. l. ii. & Music. Sinenf. SCHINDLER. Pentagl. MARTIN. Hist. Sinic. lib. i. page 22 & seq. LE COMPTE State of China, lett. 7. DU HALDE Engl. vol. i. p. 359, & seq. et 240, & seq. † Du Halde, ubi supra.

(K) From the scantling we have given above, our readers will easily guess how difficult and endless such a task would be, and what a deal of time and pains it must take to come even at a tolerable knowledge of such a copious and intricate language. *Magai* doth indeed suppose, that an *European* might easily learn it in a few months, and with more ease than the *Greek* or *Latin*, because all the words that compose it might be learned in a day. He might as well have affirmed, that music might be learned in an hour, as *Le Compte* justly observes, because the few notes of it may be learned in less than a minute (12).

The primitive words may be indeed easily learned; but the difference of accents, tones, modulations, and other changes of their voice, by which their great va-

riety of significations is conveyed to the mind, is not only a work which requires the greatest study and application, but likewise a very retentive memory; and even with all these a man may still miscarry, whose ear hath not been accustomed from his infancy to distinguish that great variety of sounds, and who hath not framed his voice to a right modulation of them; seeing the least deviation from it will give the word another and perhaps a quite opposite sense. The same may be said of a good number of their consonants, especially the compound ones, as *ts-ng*; and of their gutturals, which have a quite different sound from that we are used to give them; and can never be perfectly attained, except people begin to learn them when they are young.

(12) *Ubi sup. lett. 7.*

Great variety
of dialects,
and pronuncia-
tions.

FOR it is not only the vulgar *Cbinese* (which hath as many different dialects and pronuncia-
tions as there are cities and villages) that is thus hard to be attained, but the same difficulty
runs, though not in the same degree, through the Mandarin or polite language, which is most
universally spoken through the empire; for not only every province, but every city and town,
and it can hardly be otherwise, pronounces it in some different way; which, considering that
this chiefly fixes the various significations of the same word, makes it quite unintelligible to all
the rest, except such as, by travel or conversation, have accustomed themselves to that variety;
so that it often happens that a man, who hath perfectly learned the pronunciation of one pro-
vince, will find himself as it were in a strange country as soon as he passes into another, and
will be forced to rack his brain to understand what is said to him, or to make himself under-
stood: and though the *Cbinese* of one province may, by custom, observation, or some kind
of rote, be able to understand those of another, the case will be found quite otherwise with a
stranger, who, after he hath spent three or four years in learning it, and can make shift to
stammer it in such a manner as to be tolerably well understood by those that are used to his
jargon, will be forced, after all, to have an interpreter, whenever he happens to be among
those he never saw before. We will only add, that, besides the various ways in which each
province sounds the vowels and consonants, and the different accents or tones in which they
pronounce the words, they observe several degrees of lenity and rapidity in speaking them,
to express their proper signification, which may easily escape the nicest ear, that hath not been
early accustomed to them; for want of due attention even on which nice particular, either in
the speaker or hearer, men will, instead of understanding each other, either be playing at cross-
purposes, or be forced to be ever repeating what they have said or heard: so that, upon the
whole, the *Cbinese* language can never be learned to any tolerable degree, except it be done
from one's very infancy².

Writing.

THEIR writing is still more difficult and intricate, because, as we lately hinted, they write
not with letters, or an alphabet, as most other nations do, but by characters signifying a syl-
lable or whole word, and which, though chiefly composed of six principal strokes, such as
the reader will find described in the margin (L), yet may be, and are, combined into such a
prodigious variety, as exceeds the capacity of most men to learn in a whole life, though natives,
and men of letters; and it is to this vast multitude of characters, and the difficulty of learning
their several combinations, that most writers impute the small progress and improvements which
the *Cbinese* nation hath made in the sciences, there being so great a part of their time spent
in learning to read and write their own language.

Why still more
intricate.

Ancient hiero-
glyphics,

ANTIENTLY they only used hieroglyphics, and rather painted than wrote: a round circle
signified the sun, a crescent the moon, a square the earth or a house, a crooked line bending
in and out, a river; a triangular figure, a mountain, a group of trees, a forest, &c. which
might be easily done, when the number of ideas was contained within a small compass, and

² DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat.

(L) As our writing-masters tell us, that most of the
letters of our alphabet are composed of the *j* and *o*; so
the *Cbinese* pretend, that all their characters are, pro-
perly speaking, formed of the six following strokes (13):



but how, and by what rules, these are combined to-
gether, to compose such an infinite variety of characters,
we are not told; and whoever will be at the pains of
analysing any large quantity of their characters, will
soon discover a great variety of their members, which
are by no means reducible to the six above mentioned,
though he should allow himself the liberty of altering
their position all manner of ways, as a transverse into
an upright, or even turning them upside-down, or a-
bout to all points of the compass. This pretended rule
seems therefore to us rather an amusement, calculated
by the superior class of the Literati, or doctors of the
first rank, merely to conceal the true mystery of com-
bining them, not only from the vulgar and strangers,
but from the lower classes of their learned, or rather
perhaps to discourage them from attempting the disco-
very of it, by putting them upon a wrong scent, which,
they well know, will soon make them despair of ever
coming at it.

Were we to allow ourselves the liberty of following
the conjecture of a few learned men in some of our
foreign academies, which, though hitherto unsuccess-
ful in unravelling the whole mystery, yet have dived so
far into it, as to give one very strong hopes that the

foundation is just; and may in time, by proper helps
and application, and a genius suitable to the task, be
set in so clear a light, as to put it beyond all possibility
of doubting; we should tell our readers, which is no
more than we believe, and are in a great measure con-
vinced of by our own experience, that all this infinite
variety of characters is as reducible to a regular alpha-
bet, as our infinite variety of words is; only with this dif-
ference, that whereas we dispose our vowels and conso-
nants in one way, that is, one after another, in the same
order as they are sounded, and with the accents over
the letters, they, on the contrary, place the consonants
in the most conspicuous part of the character, and the
vowels, accents, and other critical prints or marks, on
the top and bottom, and on either side, according to
some certain rules prefixed and agreed among them. All
this may the more easily be done in their language, by
reason of the shortness of their words, which seldom
exceed two consonants and two vowels, and perhaps an
accent or two, either tonical or grammatical.

It would even be easy to shew, that the mercantile
part must have some more expeditious way to read and
write those characters, which barely relate to their pro-
fession, their religion, and morality, than that tedious
and intricate way we have been speaking of; because
we are told, they are commonly instructed in them from
their infancy, down even to the children of the meanest
mechanics; and they contract thereby such a habit, or
even delight, in reading, that one shall hardly see any
of them, when their hands are off from their business,
without a book before them (14).

(13) Du Halde, ubi sup. vol. i. p. 359.
Du Halde, & al.

(14) Martini, Le Compte, Athanas. Kircher Chin. Illustrat. Niebuß,

a confined to things tangible, visible, &c.; but when they began to multiply, and extend to such objects as could not be represented by drawing, they were obliged to have recourse to these characters, of which we have given an account in a former part of this work^a; and which, whether proper hieroglyphics, or not, are combined in such a regular manner, as to answer to all the vast variety of terms used by them, both in all exigencies of life, and in all their arts and sciences; but the manner of joining and combining the several original strokes which compose it, and run through the whole, is a mystery known only to the highest class of the learned.

THESE characters have been since multiplied to such a degree, as to amount to 25,000, according to some; to 30,000 or 40,000, according to others; and by some of the latter writers even to 80,000; though there are but few of their Literati who understand half of them, and he is reckoned a very learned man amongst them who is master of 15,000 or 20,000; because the greater number of them a man knows, the greater quantity and variety of books he is able to read. By this, if it be really the case, one may guess what length of time it must take to learn such a prodigious number of them, to distinguish when they are or are not compounded, and to remember their respective significations and shapes; if what we lately hinted do not make it more than probable, that their highest ranks of Literati are possessed of a more expeditious way of attaining this kind of learning, which they yet may design- edly conceal from the rest, to prevent the too great increase of competitors to the highest pre- ferments in the state; and to reserve to themselves and families the shortest and easiest way to wealth, honour, and grandeur; and, what they seem to affect above all the rest, to the distinguishing prerogative of wearing long nails (M). And this may probably account for the small number of those eminent Literati in comparison of the rest, who attain their know- ledge in the learned books by the mere drudgery of labour and study; though even in this last case, it must be owned, that those who can advance so far as to be able to read about 10 or 15,000 characters, may still be learned enough to express themselves clearly in their own language, and to be able to read a sufficient number of books to pass for men of learning, and be intitled to some considerable posts in the government (N).

BESIDES the characters above-mentioned, they have a very antient sort still in use among them, tho' chiefly in titles, inscriptions, seals, and devices, and in some old books, which, for that reason, the learned are obliged to understand. They have also a common running- hand for deeds, bonds, acts of justice, &c. And, lastly, they make use of a letter or pecu- liar character for dispatch of business; but which requires a more than ordinary study and application, on account of the great variety of strokes, abbreviations, ligatures, and other singularities, which make it difficult to learn^b.

THEIR style in writing, especially among those of higher rank, is grave, concise, abstruse, and allegorical; and sometimes so obscure, that it requires a perfect knowledge of the cha- racters, as well as a deep attention to them, to avoid making frequent mistakes in reading them. Their allegories are bold, and often sublime; but that which gives the greatest orna- ment to their style, is the frequent interspersing it with sentences out of the canonical books. Next to that they value themselves extremely for writing neatly, drawing their characters truly and beautifully, for that they prefer to fine painting; and even the unlearned will pay an uncommon regard for a scrap of paper on which the characters are finely written, though they know not what it contains.

THEIR way of writing those characters (contrary to most other nations) is from the top to the bottom. They begin their first line on the right side, and so go regularly on to the left. They observe the same rule with respect to the order of their pages; so that the farthest of them towards the right is always the first. They use pencils instead of pens, which they hold, not obliquely, but upright, and scarcely suffer their hand to touch the paper. Their ink is a compound of lamp-black, made of some sorts of burnt woods, or oil, and mixed with a kind

^a See before, Introd. p. 502, & seq.
COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

^b ATHAN. KERCHER, Chin. Illustr. MARTINI, LE

(M) It is esteemed a characteristic and prerogative of a profound scholar, or a man of deep learning, among the Chinese, to wear their nails of a considerable length; insonuch that some of their most eminent doctors will have them as long as their fingers.

(N) To ease the learners as much as they think pro- per in this difficult task, these doctors have compiled some sorts of lexicons and vocabularies, in which that vast variety of characters is ranked in several classes, pretty much in the same method as the Hebrew ones do all their words under their respective roots. Thus,

for instance, every thing that relates to *heaven, earth, mountain, man, horse, &c.* is to be looked for under the character of *heaven, earth, mountain, man, horse, &c.* These vocabularies are more or less extensive, that is, comprehend a greater or lesser number of cha- racters, as suits best with the exigence of the learner. Some of them containing only about 8000, others 10,000, or more; but the most complete is that which they call the *Hay-pyen*, in which they may find any of those which are wanting in the lesser ones (15).

(15) Martini, Le Compte, Athanas. Kircher Chin. Illustr. Nieuhoff, Du Halde, & al.

of gum-water, which gives it a consistency; after which it is cast in of long square cakes, a for use, after having first mixed with it some quantity of musk, or other perfume, to take off the disagreeable smell of the lamp-black, which is also more or less send, according to the nature of the oil or combustible of which it is made. When ink hath been preserved a considerable time, it is then seldom used for writing; but becomes, according to them, an effectual remedy against the bloody-flux, and convulsions in children. They look upon it as an excellent alcali, and sweetener of the blood, by absorbing the sharp juices of it. The dose is commonly about two drachms of it to a grown person, in a glass of water or wine.

Pap r.

THEIR paper, which has been commonly supposed amongst us to be made of silk, by reason of its thinness, and beautiful white shining colour, is made of the inward bark of the bamboo, and several other trees (O). They have several sorts of it; which, with their various ways of making, whitening, silvering, and preserving, it, the reader may see at large in *Du Halde*, and other authors^c. It is so thin and transparent, that it will not bear being written but on one side; and, when they are obliged to write on both sides, they generally double the leaves, and join them together with a fine glue, which is scarcely discernible; the paper being so smooth and even, and the glue so thin and clear, that it still looks like a single leaf. And this is the method they use also with respect to their bound books, whether written or printed, as well as with the prints or cuts that are interleaved with them. The invention of paper in *China*, according to their account of it, is reckoned to be almost as old as our Christian æra, or within about fifty years of it^d: before that time, they rather engraved, than wrote, with an iron tool, upon thin planks of some hard wood, or of bamboo, which were consequently more lasting than any parchment. At least all their canonical, and other valuable antient books, were couched upon such hard and durable materials, and not upon paper made of the bark of trees, as some late writers have absurdly imagined, and even ventured to affirm[†]. In process of time, they came to write with the hair pencil upon white sattin; and, after the invention of printing, upon some sort of paper, but such as was far enough from being so friable and brittle as hath been pretended; especially that which is brought thither from *Korea*, and is very near of the same toughness as vellum; though, had that which they used for printing been less durable, the planks would have still remained the same.

Printing different from ours. The hint taken from them.

THE art of printing hath been in use in *China* from time immemorial, but in a very different manner from that which we use in *Europe*; though it is not improbable that the celebrated *John Fust*, or *Faust*, of *Mentz*, took the first hints of his discovery from them, his first essays being exactly after the *Chinese* manner, by wooden planks, and with the same kind of ink, and only on one side of the paper or parchment^e, till his son-in-law *Peter Scheffer* invented the fusile or metal types, and, with them, a new sort of ink made of varnish, or boiled oil, the same which hath been in use ever since; but this improvement would be absolutely impracticable among the *Chinese*, on account of the vast number of characters they use, which would require cases of some hundreds of yards in length to contain even one bare half of them. Their method is, whenever they want any thing to be printed, to have the copy well and exactly transcribed by a good writing-master: after which, every page is glued very smoothly on a separate block of some hard wood, like those we use here for wooden cuts; so that the engraver hath nothing to do but follow the exact strokes of his copy, by cutting down with a sharp-pointed knife all the wood that lies under the white of the paper, and leaving all the black strokes untouched, which by that means become embossed, and prominent enough to receive the ink upon them. In this way of printing, which requires as many blocks as the book contains pages, there can be no long time spent in correcting the proofs, seeing the graver works by the strokes of the copy itself; and cannot possibly err, if the manuscript be exact. There are several other advantages in it, which ours hath not; one is, that those planks, when engraved, may serve for as many editions as the work will

Way of printing.

Advantages of their way of printing.

^c ATHAN. KERCHER. *Chin. Illustr.* MARTINI, *Le COMPTE*, DU HALDE, & al. ^d Ibid. DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 372. [†] RINODAUT ap. P. Premar. in *Recueil de Lettres edifiantes*, vol. xix. p. 478, & seq. ^e Vid. MALINCROT & TRITHÉM. de orig. art. typogr. Chevalier LA CAILLE FERTEL Orig. de l'imprimerie. ORLANDI Origine della Stamper. MATTAIR. *Annal. Typogr.* PALMER *Hist. of Printing*, lib. i. & al.

(O) That which is most in use among them, is called *Ku-chi*, from the *Chu ku*, or *Ku-chu*, tree, from whose inner rind it is taken; which tree in figure nearly resembles our mulberry, but, by its fruit, is rather a kind of fig-tree.

Their herbals prescribe a method of cultivating this useful plant, so as to produce the greater quantity of bark, and in the perfection that is required for making this sort of paper; which is as follows. At the vernal equinox, take the kernel of the tree, and having wash-

ed it, mix it with the seed of the *Sesamou* (which is what the *Portuguese* call *Gergelino*), and scatter them together, at random, upon the ground. The *Gergelino* will sprout out with the first shoots of the *Chu-ku*; but you must take care not to cut it in the autumn, nor in the winter, but stay till the next spring, and then set fire to the field. That very year you will see the plants of the *Chu-ku* increase considerably; and at the end of three years it will be fit to cut, and make paper of (16).

(16.) *Du Halde*, ubi sup. p. 368, & seq.

a bear, and at any distance of time, without the necessity of a new composition, or other labour, than perhaps retouching the faces of the characters when they are battered by long use. Another is, that they only print the sheets as they are bespoke; so that they are in no danger of losing by over-printing themselves, as is too commonly the case in *Europe*. A third is, when a book is become scarce, and not easily to be got, one may go to the printer, and get a single one printed with ease, cheapness, and expedition; there being no more required than the looking out the blocks, and bringing them to the press. The last advantage we shall mention is, that they can print books in any other language in the same way, and with all the ornaments of initial letters, head and tail-pieces, &c. and, provided the copy be but exact, and finely written, it may be not only fairly and exactly cut, but even receive some improvements from the engraver. The only inconvenience it hath, besides that of being printed only on one side, is, that it requires a vast deal of room to keep those blocks in, and such as, were books to be printed with them in such vast quantities as they are in *Europe*, no printer could possibly find stowage for; so that, all things duly weighed, our *European* method is vastly preferable to it (P).

We have already taken notice of their folding or doubling the paper, as its transparency will not admit of its being printed on both sides, without confounding the characters. Hence, in the binding of their books, they take care to have the fold at the edge, or outward margin, and the opening at the back, at which they join one leaf to the other; and, in order to direct the binder how to place the sheets, so as to answer each other exactly, there is a black line drawn upon the folds of the sheets, which runs through the whole number of them, and serves to the same purpose as the register or point-holes which are made in our printed sheets, which not only direct the pressmen how to place them exactly at the reiteration, but likewise the binder how to fold them up exactly, and according to their form. Their books are commonly covered with a kind of grey paste-board, or, if for the curious, with a fine satin, or flowered silk. Some of the richer sort are covered with red brocade, interspersed with gold and silver flowers, and appear neat enough to the eye, though none of them either so convenient or beautiful as ours^f.

^f MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

(P) We are told, however (17), that they have since fallen into a way of printing by separate types, not indeed of metal as ours are, but of wood; and, by the help of them, correct and alter their *Present State of China*, which is printed at *Pe-king* every three months. Our author adds, on the authority of common report, that the same thing is done at *Nan-king* and *Su-chew*, where they print little books as neatly and correctly as those that are engraven by the best hands. If that be true, which we much question, it can never be done with so little difficulty as he pretends: for, if we should allow those books to require no more of those characters than 1000, and we can hardly suppose that any of them can contain less than 1000 different words (that, especially, called *The Present State of China*, one would rather suppose to require at least double that number); a case, containing 1000 boxes, cannot be so easily reached, nor every character so readily found out by a compositor, as he imagines. To which we may add, that separate wooden types, should we suppose them

to be even a quarter of an inch square, will be apt in time to twist and warp with the weather, and much more by the dampness of the *Chinese* ink, which is not made of oil boiled into a varnish, as that which our printers use, which neither their wooden blocks or types, nor their soft paper, could admit of; but it is of a watery nature, like that we write with, except that it is mixed with a small quantity of glue, to give it a consistence: so that, by the frequent swelling and warping of the wood, it would be in some measure impossible to keep the lines strait and perpendicular; or, though the form be kept ever so closely locked up, to prevent some of those characters starting up above their level, or even quite out from the rest, which would soon shew them the necessity of exchanging them for fusile or metal ones; for this, we are told by the writers above-quoted, of the origin of printing in *Europe*, happened to the first discoverers and improvers of that art, whose frequent miscarriages with those wooden types put them upon excogitating the more solid metal ones (18).

(17) Vid. Salmuth on Pancirol. & al. auct. sup. citat.

(18) Ibid.

S E C T. V.

Of the agriculture, silk manufacture, china-ware, japan, varnish, and other inferior arts, of the Chinese.

AMONG their other inferior arts, we shall begin with that of agriculture, not only as the most antient and beneficial among, but as best understood, encouraged, and improved, by, them, beyond any other nation in the whole world. We have already given, in a former part of this work^g, some account of the vast encouragement and improvement which it received from *Shin-nong*, their very second emperor, their history furnishes us with many other such signal examples, particularly that of their seventh monarch *Yau*, who, according to them, began to reign 2357 years before Christ, and who preferred a worthy husband.

^g See before, Introd. p. 501, 505. & seq.

man,

man, named *Shun*, to his own son, to succeed him in the empire. *Shun*, and his successor *Yu*, who was chosen after the same manner, not only promoted husbandry with uncommon zeal, but the latter wrote several books on that subject, taught them how to drain the low lands, to till, dung, and water them, in the easiest and most frugal manner. Their examples were followed by so many of their successors, that it inspired the subjects with an extraordinary esteem and fondness for all kinds of agriculture, and made them readily submit to the greatest fatigues and hardships of it, not so much from a regard to the emoluments accruing from it, as from a kind of sacred veneration they had conceived for those antient and royal promoters and encouragers of it.

*A festival to
its honour.*

*Persons pro-
moted for their
application to
it.*

HENCE, as is currently believed, took birth that grand and solemn festival which is celebrated every year in all the cities in *China*, in the day of the sun's ingress into the 15th degree of *Aquarius*, which is with them the beginning of the spring (Q), as well as that other ceremony performed by every new emperor, in the rural way, of which we have given an account in a former section^h. One further encouragement some of their wise monarchs have given to husbandry, is worth observing; *viz.* that every governor of each city is obliged to send an account every year of the person who signalizes himself most by his industry and application in this way, who is thereupon raised to the dignity of a Mandarin of the eighth order, and intitled to the dress, insignia, and other honours, belonging to that rankⁱ; and so intent are those at the helm upon this point, that, upon the arrival of the deputies of the governors at court, the emperor never fails of asking them in what condition the fields appeared to them; and, when a dearth happens in any of the provinces, either through a long drought, a swarm of locusts, &c. those monarchs commonly remit to them a great part, if not the whole tribute of grain of that year, as we have formerly seen by some of their declarations from the throne^k.

*Fertility of the
soil.*

*Every spot im-
proved.*

*Way of manur-
ing.*

IT must be owned, that the soil, for the most part, as well as the happy temperature of their climate, doth richly deserve, as well as amply reward, their care: and though in so vast a tract of ground, there must be, of course, a great variety of soil, some more and others less fertile, yet such hath been the indefatigable industry of the *Chinese* nation, that every spot hath been improved, and made to produce some of the conveniencies of life, from the highest barren mountains down to the fertile vallies and plains; insomuch, that there is scarcely a province which doth not yield a sufficient maintenance for its numerous inhabitants, and some of them, especially towards the southern parts, almost double what will suffice them. So careful are they of procuring every kind of manure (R), that may enrich their land, that they will purchase it at a high rate; and so fearful of losing a foot of their ground, that one shall not see either a hedge, ditch, or even tree, in their corn lands. They will even deprive themselves of the pleasure of planting flower-gardens, fine walks, and other such useless gratifications, as they style them, for the sake of making them productive of what is more for the public good. We have already taken notice, in our description of the several provinces of *China*, that the southern ones produced a double crop of grain every year, besides

^h See before, p. 524, & seq.

^k See before, p. 586, (E).

ⁱ Vid. DU HALDE, LE COMPTE, MARTINI, & al. sup. citat. e

(Q) The ceremony of this festival is as follows: The governor, or chief Mandarin, of every city, is carried out of his palace in a chair of state, preceded by banners, torches, and musical instruments. He is crowned with flowers, and, in that solemn manner, moves towards the eastern gate of the city, as it were to meet the spring, attended with several litters painted and adorned with variety of curious silk tapestry, exhibiting the portraiture of illustrious persons, who had practised husbandry, and other histories on that subject. The streets are covered with tapestry, and, at proper distances, adorned with triumphal arches, lamps, and other illuminations.

Among other figures carried in the procession, there is a cow of earthen-ware, with gilt horns, and of such a monstrous size, that forty men can hardly carry her. Behind the cow follows a young child with one foot shod, and the other bare, whom they style *The genius of labour and industry*, and who strikes the cow continually with a rod, as if to make it go forward. Behind him follow all the husbandmen playing upon some instruments, and attended by companies of masked comedians, acting some kind of rural plays. In this manner they proceed to the governor's palace, where they strip the cow of all her ornaments; and, drawing

out a great number of lesser ones made of the same clay, out of her belly, present them to the multitude, together with the fragments of the great one, which they break into small pieces. The ceremony ends with a short speech, which the Mandarin makes to the people, in which he recommends husbandry to them, as one of the most conducive things to the welfare of the state (19).

(R) Of this they have great variety, such as dung of all sorts, none excepted, which they take care to temper with a proportionable quantity of water, to prevent its burning up the young plants. Hair of all kinds, as human, hogs, horses, &c. is found to give strength to their lands, especially to those sown with rice, and lime mixed with water, to destroy worms, insects, and weeds, and to give a cherishing warmth to the ground. They have a great many other ways of manuring and cultivating their lands, which we have no room to expatiate upon; and can only add, that if those who wrote on the subject of agriculture among them, had been more versed in physics and natural philosophy, they might have still made much greater improvements in that so useful and necessary art.

a a vast variety of the finest fruits, herbs, &c. Those that are situate more towards the north and west, though not so fertile, yet yield plenty of wheat, barley, millet of various sorts, tobacco, peas that are always green, and a kind of black and yellow sort, which they give to their horses instead of oats.

NOTHING can be more fruitful than their low-lands, which are intersected with such a vast number of canals, as constantly furnish them not only with a sufficient supply of water, but also with other manure, which is brought thither in barges: and in these low-lands it is that the best rice grows, and in the greatest plenty; because that grain thrives best in watery grounds (S). But their industry and skill is still more visible in their high-lands; first, by the great number of them which they have levelled, where their labour and number of hands could compass it to any advantage; secondly, by flattening and levelling the very summits of many of their high mountains, and cultivating them so, as to bear variety of grain, pulse, fruit-trees, and timber, according as their nature and situation would allow; and thirdly, by levelling the declivity of those mountains into as many flat stages, or terraces, as they could bear. By which means, the waters, whether of rain, dew, or snow, or those which come down from the top, have a commodious descent, and proper time to soak into the ground, and nourish the seed sown, instead of rooting and washing it down, as they do in other countries, by the violence of their course along their natural declivity. And it is no small delight to travel through vallies, or plains, of several leagues in length, surrounded with these hills and mountains, cut from the bottom to the top into terraces, three or four feet wide, and rising one above another, to the number of twenty or thirty, and covered over with corn, pulse, fruit, and with an almost constant verdure. It must indeed be owned, that the substance of these mountains is nothing so hard as that of rocky ones, but rather of so soft and porous a nature, that they may be easily cut with axes, and other instruments, some of them above 100 feet deep; and the salts and moisture which transpire through those pores, prove a constant and excellent manure for those artificial grounds. Neither do the husbandmen so far depend either on the rains and dews, or on the springs that flow from the higher parts, but whenever the latter are wanting, or the former happen to fail, they have an excellent way of conveying a sufficient quantity of water to the very top, by means of large pipes made of bamboo, and which is forced up thither by some water-work below. Even in those provinces where their mountains are of a more stubborn and rocky nature, one shall hardly see any of them that are not all over covered either with fruit or timber-trees, of some use or other to the public¹.

BESIDES the great plenty of corn, grain, and pulse, of all sorts, which almost every part of this country produces, it hath likewise a sufficient quantity of pasture-ground, whereon to breed a vast quantity of cattle of all sorts, great and small, of the tame kind; whilst their spacious woods and forests supply them with as great plenty and variety of wild ones, such as buffalo's, wild boars, deer of several kinds, elephants, (T) &c. amongst the useful ones;

¹ MARTINI, NAVARETTA, NIEUHOFF, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

(S) It is observed, that the rice which grows in dry and higher lands, neither yields so plentiful a crop, nor is so well tasted, but is commonly harsh and hard, and requires more boiling, than that which is sown in low and moist ground. In the latter, they commonly sow that grain at first without any order; but, as soon as it is grown up a root, or a foot and half high, they pluck it up by the foot, and make it into a kind of small sheaves, which they plant by a line, chequer-ways; without which method, the stalk, which is long and slender, could never support the weight of the ear, especially against winds and rain.

But before they thus transplant it, they take care to level and smooth the ground, by plowing it three or four times, always up to the ankles in water, and breaking the clods with the heads of their mattocks. This done, they smooth the surface, by means of a wooden machine, drawn by a buffalo, which is guided by a man who stands upright on the machine, to the end that the water, in which the rice naturally grows, may be every-where of an equal height; insomuch, that those rice-grounds appear more like a vast garden covered with water, than an open field. When the ear is come to its fullness, the water is drained from the ground, that the heat of the sun may bring it to its full ripeness (20).

(T) This noble and useful creature is mostly bred in the provinces of *Yun-nan* and *Quang-si*, where there are herds of wild ones; though other parts have them likewise, in smaller quantities, which, when once well tamed, become very servicable to them. It is too well known to need a description, either of its shape, strength, and other amiable qualities, especially its singular docility. The *Chinese* pay a kind of veneration to it, and attribute such a number of virtues to almost every part of them, after their death, as we should be loth to warrant; such as, that the eye, infused in woman's milk, and a drop let fall into a sore eye, is an effectual cure; that a little bone, which runs across the breast, being reduced to ashes, and drank in some wine, renders the body more active, supports it above water, and assists it in swimming; with many others of the like nature (21).

Their woods do likewise breed some rhinoceroses, variety of baboons, monkeys, and other creatures, which are kept rather for sight than use; particularly the province of *Se-chwen* produces one sort, which they call *Sin-sin*, which is of the ape kind, but is reported to be as tall as a middle-sized man, and to bear a greater resemblance to mankind than any other apes, both for the facility with which it walks on its hind-feet,

(20) *Vide Du Halde, & aut. sup. citat.*
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(21) *Du Halde, ubi sup. vol. ii. p. 229. & seq.*

ones; leopards, tygers, bears, wolves, foxes, and a variety of others not known to us, among those of the destructive kind; but which afford the *Cbinese* the diversion of hunting, as well as the commerce and profit of their furs, which are commonly very fine, and valuable.

THESE, and a good number of others we shall name under this head, may, by some readers, perhaps, be thought improperly brought in; but as it is no inconsiderable branch of good husbandry to promote the increase of all useful and profitable creatures of the animal as well as of the vegetable kind, and to destroy or suppress the growth of those of the contrary sort in both, and to adapt, as much as possible, the nature of their lands, so as to answer those two main ends, we hope it will not appear quite irregular, upon second thoughts, if we exhibit to them, at one view, the *Cbinese* management in both, first with respect to the animal, and next to the vegetable, part of the creatures which their country produces.

Tygers:

Musk-cat,
and
roebuck.

Little stag.

AMONG those of the wild and destructive kind, with which their woods and forests abound, we do not hear of any lions; but tygers are here not only in great quantities, but esteemed as so much the more dangerous, as they fall out for their prey in large droves, and are exceeding quick and fierce. But they have plenty of others of a more valuable kind; particularly their musk-cat, a profitable creature, which carries that noble perfume in a bladder under its navel. They have likewise a sort of roebuck, which they call *Hyang-chang-tse*, or odoriferous roebuck, the male of which hath a bag of very odoriferous kind of musk. This creature, which breeds mostly on the northern ridge of mountains beyond *Pe-king*, is first hunted, then killed; immediately after which, they cut off the bag above-mentioned, and tie it very hard, that it may lose none of its effluvia. The flesh is also good to eat; but the bag is esteemed of more value than the rest of the carcase: and to this, as well as the other, or real musk, they ascribe sundry noble qualities; such as, purifying the air, killing several sorts of insects which breed in the stomach; and especially that of the roebuck hath a virtue of stupefying of serpents; which creature, though large, they are affirmed to live upon, and to receive their odoriferous quality from (U).

BUT the most delightful of the whole quadruped kind, is a small stag, which is bred in the province of *Yun-nan*, and no-where else; but is bought far and near, and at a high rate, by the princes and nobles, merely to be kept for sight in their gardens. These are exactly shaped like the common sort, but their size scarcely exceeds that of our ordinary dogs, on which account they are esteemed as curiosities. But they have a great variety of stags of different kinds in the other provinces, some of which are reckoned as extraordinary for their largeness, they being little inferior to the small horses of the provinces of *Se-chwen* and *Yun-nan*.

Birds.

The fine Kin-
ki.

BIRDS and fowl, both of the wild and tame kind, are here in greater plenty and variety than we have room to describe; such as eagles, cranes, storks, hawks, falcons, pelicans, birds of paradise, peacocks, pheasants, partridges, turkeys, geese, ducks, swans, cocks and hens, and a vast variety of water-fowl on their lakes, rivers, and canals, where they swarm in vast droves; and such as are fit to eat are sold at so low a price, that one would hardly think it worth the people's while to kill them. Among the tame and curious sort, they have a variety of beautiful parrots, no way inferior, either in plumage, colours, or facility of talking, to any that are brought from *America*. But the most surprising and delightful of all the flying kind, is the little bird called *Kin-ki*, or *golden-ben*, which is commonly found in the provinces of *Yun-nan*, *Sben-si*, and *Se-chwen*.

THIS admirable creature, which hath nothing that resembles, much less that comes up to, the exquisite fineness of its shape, the beauty, lustre, and variety, of its plumage, the com-

MARTINI, NAVARETTA, NIEUHOFF, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

and performs several other actions. There is still, no doubt, a much greater variety of strange creatures, which, they tell us, are found in the mountains and forests of this great empire, than our *Europeans* have been able, as yet, to discover; but many of which have such an air of fable, that they hardly deserve mentioning, much less belief: such is that which they relate of the horse tyger, said to differ only from a horse in its having claws like a tyger, and scales all over its body, and in its leaving the river in the spring, to prey upon man and beast. This monster, the missionaries, who travelled through most territories where it is said to breed, never could see or hear of, though the people were very fond of shewing and entertaining them with every curious thing that was to be seen in that province (*Hu-quang*); and therefore justly looked upon it as a fabulous one. But, leaving those monsters to their books, where they are only to be found,

those woods and forests breed two wild kind of mules, one sort of which, fit only to be eaten, is very fleet, and can never be tamed; but the other may, and is chiefly used for the servants of the Mandarins to ride on. Camels, dromedaries, horses, oxen, and buffalo's, are likewise in great use among them, the former for land-carriage, and the latter to plough and plain their lands: but that which they feed most on is the hog-kind, of which they breed the greatest quantities, both in the upper and low-lands.

(U) This, we are told, is so certain, that the people who hunt after these roebucks have no other way of defending themselves against the bite of those overgrown serpents, but by carrying about them some of that musk, which never fails of stupefying them to such a degree, that they cannot come near enough to hurt them (22).

(22) Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 324i.

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a plete mixture and arrangement of light and shade, both in its wings and tail, and the fine plume that crowns its head, was, without doubt, called the golden hen on that account. But what renders it still more valuable among the epicures, is the delicate taste of its flesh, which, we are told, greatly excels that of pheasants; for which it is thought by our authorⁿ, of all the birds in the east, the most deserving to be brought into *Europe*.

THERE is still, if we may believe the *Chinese* geographers, and those *European* writers who have followed them upon trust, another still more surprising, if not for the exquisiteness of its taste, yet at least for that of the colours of its feathers, the fine redness of its bill, and the shortness of its life, which exceeds not that of the flower *Tung-wba*, from which it takes its name of *Tung-wba-fung*, and upon which it is said to breed, and to take its beautiful likeness from the flower we have had occasion formerly to describe^o. The misfortune is, that the bird is no-where to be found, but in the books of the *Chinese* geographers; and that in all the province of *Se-chwen*, and even in the territory of the city of *Ching-tu-fu*, where that flower blows in vast quantities, and where that bird is said to breed, the inhabitants, we are since told, know nothing of it^p: so that it is now much questioned whether it be not as fabulous a one as that which the same geographers call the *Fong-wbang*, and which, by their noble description of it, is supposed the same which we call the phoenix, if any such bird there be. For our later authors assure us, there is no such bird to be seen or heard of, either in the mountains or cities said to be called by its name, in the province of *Shen-si*, nor in any others, either in *China* or *Tartary*, where those writers pretend it is to be found. There is, indeed, a most noble one bred in that province, and in some parts of *Tartary*, called the *Hay-tsing*, which is a kind of falcon, not inferior to the finest of ours, but excels them in bigness and strength, and, for its beauty and courage, may be called the king of the birds of prey; but it is very scarce, and in such esteem, that as soon as it is caught, it must be forthwith brought to *Pe-king*, and presented to the emperor, who commits it to the care of his own falconers^q.

The flower bird;

and, like the phoenix, supposed fabulous.

A noble falcon.

Fruits peculiar to the country.

Chinese not so curious in them.

Some of a better sort than ours.

CHINA seems to be designed by nature to produce not only all the fruits which grow in other parts of the world, but likewise several excellent ones peculiar to its soil and climate; so that, if they have not so great a plenty and variety of the former as they might, it is rather owing to their neglect of cultivating them; for, generally speaking, they grow naturally almost in every province, and many of the more delicate kind in the southern parts to a greater perfection than any in *Europe*. Apples, pears, plums, quinces, apricots, peaches, figs, pomegranates, mulberries, nectarines, grapes, oranges, limons, citrons, melons, to say nothing of walnuts, chesnuts, pine-apples, and others in common with us in *Europe*, grow almost every-where in great plenty: the only difference is, that they are not so curious as we are in cultivating and improving them, but rather content themselves with having three or four different sorts of apples, seven or eight sorts of pears, peaches, &c.; and as for their cherries, they are hardly worth eating. The only fruits that exceed ours are their pomegranates, a fine sort of muscadine grapes of exquisite taste and flavour, and their *Tse-tse*, called by the *Portuguese* *Macau*, which is a kind of fig, the description of which may be seen in the margin (W). As for the rest, they hardly exceed ours; and some of them, for want of improvement, are much inferior to them, such as, their apricots, peaches, cherries, &c. which, in some provinces, are rather unwholesome, and, if not eaten with caution, will cause dysenteries and the bloody-flux.

OLIVES are here in great plenty and variety, and which, though different from ours, have a very fine taste; but whether out of dislike, or that they do not think it worth their while, they extract no oil from them (X).

ⁿ DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 15.

^o See before p. 548.

^p See DU HALDE, *ibid*.

^q De

his, *vid.* MACAILLAN, CARRERI, MARTINI, LE COMPTE, NIEUHOFF, DU HALDE, & al.

(W) It grows upon a stately tree, not unlike our middling walnuts, the leaves of which are of a fine green, till about autumn, when they change into an agreeable red. The fruit is about the bigness of a middling apple, and grows yellow as it ripens; but, when dried, becomes mealy and sweet like a fig; for which reason the *Portuguese* give it the name of *Macau*, or fig. There are several sorts of them, some having a ruddier, thinner, and more transparent rind; whilst others, to be brought to that fine colour and flavour, must be laid to ripen in straw; but all are agreeable to the sight, and good to eat. They will grow almost every-where, but in greater plenty in the province of

Yun-nan, and all along the sides of the *Whang-ho*, or *yellow river* (23).

(X) Their books treat of ten sorts of olives, the best kind of which is that called by them *Quang-lan*, which is large, and of a fine taste: and it is probable, that if the *Chinese* had the art of preparing them as they are in *Europe*, they might all have as good a taste: though in one thing they are more careful than we, in gathering them, *viz.* not to beat them down with long poles, which are apt to bruise them, and hurt the branches; but to make a hole in the body of the tree, and putting some salt into it, stop it up close, by which they will in a few days drop off of themselves (24).

(23) *Vid.* Du Halde, vol. i. p. 8,

(24) *Ibid.*

The Li chi.

AMONG those fruits which grow in the southern provinces, and are of an excellent taste and nature, but unknown to us, the *Li-chi* is most esteemed. It is shaped like a date, and hath an oblong stone, like that. The fruit is full of moisture, of an excellent taste and flavour when full-ripe; but shrivels, and grows blackish, like our prunes, by keeping. Next to that is the *Long-yen*, or dragon's eye, which is round, yellowish, and the pulp white, and a little acid. Both these are esteemed very wholesome, especially the latter, which, they say, never hurts, if one eats ever so much of it, but is rather taken to create than to satisfy the appetite.

Other singular trees.

THEY have likewise some singular as well as useful trees, particularly that which they style the pepper-tree, which bears a sort of grain like a pea, but of too hot a nature to be eaten; but the husk, which is less pungent, is used by the common people instead of it. The pea-tree, which produces a sort of pea, which, for figure, colour, pod, and taste, is much like our common pea, only a little more rank. This last tree is very tall and large, and grows in most provinces of *China*. The tallow-tree is no less common and profitable; whose fruit is contained in a rind, which, when ripe, opens in the middle like our chestnut, and yields two or three kernels of the bigness of a common hazel-nut, the pulp of which hath the properties of tallow, and, being melted with a small quantity of common oil and wax, is made into candles, and used all over the empire (Y). Their wax tree is so called from the wax that is produced on it by a kind of little worm which runs up, and fastens to its leaves, and quite covers them with combs. This wax is hard, shining, and considerably dearer than that of common bees; though this last they likewise have there, and in much greater quantities. When these worms are once used to the trees of any district, they never leave them, unless something extraordinary drives them away; and when that happens, they never return to them, so that new ones must be procured from those merchants who deal in them.

Bamboo,

THE *Chu-tze*, or what we call in *Europe* the bamboo or bambu, grows here in vast quantities, and of an extraordinary height; and, being hollow within, is used, the larger sort for water-pipes, and the smaller for telescopes, and other tubes, and the pulp within is made into paper.

Nau-mu-tree.

The *Nau-mu* is a tall strait sort of a tree, whose wood is incorruptible like the cedar, though its shape, leaves, &c. differ from it. It is commonly used to make pillars, doors, windows, &c. or ornaments for their palaces, temples, and large buildings; but it is in other respects much inferior to the *Tze-tau*, or rose-wood, which is of a reddish-black, streaked, and full of fine veins, which one would believe to be painted by some artist. The niture, ornaments, and other joinery, made of it, are much esteemed all over the empire, and sell at a greater price than those which are varnished or japanned. We omit a great variety of other valuable and curious trees, such as the cedar, ebony, sanders, pines, oaks, &c. which we have not room to describe.

Rose-wood.

Varnish and oil-trees.

BUT that which is justly esteemed the most profitable among the *Chinese*, and hath most excited the envy of the *Europeans*, is their *Tsi-shu*, or varnish-tree, from which they extract that gum with which they make their fine giran-varnish, or japan (Z), which keeps such an infinite number of hands employed in most provinces of the empire, and furnishes it with such a prodigious variety of chests, cabinets, boxes, and other household ornaments, so beautifully painted and varnished, and sent abroad into most parts of the world. The next to that in usefulness is the *Tong-shu*, or oil-tree, from which a liquor or oil is drawn, not much differing from the varnish above mentioned, and used almost to the same end, but chiefly in larger work, such as pillars, cornices, galleries, triumphal arches, fine floors, and the like, for which that is not quite so fit. This oil, when boiled into a consistency, not only preserves the wood over which it is laid, but gives it a fine lustre, and, like the varnish, may be mixed with any colour to great advantage.

(Y) Their way of separating the tallow from the fruit is, by pounding the shell and kernel together, and boiling them in water, upon which, when cold, an oil rises, which condenses like tallow, and is skimmed off. To ten pounds of that, they mix three of linseed-oil, and some wax, to give it a hardness, and prevent its sticking to one's fingers.

The candles are like the segment of a cone, the broader part of which is lighted, and the other goes into the socket of the candlestick. They burn well; and, when put out, give no ill smell, because the wick is made of rush; but would give a much clearer light, and sweeter smell in burning, if care was taken to defecate the oil that is mixed with the tallow, and a cotton wick used instead of a rush, which is apt to burn

to a coal, and break short, and can only be snuffed with a keen pair of scissars. Those who are curious mix vermilion, and other colours, with them (25).

(Z) This gum, or liquor, distils only off the tree drop by drop, like that of the turpentine-tree, but may be made to yield a greater quantity by incision; but then the tree is observed to perish much sooner by it.

It is likewise found either in the boiling into a consistency, or even pouring it off cold from one vessel to another, as well as in the spreading it for varnish, to emit such poisonous effluvia, as prove detrimental to those that deal much with it; and from the ill effects of which they have as yet no other way to preserve themselves, than by avoiding as much as possible the sucking them in with their breath.

(25) Du Halde, vol. i. p. 9. 35—94, & seq. & 319. Vid. & Martini Atlas sub voc. Kin-wha, in provincia Che-king, Le Compte, & al.

THE last of the tree-kind, worth our particular notice, is what they call *Tie-li-mu*, or iron-wood. ^{Iron-wood.} wood, from its extreme hardness, and of which they commonly make their anchors, as hath been formerly hinted. It is indeed very remarkable for its strength, and durable firmness, beyond any other wood; the tree is as tall and spreading as our large oaks, though the trunk doth not come up to their thickness, and the wood is of a much deeper brown, as well as more weighty and tough^a.

THEY have no less a variety of shrubs, which we have not room to particularize in a ^{Shrubs.} work like this: but shall content ourselves with singling out those that are most worth notice: at the head of which we may justly place that famed and most profitable one which they call *Cha*; and corruptly, in some maritime provinces, *Tba*, or *Tcha*; from which the *Euro-* ^{peans} have given it the name of *Tea*, or *Te*. The profit which the *Chinese* make of this *Tea*. plant, since it is become of such universal use in *Europe*, is immense; and the virtues which both they, and some of our *European* writers, have ascribed to it, are very extraordinary, ^{Its virtues.} if true^r. The reader may see a larger account of them in *Father Le Compte*, and others of his society, than we dare vouch for; neither is it possible for us to judge of them from that which is brought to us from thence; and which we are assured, by good hands, is so adul- ^{Adulterated.} terated, and mixed with other leaves, which, though they bear a resemblance to it, may have quite different qualities, that we need not wonder if it comes so vastly short of that which they use upon the spot. We may add, that, since such vast exports have been made of it, they are neither so curious in cultivating, nor in curing of it, as they were formerly; and ^c that which is so, they take care not to let go abroad in its purity, but either keep it for their own use, or mix it with some of a worse sort. What other frauds, and abominable tricks, are used in it by our retailers, after it is thus brought to us, are too sadly known and felt to need mentioning here; all which, put together, have so debased and corrupted that leaf, ^{frauds com-} that it is impossible for us to find in it the tenth part of the good qualities which are ascribed ^{mitted with it.} to it; or indeed not to experience many ill effects from the use of it, which it would be wholly free from, could we have it in its purity and perfection, as the *Hollanders* have theirs from *Japan*, and be more careful and prudent in the use of it (A).

It is certain that no nation takes more care in cultivating their tea than the *Japaners*, nor ^{The Dutch use} is more honest in selling it pure and uncorrupt; neither do any people drink it more plenti- ^{it to advan-} fully than the *Dutch*, yet so far are they from feeling those inconveniencies from it which most ^{tage.} of ours do, that they reap the greatest benefit from it; and indeed, considering the dampness of their climate, and their high and gross way of feeding, it is to be questioned whether they could be so healthy, and free from diseases, as they are, without such a fine diluter, and purifier of the blood. But then it must be owned, on the other hand, that the good effects ^{Its good quali-} they receive from it are in part owing to their drinking it in its genuine purity, and without ^{ties when ge-} those correctives mentioned under the last note; so that, without running too far into panegyric in favour of that plant, we may safely affirm, that tea, duly cultivated and cured, and drank moderately, both as to quantity and strength (B), and especially either with- ^e out, or at least with only a small quantity of, sugar, and without any additional correc- tives, is a singular diluter, and purifier of the blood, a strengthener of the brain and sto- mach, a promoter of digestion and circulation, of perspiration, and other secretions, a

^a De his, vid. MAGAILLAN, CARERI, MARTINI, LE COMPTE, NIEUHOFF, DU HALDE, & al. ^r Ibid. vid. & TET. RHIN. de frutice Tchia. JACOB. BREYNIUS in hort. Malabar. & al.

(A) It is indeed rather a wonder, all things rightly weighed, that it is not attended with more dangerous effects, considering that most people among us help to corrupt and adulterate it still more, in their constant use of it, either by the immoderate quantity of sugar they drink, and the pretended correctives they mix, with it, such as chemical drops, saffron, spirituous liquors, &c. to say nothing of their irregular and indiscriminate use of it, without regard to particular tempers and constitutions; and, by some, both stronger, and in large quantities than even the *Chinese* do their pure and genuine sort.

Hence we may reasonably infer, that those flatulencies, indigestions, vapours, colics, lowness of spirits, diabetes, and other disasters, which commonly attend it, may be no less owing to our indiscretion in using it, than to the cheats that are practised in it. See the next note.

(B) It is plain that neither the *Chinese*, *Japaners*, nor any other eastern nation, drink it either so strong, or in such quantities, nor so hot, as we do in *England*; but use it rather as their common drink, and without

any sugar, or other sweetener. They commonly keep, especially in large families, a boiler, or some other vessel, over a fire; and, whenever they are thirsty or faint, they put a few leaves of it in a basin, and pour the hot water upon it, and, as soon as it is cool enough to drink, swallow it down, and go about their business; so that the custom of sitting so long at the tea-table, as we do, is unknown unto them, and is only an idle, luxurious refinement (or rather abuse), we have made upon their way of using it.

We are likewise assured, that the discovery of that infusion was originally owing to the brackishness of their water, especially in the lower provinces, where they were not only very unpleasant, but unwholesome to drink; till after a multitude of experiments tried, in order to correct them, they stumbled upon this shrub, which not only answered the end, but was found to have several other qualities to recommend the use of it, such as those which we have particularly mentioned above; upon which it gradually became in great esteem and vogue all over the empire (27).

(27) Martini, Le Compte, Nieuhoff, Kämpfer, Du Halde, & al.

cleanser of the reins and urethra, and a great preservative against chronic diseases, as well as an effectual, though slow, remedy against them. The *Chinese* make no scruple to give it in great quantities in high fevers, colics, and other acute distempers. Neither are those rare virtues confined to its native soil, but extend their efficacy to any other country or climate, where it is used, particularly in *England, France, and Holland*. And thus much may suffice concerning the genuine virtues of that plant, could we have it as genuinely conveyed to us.

Great variety,
whence.

THERE is now a great variety of teas in *China*, which, as it still increased in the great exports of it, hath obliged the natives to propagate the growth of it in several parts, where the soil or climate was more or less agreeable to that shrub; for most of their difference is owing to that, they being originally derived from, and are in all other respects, the same plant. Hence proceeds that difference of taste, flavour, colour, and other qualities, we find in them; some being very rough to the taste and stomach, and others as smooth; some exhaling an extraordinary fragranc^y, and others having scarce any smell; some being found more balsamic, others more stomachic, diuretic, &c. than others: and hence also that variety of names they are called by, either from their different qualities, or the places they grow in. Thus the *Songlo*, which is a most elegant sort of green, and much esteemed and drank by the richer sort, hath its name from a mountain in the province of *Kyang-nan*, which is quite covered with it; and the *Vu-i*, or, as we call it, *Bohea*, from the mountain of *Vu-i-shan*, in the province of *Fo-kyen*, where it grows in great quantities, and is excellent in its kind (C).

And of names.
Songlo and
Vu-i, or Bo-
hea, their
virtues.

THIS last is the most universally, and we may add justly, esteemed, not only for its fine taste and flavour, but much more for its medicinal and other excellent qualities, particularly that of its rectifying the blood, recovering decayed constitutions, and being so friendly and agreeable to the weakest stomachs. Hence it is that they give it in large quantities to sick people, valetudinarians, and in all cases of an inward decay; whilst those that are in health forbear to drink of it in the winter, as being apt to open the pores too much, and to bring colds and coughs upon them; but in summer indulge themselves with it in large quantities, in order to supply those liquids, which are exhausted by perspiration, with its cherishing and balsamic juices, to which they mostly ascribe that fat corpulency which is so common and admired amongst them.

Whether the
same shrub
with the
green.

WHETHER this and the green tea were originally different plants, or whether the same, only differently cultivated, is a question that hath for a long time exercised the talents of the curious, and is not as yet thoroughly agreed on. The *Chinese* could easily resolve it, if they pleased; but are too shy of the *Europeans*, to give them any the least light into it; so that we are wholly left to resolve it from the best observation we can make upon them. According to which, the former hypothesis seems the most probable, from the manifest difference not only of their colour, taste, flavour, &c. but much more from their different effects; the one being rough, and grating to the palate and stomach, even to the degree of an emetic, if taken too strong; the other smooth, pleasant, and healing, and in no case offensive to it: the one a stomachic, and strong diuretic; the other rather a sweetener and purger of the blood by gentle perspiration, and nourishing and enriching it by its balsamic quality: yet, after all, the latter notion hath at length prevailed; and this difference of their effects has been, with no small probability, supposed to proceed from the different times in which the leaf is gathered, viz. that of the bohea about a month or five weeks earlier, whilst the plant is in its full flow, and the leaves full of its juice; whereas the green, by being left so much longer on the tree, and that sweet juice either dried up or inspissated by the warmth of the sun, changes its colour into a fine green, and contracts that bitterness and roughness which we find it to have. What seems to confirm this hypothesis is, that the cultivating the bohea in the above-mentioned manner seems to be a discovery and improvement of a century or two's standing, before which they knew nothing of it: at least it is plain, from the account which Mr. *Ten Rhine*, who resided some time in *Japan*, and was physician to the emperor about a century and half ago, hath given of it, that it was not then known in *Japan* (D), though

Bohea a new
improvement.

(C) So say *Le Compte, Du Halde*, and others; but some are more inclined to think it hath its name from the dark-brown colour it bears, in which it differs from all other sorts, both in the leaf, and in its infusion. Nor is it a wonder that the mountain above-mentioned should produce such plenty of it, and of a better sort than common, seeing it is covered, we are told, with temples and monasteries, and inhabited by Bonzas, who are fond of that excellent infusion, and, having so much time on their hands, may spend some part of it in cultivating; and bringing it to that perfection; unless we should rather chuse to suppose them to have

been the inventors of this new way of cultivating; concerning which, see the next note.

(D) That learned botanist tells us expressly, at the end of his description of that plant, that though he had heard of a certain sort of black or brown tea in use among the *Chinese*, yet he never saw any; only he had observed, that the coarser the leaves of the tea were, the more yellowish or reddish infusion they gave, and the more disagreeable to the palate, as well as to the eye; by which it is plain he speaks only of the coarser sort of green (28).

though it hath been since introduced and cultivated there to a much greater perfection than any we ever had from *Cbina*; so that it is supposed that this discovery, being then but recent, had not yet reached *Japan* when that celebrated botanist wrote his account of the tea of that country, which mentions no other but the various sorts of green*. We shall only add, that as none of their antient herbals speak of the *Yu-i*, or *Bohea*, and some of the natives speak of it as a more modern discovery, there is reason to think it an improvement on that old sort; but whether found out by study or chance, we can no-where find. But it is agreed, that the different degrees of its goodness and fineness are owing to the earliness of the season in which it is gathered (E).

b THE *Chinese* not only use the infusion of it by way of common or diet drink, but take it also in powder, either in water, or mixed with other ingredients, and made into a bolus or electuary. Their physical books ascribe almost as many virtues to it as our quacks do to their pretended panaceas. They prescribe it against the tenesmus and hæmorrhages, against coliciveness, pains of the head or heart, lowness of spirits, itching of the small-pox, imposthumes in the head, reins, bladder, &c. stoppage of the menses, against coughs phthisic, and other rheumatic defluxions and aches, and a number of other diseases; and, to conclude with one of their most singular prescriptions, they tell you that the *Yu-cha*, or finest tea, powdered, and mixed with an equal quantity of alum, and taken in a glass of water, is a remedy against all sorts of poisons†.

c TEA is propagated chiefly by sowing; for that which grows wild and spontaneous is both raking, and hath such a disagreeable taste, that none but the poorer sort, who have not the nicest palates, care to use it. The time of sowing it is in the second moon of the year; at which time, having prepared their ground, they throw nine or ten seeds into a hole, from which sometimes only one or two, and sometimes more, shrubs will spring; which, at a proper season, are transplanted into another ground, which is also prepared by proper manuring. The plant is cultivated with great care; and that which grows on the lightest ground, and hath the greatest share of the south sun, is reckoned the finest, and thrives best. The shrub or plant hath been variously described by authors, some raising it to the height of a tall tree, and others lowering it beneath the degree of a common shrub. The truth is, that, if it be left to run up to its full height, some of them will shoot up above that of our tallest alderbs, and, by that means, quite degenerate: but the *Chinese* take care to prevent it, by stinting them to that of six or seven feet. They commonly transplant them in regular rows upon little hills, and about three or four feet from each other. When they have once taken deep root, they will grow in spite of rain, snow, or any weather.

* WILLIEM. TEN RHEIN. excerpt. de Observat. suis Japonic. de frutice Tchia, ad fin. et al. ab eo citat. in hort. Malabaric. † See DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 223.

It is plain, moreover, to every curious observer, that there is no difference of shape between the leaves of the green and bohea, except that the latter is somewhat more roundish; but whether the reason of that be, as some suppose, its being gathered so much earlier, and before it hath expanded itself to its full length, we dare not affirm, though we think it far from improbable. We are indeed told by some travellers who have been in *Cbina*, and pretend to have been particularly curious in examining this point, that they had seen plantations of both sorts, and apart from each other, and never observed any thing like both sorts of leaves being gathered from the same tree, and at different times. But admitting there were nothing like that done now, it will not follow that it was not so formerly, and by way of trial, in order to discover the difference of their virtues; and that being afterwards fully satisfied, that those leaves, which were gathered earlier, had a more smooth and balsamic taste and virtue, they might not, by way of improvement, examine which trees, or what climate and grounds, produced the best bohea and which the best green, and so appropriate them accordingly, and dispose them into different plantations; only observing the old method of stripping those of the former so much the earlier in the year, as they do to this day. See the next note.

(E) This we have confirmed by several hands, particularly from the account which Mr. Cunningham, physician to the *English* at *Chusan*, sent of it to the Royal Society; wherein he tells them, that the finest, or that which is called the first bud, is gathered in *March*;

the *Bing*, or *Imperial*, in *April* or *May*; the *Songlo*, or *Green*, in *May* or *June*. To this in a great measure agrees Father *Du Halde* (29); who adds only, that that called the *Imperial*, or *Mau-cha*, is the leaf gathered from the shrubs newly planted, or, as the *Chinese* style it, the first points of the leaves; but this sort is so scarce and precious, that it is seldom used but in presents, or sent to the emperor.

The same almost may be said of the flower of tea, which bears an excessive price, and is only used by the richer sort, and that chiefly on particular occasions, as feasts, marriages, grand entertainments, &c. This last is indeed best when mixed with the finest leaves, otherwise it hardly colours the water, and rather gives a fragrance than a taste to it; and that is the reason why the *Mau-cha*, or *Imperial*, is preferred to it at court.

All that need be farther observed on this head is, that what Mr. Cunningham, and others, call the first, or earliest bud, is indeed the finest of the bohea kind; but that there are a great many degrees below it of fineness or coarseness in the leaves, according as they are more or less blown and spread, and according to the part of the tree from which they are gathered; for, during all the time of their being on the tree, the leaves on the top are always the smallest and finest, and consequently the dearest, and grow proportionably larger and coarser the nearer they come to the bottom. The same may be said of the trees, that the older they are, the coarser their leaves (30).

(29) Vol. i. p. 11.

(30) Vid. auſt. ſup. citat.

How cured
and crisped.

THEY have several ways of curing and drying the leaves, when stript, in order to make them fit for use, which we cannot dwell upon. The bohea is at first dried in the shade; after which, the leaves are again expanded by the steam of hot water, and exposed to the warm sun, or, if that fails, over a slow fire, in copper or earthen pans well glazed, till the heat hath crisped and contracted them into the small compass they come to us in. But those of the green sort being commonly less juicy, are dried up and crisped in the same manner as soon as gathered. As for other niceties relating to their management of that shrub, and its leaves, we must refer our readers to the more copious account given of them by the authors often quoted.

The root.

The tea-root is commonly large and well-spread; but, if we may believe *Nieuhoff*, is only fit for burning, though the *Chinese* ascribe some great virtues to it.

Leaves.

THE tree commonly bears leaves from the top to the bottom; but the nearer to the top, the finer. The leaf is oblong, and sharp at the end, and indented round like those of our rose or sweetbrier; and the flower not unlike that of the latter, only hath more leaves; or, according to others, is like that of the double jessamin, with six upper and six under leaves. The fruit or apple is of the bigness of a small pippin, but more finely flavoured; and hath a spicy taste, not unlike that of a clove. The seed is blackish, round, and of the bigness of a small hazel when green, or of a large pea when dry. When put into one's mouth, it yields at first a sweet, but, being kept longer in it, a bitterish, taste. The *Chinese* extract an oil out of it, which they, especially in the province of *Fo-kyen*, use as a kind of sauce to their victuals. They likewise have a way of pickling the fine green tea-leaves, after they have been infused, and eat them with their meat.

Flower, seed,
and fruit, de-
scribed.

Leaves pickled.

Cotton shrub,
how propaga-
ted.

THE next beneficial shrub is that which produces the cotton, the manufacture of which into such variety of stuffs is one of the most considerable, next to that of silk and china-ware. The seed is commonly sown on the very same day that the husbandmen have got in their harvest; nothing more being required than to tear a little the surface of the ground with an iron rake. After the rain or dew hath sufficiently moistened it, there shoots up gradually the shrub, till it is got about two feet high, the flowers of which appear about the middle of *August*: they are commonly of a yellow colour, and sometimes more upon the red, and are succeeded by a button or pod of the bigness of a nut. This pod, which opens in three places about forty days after the first appearance of the flower, discovers three or four bags of cotton, exceedingly white, and of the same form as the cod of a silkworm. To the fibres of the cotton are fastened the seeds, which are to serve for the next year, and from which they must be separated by a kind of wheel, or engine, which the reader will see described in the margin (F); after which, the cotton is carded and spun for use.

Jin-seng.
plant.

It would be an endless task to describe the other uncommon roots, shrubs, trees, plants, flowers, and other vegetables, with which this country abounds; and we hope our readers will be satisfied with our having mentioned the most remarkable for their beauty, usefulness, or singularity, either in the geographical description of those provinces, where they are mostly to be found, or under this general head of the *Chinese* agriculture; we shall therefore close this article with a short account of two or three more excellent plants and roots that are in the highest esteem among them and us, for their singular virtues. We might here begin with that most celebrated plant called by them *Jin-seng*, *Gen-seng*, or *Gem-sen*, that is, human plant, which is the most admired, and in greatest request, all over the empire. But as the best of it is only to be found in eastern *Tartary*, and that which grows in the province of *Se-chwen*, which, though the nearest to it in all *China*, is not in any case comparable to it, we shall refer our readers, for the further display, growth, and wonderful qualities of it, to what hath been said in our natural history of what we may call its native soil†; and only observe here, that it is cried up by the *Chinese* doctors and botanists as the greatest cordial of all the vegetable sort, and as a kind of panpharmacon against all sorts of distempers, especially of the venereal kind.

Tang-que and
rhubarb.

THEIR roots of *Tang-que* and *Hu-bun* are also in great use and esteem among them, for their singular virtue of recovering decayed constitutions, prolonging life, and even changing the white hair, caused by old-age, into a youthful black. Their rhubarb and *China* root are also said to be there excellent in their kind; the misfortune is, that it is next to impossible to get them genuine from the natives, who make no scruple to put the *Europeans* off with counterfeits;

† Vid. auct. sup. citat. & DU HALDE, ubi supra, vol. i. p. 319.

† See before, p. 462.

(F) It consists of two rollers, about a foot long, and an inch thick, the one of wood, and the other of iron, which turn each other by means of a foot-wheel. They are so closely joined together, that, in the turn-

ing of them, nothing can pass between but the cotton, which the hand applies to them; whilst the seeds, meeting with a stop, break off from it, and fall into a proper receptacle (31).

(31) Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 319, & seq.

particularly with respect to the latter, instead of which they sell them another sort, not unlike it in shape and colour, but which is neither so weighty, large, nor by far so efficacious when tried^w; and indeed it is the universal complaint of all who have been conversant with them, that they are the greatest cheats in all the east, and make no conscience to corrupt and adulterate every thing they sell or exchange with other nations.

HOWEVER, from what we have said under this head, of the richness of their soil, and their various admirable ways of cultivating and improving every spot of it to the best advantage, their invincible industry, religious attachment to agriculture, and the singular encouragement it meets with from the throne, and from all the grandees of the empire, there can be no doubt but *China* is, what all the writers of it have affirmed it to be, the most fruitful, rich, and populous, of all the eastern countries, and produces the greatest plenty and variety of every thing that is necessary and useful for food, raiment, physic, and delight: especially if we add to the above account their extensive trade, their many curious and valuable manufactures, rich mines, vast number of lakes, rivers, and canals, which not only furnish them with the greatest plenty and variety of fish, but with the most commodious and effectual means of extending their commerce through every province; of all which we shall speak in the subsequent articles: so that, all these advantages considered, one might reasonably infer, that the *Chinese* nation must be one of the happiest under the cope of heaven; and such it hath been indeed represented by many writers, who had, one would think, all the opportunity they could desire to be well acquainted with it.

AND yet, notwithstanding all this great fertility, industry, and abundance, one may venture to affirm, though it may appear a kind of paradox, that the most rich and flourishing empire of the world is really poor; and that the land, though fertile and extensive, is so far from sufficient to support its numerous inhabitants, that they would require rather one as large again to be able to live comfortably, and to lay up a convenient quantity of provisions against the years of dearth, which often happen, either through excessive drought, and other untimely seasons; and much more still at some particular ones, when they are infested with such infinite numbers of grasshoppers as cover the face of the earth, and in a little space not only devour every fruit, leaf, and blade, but even the small wood of the branches, and fibres of the roots, through several parts of the country in one season; the dire effects of which are sadly felt some years after.

IN such calamitous cases, as well as in times of pestilential diseases, which, notwithstanding the goodness of the air and climate, often rage, and lay waste whole provinces, the common people suffer such dreadful hardships, as often drive them into the most shocking extremes, such as exposing their children, selling their daughters for slaves; and sometimes even into more violent methods, as robbing, plundering, and, if not timely prevented by the government, into open rebellion. At such times as these it is, if ever, that not only the court, but the most tyrannic and oppressive governors, set all their hands on work to supply their wants from other provinces, or even foreign countries, to prevent the worse effects of their fury and despair. We may add, that, even in their most plenteous seasons, the poorer sort are so terribly oppressed by those in power, as we have had occasion to shew under a former head, that, in spite of all their industry and hard labour, they are forced to fare very hard, and are glad to be able to support themselves and families not only on the very refuse of every kind of provisions, but on cats and dogs, though they die of age or sickness, rats, mice, and other vermin, and with the garbage of any flesh, fish, or fowl, they can purchase; for all these are sold, as well as the more dainty meats, both at the markets, and along the streets^x: so that, upon the whole, the great and the rich alone can be said to feel the blessing of the boasted abundance we read of in every description of that opulent empire. And so much may serve for their agriculture.

THE next thing that helps to enrich them is their trade, which is no less encouraged by the government. Even the foreign, which was formerly shut up by their jealous monarchs, hath been afterwards laid open by the *Tartars* since the conquest; so that they now trade with *Japan*, *Manilla*, *Siam*, *Batavia*, and other parts of the *East-Indies*; and carry thither such of their commodities as best sell there, and bring home others that are wanted at home (G), by which they

^w LE COMPTE, NIEUHOFF, & al.

^x LE COMPTE, NIEUHOFF, & DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 314 & 318.

(G) Those which they commonly export to *Japan* are the roots of *Jin seng*, china, rhubarb, and other medicinal roots and plants, *Archa* bark, buffalo and other hides, and sugar, which last they make almost 1000 per cent. by; silks of all sorts and colours, especially black; eagle, sandal, and other odoriferous woods, which are burnt before their idols, and some sorts of *European* clothes.

For these they bring back pearls, of which they likewise make a prodigious gain; red copper, either in

bars or wrought, which, being of a fine ductile nature, and beautiful colour, is in great request in *China*; fabrics and cutlasses of an excellent temper; some of their porcelain and japan-work, which vastly exceeds that of *China*, and is there sold at a high rate to the nobles and rich, especially the latter, a small cabinet of which, not above two feet high, and broad in proportion, will sell there for 100 pialtres. They likewise bring great quantities of *Japan* gold, which is esteemed the finest in all the east, and a sort of compound metal called

they seldom clear less than 200 *per cent.*; but by some of their merchandizes, especially their medicinal drugs, sometimes 1000 *per cent.* Their traffic with the *Europeans* is another considerable branch. These have indeed scarce any port open to them, except that of *Quang-tong*, and that only at certain times of the year: neither are they suffered to sail up quite to that city, but are forced to cast anchor at *Whang-pu*, a place about four leagues short of it, where the river is so crouded with trading vessels for miles together, that it looks like a city on the water.

Trade with
Europe
dwindled.

Chinese great
cheats.

Home trade

most encour-
aged,

even among
the poor.

Manufactures.

That of silk,
by whom in-
vented.

THIS trade was once very advantageous to the *Europeans*, who brought thither clothes, swords, clocks, striking and other watches, looking-glasses, diamonds, crystal, telescopes, and other mathematical instruments, and sold them at a vast rate; but our company hath since so well supplied, if not rather overstocked, them with those commodities, that the trade is greatly dwindled, and is hardly worth carrying on in any thing but silver, and exchanging it for gold (H); which, we are told, is commonly sold more or less dear, according to the time of the year, it being much cheaper in *March, April, and May*, than from *June to January*, because this last is the season when there is the greatest number of vessels in the port, or road to *Quang-tong*. Other commodities brought from thence are too well known to need any farther mention; and all that needs to be added to it is, that the *Chinese* are such arrant cheats, that they think it neither crime nor shame to over-reach those they deal with, no not even those of their own nation and neighbourhood (I); so that one cannot be too watchful over them.

BUT what they chiefly depend upon is their home traffic, in which we may look upon every province as a separate state or kingdom, some of which abound with certain commodities, or provisions, which others want; and, to communicate which to all the rest, the best methods have been invented, both by land and water-carriage, that each country will admit of. Thus the provinces of *Hu-quang* and *Kyang-si*, which abound with rice, supply those that want it; *Che-kyang* furnishes the finest silks; *Kyang-nan* the finest ink, varnish, and all sorts of curious works; *Yun-nan, Shen-si, and Shan-si*, yield plenty of iron, copper, and other metals, horses, mules, furs, &c.; *Fo-kyen* the best sugar and tea; and *Se-chwen* the greatest variety of medicinal and other plants, &c.; all which are not only conveyed from one province to another, either by their rivers and canals, or by land-carriage; but, when brought to the place of sale, are commonly dispatched in a few days. The very Mandarins encourage it; and have a share in the gain, by putting their money into the hands of the merchants, to be improved in the way of trade. In a word, there is hardly a family, how poor soever, that will not put itself in some way of it; and, with a small stock, hardly amounting to a crown, degrees, enlarge their stock, or fall into some more profitable branch, and live more at their ease. Thus every town and village, but much more their great cities, swarm with industrious hands all the day long, and all the year round: there being no intermission from any business, except on the two first days of the first moon, which are commonly spent in diversion.

THE next branch of their wealth arises from their manufactures, of which they have great variety. We shall only speak of some of the most considerable, such as their silk and cotton, their porcelain and japan-ware, or varnish.

WE begin with the silk, the invention of which the *Chinese* records attribute to one of the wives of the emperor *Whang-ti*; since which, many other empresses have been recorded for the singular care they took to encourage it, by breeding the silk-worms, spinning the silk, and delivering it to the proper workmen and women, to be woven (K). Their example could

not
* Vid. MAGAILLAN, NAVARET. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, NIEUHOFF, DU HALDE, & al. * Ibid.

Tombac, or *Tombaga*, to which they attribute many virtues, and make into rings, and other wearing trinkets, for that end. The only one we dare vouch for is, that, being worn next to the skin a few hours, it will stop the most violent bleeding. However, they make a much greater gain by carrying most of the commodities above-mentioned, the gold excepted, to *Batavia*, and other parts of the *East-Indies* (32).

(H) Most of the gold that is bought at *Quang-tong* is brought thither from other parts, especially from *Japan* and *Cochin-China*; the latter of which is chiefly sold by the king of that country. Some indeed is sold there by his subjects privately; but is not so fine by a great deal, and must be refined at *Quang-tong* (33): and is there divided, as all other gold is, into alloys, from 90 to 100 carats, in the same manner as we do in *Europe*.

(32) Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 319, & seq. vol. i. p. 334. vid. & Le Compte. & aut. sup. citat.

(33) Ibid.

empres

- a not fail of exciting the rest of their sex to put their hands to such a profitable as well as *Much easier* delightful work, by which they were intitled, among other advantages, to exchange their old *ragged* dress, which was chiefly that of the skins of animals, for the more easy and elegant one of this new and valuable commodity; so that in a little time the manufacture became in a manner universal, and by degrees split itself into the great and beautiful variety in which the *Chinese* once excelled most other nations; though it must be here observed, that some provinces vastly exceed others in the goodness, beauty, and workmanship, of it; particularly that of *Che-kyang*, which, as we have already observed, bears the bell above all the rest for richness, softness, and for producing the greatest quantities of it. But, upon the whole, that manufacture hath been *become the* so well cultivated among them from time immemorial, that not only the princes, grandees, *common wear*, mechanics, can afford to clothe themselves with it; none, except those of the meanest sort, and the peasants, who commonly wear a blue cotton, appearing in any other but a silken dress. The quantities they send abroad of it are no less prodigious; and must, one would think, have long since in some measure exhausted them, were there not an infinite multitude of hands employed in it; so that it is not without reason that *China* is styled the *silk country*.
- NEITHER are they to be less admired for their surprising ingenuity, diligence, and skill, in *Their skill and* the management of every branch of it, the elegant contrivance of their looms, and other *ingenuity in it* instruments for spinning and weaving it in that beautiful variety of colours, patterns, &c. and their great care and skill in breeding, hatching, nourishing, and propagating, of their worms, *providing against*, and curing them, of sundry distempers they are liable to, as well as in their *excellent way of* cultivating their mulberry-trees to the best advantage for their nourishment; the preparing their different apartments, suitably to the various stages they go through, from the time of their being hatched to that of their spinning, and laying their eggs (L); and a great variety of other niceties relating to them, which we have not room to dwell upon, but which those who are curious in such things, may read a particular account of in the author last-quoted^a.

THAT of cotton is another very profitable manufacture, though it doth not branch out into *Cotton manu-* such great variety as the silken one. We have already shewn how they sow and propagate *facture* their cotton; and, as to the various cloths they make of it, as muslins, calicoes, &c. their *excellent way of* dyeing and printing them, they are so well known to us, that we need not expatiate longer upon them.

THE *Tse-ki*, or, as we style it, porcelain or china-ware, manufacture, is of so old a date *China-ware,* among them, that their records mention nothing either of its inventor or discovery. There is *where made* a great variety of it made in several provinces of the empire; but that which is the finest, and doth alone deserve the name of *Tse-ki* (M), is made no-where but in the town of *King-te-ching*,

^a DU HALDE, ubi sup. vol. i. p. 353.

empres went once a year, attended with the queens, and other ladies of the court, to this orchard; and there, with her own hands, gathered the leaves of three branches, which some of the maids of honour beat down to her. They add, that the finest pieces of silk, which were wrought under her eye, were devoted to the ceremony of the grand sacrifice offered to *Shang-ti* (34).

(L) The *Chinese* have not contented themselves with studying the best methods of improving this curious and useful manufacture, but have written some treatises upon it for public use. Among them was a famed author, who became afterwards one of the first ministers of the empire; and was so thorough a master of that subject, that his experience, and wise observations on the best method of propagating and nourishing that useful insect, have proved of excellent benefit to his nation ever since.

He tells them, among other things, that the apartments appropriated for breeding them up ought to be agreeably situated, if possible, upon a rising ground, and near some rivulets, because the eggs must be often washed, and running water agrees best with them. Their lodging ought to be at a distance from dunghills, sinks, and other nauseous smells, from cattle, and all kind of noise; for that the least disagreeable smell or noise; even the barking of a dog, is apt to cause strange disorders in that tender brood, especially when newly hatched.

The rooms should be square, close, and warm, the

door as near to the south as can be, but never to the north; and with a window on every side, to let in the fresh air, as often as occasion requires. These windows, which are mostly kept shut, are of white transparent paper; behind which are moveable mats, so placed, as to shut out or admit the light, as their condition requires. Gnats and flies, which are apt to sit upon the silk case, and to make blemishes on it, as well as render it difficult in the winding, must be kept out of their tenements, or, if possible, the worms should have done their work before the air is infected with them. There is a great number of other such curious remarks in that author, for which we refer our readers to *Du Halde's* extract of him; but which shew, that the *Chinese* are much more nice and curious in the management of their silk-worms than our *European* nations commonly are, who never give themselves any thought about these seeming niceties, so that we need not wonder if their productions come so far short of the *Chinese*.

(M) We need not tell our readers, that the name of porcelain is unknown to the *Chinese*, and most likely of *Portuguese* extract. The antient books that treat of it, have not so much as a name for it, but styled it the *precious jewel of Jau-chew* (which is the district to which *King-te-ching* belongs); or else *the fine china-ware which is of a lovely shining white, and a clear sky-blue, and comes from King-te-ching*. And it is indeed by those two qualities that this sort is known and distinguished

(34) *Du Halde*, vol. i. p. 353. *et al. sup. citat.*

Strange accounts about it. *King-te-ching*, in the province of *Kyang-fi*, which town is above three miles in length, and contains upwards of a million of souls, mostly employed in that single branch. The *Chinese* were always so very shy of letting the *Europeans* get any light into any of their affairs, those especially of the *giran*, or *japan-varnish*; and this of the china-ware, that we have been led by *European* writers into several strange and absurd notions, relating either to the materials of which it was made, such as egg-shells, according to some; the shells of some sorts of fishes, according to others; or the length of time they took up in preparing and perfecting, viz. 30, 40, or even 100 years, merely as their fancy suggested it to them, till we had at length a more perfect account of all those particulars from an eye-witness, of judgment and probity (N), who communicated the whole secret, and its process, to his brethren in *Europe*.

A truer sent over.

A finer sort made in Saxony.

WHETHER that which hath been since made in *Saxony*, and so much exceeds the *Chinese*, especially in the beauty of the colours, and fineness of the painting, be made after the same manner, and whether the first discoverer of it took the hint from the Jesuit's account, we know not; but as that commodity is now so far outdone in *Germany*, and is likely to be imitated by ours, and some other *European* nations, with good success, it will of course excuse us from dwelling longer on the *Chinese* way of working, making, glazing, painting, and baking it; the process of which, though curious, is too long and complicated for a work like this, and may be best seen in those two pieces which the Jesuit above-mentioned sent of it, and which are published among the *Lettres edifiantes* of the missionaries, or in the extract which Father *Du Halde* hath given us of them in his description of the *Chinese* empire ^b.

The old china still preferable to the new.

ALL that may be farther observable about it is, that though the notions of the earth being so long in preparing, to make it fit for the work, or of the china-ware, when made, receiving an additional beauty by lying long buried in the earth, seem quite confuted from our author's observations on their present way of fabricating it; to which we might add, by way of corroborating them, the new method found out in *Saxony*, which is pretty nearly answerable to it; yet it is not unlikely that the *Chinese* had formerly some such longer process in bringing it to its highest beauty, but which they thought fit afterwards to set aside, or dispense with, as incompatible with the great call they had for that commodity from *Europe*, and which now seemed to require a more expeditious way of management, though at the loss of a great deal of its beauty and goodness. What inclines us to think so, is the visible difference there is between the old and new china in both those respects, and the great value which the *Chinese* themselves set upon the former above the latter; insomuch that some of them have found means to counterfeit it in such a manner as not to be easily discovered by any but a connoisseur. We might add that that much finer sort which is made in *Japan*, and of which we shall speak in a subsequent chapter, is, by the confession of the very *Japaners*, affirmed to owe its excellence not so much to the goodness of the materials, and manner of working, as to the length of the process in preparing the earth for the work; but we shall say the less of that, as we are in such a fair way of being supplied with that beautiful commodity much nearer, and, in time, at a much cheaper rate.

The old counterfeited.

Their varnish, or japan.

THE last manufacture worth notice is that of their varnish, or, as we style it in *Europe*, *gyran*, or *japan-work*, which, though it be vastly inferior to that made in *Japan*, is yet thought valuable enough to be bought at a great price, and sent abroad in great quantities, especially into *Europe*. We have already spoken of the liquor or gum which gives it that beautiful lustre; as well as of the poisonous quality of its effluvia, which so sadly affect the heads and limbs of those who work at it: but this doth not hinder its keeping a prodigious number of hands still employed in it, in almost every part of the empire, though not with equal beauty and goodness in some as in others. The very best of all is made at *Wbey-chew*, in the province of *Kyang-nan*; and the next to it at *Nan-king*, the capital of that province; in both which, it

The finest where made.

^b *Lettres edifiantes*, vol. xii. p. 258—360. Ibid. vol. xvi. p. 120—366. DU HALDE, ubi sup. p. 338—353. Vid. & LE COMPTE, MARTIN. NAVARET. NIEUHOFF, & al. sup. citat.

from all others that are made in *China*, none of which come up to it either for colour, lustre, or fineness.

We are farther told of several attempts having been made of making it in other places, by carrying the materials and workmen thither; particularly at *Fo-kyen* and *Can-ton*, on account of the great trade which the *Europeans* carried on at *A-moi*, or *A-moy*; but without any success. Even the late emperor *Kang-hi*, who was very curious in all things of this nature, caused some of the workmen, and all proper materials, to be brought to *Pe-king*; where, having tried their utmost to succeed under that monarch's eye, at least to all appear-

ance, the project miscarried afresh; so that the town of *King-te-ching* is still the only place which supplies the whole country with that fine ware (35).

(N) This person was Father *D'Entrecolles*, a Jesuit, who had a church at *King-te-ching*, and a good number of converts who either worked at, or were great dealers in it; so that he had all the opportunity that could be desired of inquiring into every branch of that manufacture, as well as into the records of that town about the invention of it, concerning which, he tells us, he could find no satisfactory account (36).

(35) *Du Halde*, vol. i. p. 353. Vid. & *Le Compte*, & al. sup. citat. *Du Halde*, vol. i. p. 338, & seq.

(36) *Extraît des Lettres edifiantes* &c.

a seems, the workmen have a better art in laying the varnish smooth, and with a beautiful and lasting gloss. But the place where the greatest quantity of it is wrought, though neither so *very good*, at beautiful or serviceable, is at *Kan-ton*, where the *Europeans* bespeak and have it wrought in *Kan-ton*. great quantities, and according to their own directions (O).

There are two sorts of varnish used in *China*, the one so transparent as to discover all the beauties of the wood underneath; and yet so solid, as to look like a piece of glass laid over it; and at the same time, by soaking into the pores of it, preserves it from corrupting. This sort, however, will bear gilding, or being painted upon, without losing any of its gloss; but is mostly used upon some sorts of curious woods, which are so beautifully veined and variegated, that it looks like the work of art. We have very little of this sort brought into *Europe*. *The transparent sort.*

b THE other, which is better known to us, is laid on with a body in very thin grounds, as mentioned under the last note, and that commonly on a kind of mastic, or pasteboard, made up of paper, flax, lime, and some other materials, well beaten together, and glued on upon the wood, and with a very smooth surface; and on that it is that they lay first their oil, and then their varnish, which is mostly of the black kind, though they may make it of other colours, and then paint and gild it in the manner we see it in those cabinets, tables, and other trinkets, that come over to us. And though the best of that sort, which is made in *China*, be vastly inferior in beauty, colour, and hardness, to that which comes from *Japan*; yet, when rightly made, it will preserve its native gloss and lustre a considerable time, except some disaster happens to it (P). *The more solid.*

c WE shall conclude this article of their trade and manufactures with a short account of their Chinese coin, which is one main spring and support of them. They have but two current metals in all *China*, viz. silver and copper; gold being on the same footing there as precious stones with us; and purchased, like other valuable merchandizes, according to its weight and fineness. Silver, though used in payment, is not coined, but cut into pieces, smaller or larger, as occasion requires; so that its value is rated according to its weight and goodness, and not from the prince's image. This makes it, however, very inconvenient to the traders, men, who must be ever cutting and weighing it (Q); and, which is still worse, be trying it on the touchstone, because it is often below the common standard; in which case, a proportion must be given in the weight, to make up that defect. Nevertheless, the *Chinese* chuse to have it in that manner rather than coined, as ours is, because, as they say, it would make every province swarm with clippers and coiners, and force the dealers to have still recourse to their scales and touchstone. And as, in the frequent cutting it, it can hardly be avoided but some small particles of the metal will fall on the ground, so there are numbers of poor people taken up with gathering and washing the dirt that is thrown out of the shops into the streets, and who commonly find enough among it to subsist by. The only expeditious way they have to pay any sum in silver, is, to keep by them a variety of plates of that metal, beaten, either thinner or thicker, according to the present exigence (besides the ingots, which are reserved for larger sums), and which, by long use, they can cut to a very great nicety, and hardly exceed a grain either above or under the weight they design it for. *Silver not coined; but cut, and weighed.*

d have it in that manner rather than coined, as ours is, because, as they say, it would make every province swarm with clippers and coiners, and force the dealers to have still recourse to their scales and touchstone. And as, in the frequent cutting it, it can hardly be avoided but some small particles of the metal will fall on the ground, so there are numbers of poor people taken up with gathering and washing the dirt that is thrown out of the shops into the streets, and who commonly find enough among it to subsist by. The only expeditious way they have to pay any sum in silver, is, to keep by them a variety of plates of that metal, beaten, either thinner or thicker, according to the present exigence (besides the ingots, which are reserved for larger sums), and which, by long use, they can cut to a very great nicety, and hardly exceed a grain either above or under the weight they design it for. *Some loss in it.*

e THE only coin, therefore, properly so called, in use among them, or which they have had from time immemorial, is of copper, and of a very inconsiderable value, on account of its *Copper the only coin.*

(O) And this is the main cause of its being so inferior to that which is made in other places; for the workmen being obliged to stay till the *Europeans* are come, in order to receive those directions, they can neither take that due time in laying their grounds so thin and smooth, nor in giving them time to dry, as that sort of work requires: for the beauty and lastingness of it consist chiefly in that there should be no fewer than nine or ten such grounds laid, the thinner the better, and at least the space of three or four days, or even more in damp weather, allowed between every one, that the last may be thoroughly dried before a new one is laid on. Another considerable interval of time is likewise required between the last layer and the polishing, painting, and gilding; all which would, if duly observed, require a whole summer, and more: but, as they have not a sufficient time allowed them for it, they content themselves with dispatching it at any rate, so it doth but please the purchaser's eye. And hence it is that they neither keep their gloss nor colour so long or so fine, were their materials in other respects equally good, and the workmen as dexterous, here, as at any other place.

(P) It is observed that the spilling of any hot liquor upon that sort of work will deaden its lustre, because it will make the varnish grow dull, and turn yellow. The means of restoring it to its pristine shining black, says a *Chinese* author, is, to expose it a whole night to a white frost, or, which is still better, to hold it some time in the sun (37).

(Q) The scales, or rather stilliards, with which they weigh their silver or gold, and which they commonly carry about them in a neat japan case, consist of a little round plate, an ebony or ivory beam, and a weight. The beam, which is divided into minute parts on three sides, is suspended by fine filken strings at one of the ends, in three different points, that they may more easily weigh their pieces. These kind of stilliards are so exceedingly exact for weighing any money, or small pieces of silver, that from fifteen, or even twenty crowns, down to the twelfth part of a penny, and less, may be weighed in them with so great a nicety, that the 1000th part of a crown will turn the scale (38).

(37) *Du Halde, vol. i. p. 337, & seq.*

(38) *Martini, Le Compte, Du Halde, & al.*

coarseness, as well as smallness, it scarcely amounting to the third part of one of our farthings. It is of a round figure, with some *Chinese* characters on each side, and a square hole in the middle, through which they may be strung to any number, but commonly an hundred or a thousand in one string; which last is equivalent to a *Chinese* crown, and somewhat above one of ours; and in this last every hundred is divided by a string, which hangs at the last piece, for the greater dispatch of telling them. They have, it seems, no other name for what we call money, than the old one of *Tsyen*, which properly signifies *the water of a fountain that runs without ceasing*, by which they expressed the continual circulation of it from one hand to another; which word they still retain with respect to both metals, calling the one *Tong-tsyen*, or copper-money (R), and *In-tsyen*, or silver-money; which last name they give at *Kan ton* also to the piastres, *French* and *English* crowns, which are pretty current and common in that trading city ^c.

Chinese
weights.
Pound, here
divided and
subdivided.

In order to have some notion of the *Chinese* money, whether antient or modern, it must be observed, that their pound, or *Lyang*, weighs sixteen ounces, but is divided into only ten parts, called *Tsyen*, this into ten *Fwen*, which are equivalent to ten *French* sols, or about sevenpence *English*; the *Fwen* into ten *Fi* of silver. The beam of the *Chinese* scale carries these divisions no farther; and yet, with respect to gold or silver of a considerable weight, the division is more minute, and almost extends to imperceptible parts; for which reason it is scarce possible to convey a just idea of them in our language. They divide the *Li* into ten *W'ba*, the *W'ba* into ten *Se*, the *Se* into ten *Fu*, the *Fu* into ten *Chin*, which last signifies a grain of dust; this again into ten *Tay*, the *Tay* into ten *Myau*, the *Myau* into ten *Mo*, the *Mo* into ten *Tsun*, and the *Tsun* into ten *Sun*. But even when one understands all these divisions, it will be still impossible to ascertain the value of the antient coins, though the weight is marked upon them, yet some of them passed for much more than their intrinsic value came to. There were times in which the scarcity of species obliged their monarchs to raise the value of the small copper pieces so excessively high, that one of them was worth ten of the same sort current in former times, which hath occasioned very great tumults among the people; because the merchants raised the price of their goods in proportion. This scarcity of copper coin (which was occasioned either by some violent irruption of foreigners, who came and loaded their barks with it, and carried it away, or through the cautiousness of the people, who buried it in time of war, and died, perhaps, without discovering where it lay hid), hath been so terribly felt, that, at one time, an emperor hath caused near 1400 temples of *Fo* to be demolished, and all the images and copper work to be cast into coin; and, at other times, the people have been expressly forbid the use of any vessels, or other utensils, of copper, and obliged to deliver up those they had to the mint. And thus much shall suffice for their coins and commerce.

^c D'ENTRECOLLES ap. Du Halde, vol. i. p. 330, & seq.

(R) This coin, inconsiderable as it is, and not stamped, but only cast, though formerly coined in two-and twenty places of the empire, was nevertheless forbidden since, by an imperial edict, to be cast anywhere but at the court; so that none of the petty kings under that monarch dare attempt it. Their laws make it even capital to counterfeit it; though Father *D'Entrecolles* says, that some of their monarchs have contented themselves with punishing such offenders with the loss of their hand, or with banishment (39).

The *Chinese* have, however, had, in the antient times, a great variety of coins of gold and silver, and in a great variety of forms, all which are now only to be seen in the cabinets of the curious, and more particularly in that of the late emperor *Kang-hi*, who caused

a noble collection to be made of all that could be found of that kind in the empire, and to be deposited there among his other rarities. The reader may see the most curious and remarkable in the plate given us by *Du Halde*, as they were taken by Father *D'Entrecolles* out of the imperial collection above-mentioned (40).

Besides those of gold, silver, and copper, they have had some of baser metals current in *China*, to say nothing of others of clay stamped with some name, or characters, and baked, shells, stamped paper, &c.; and what is most observable is, that none of them were ever stamped with the head of the prince; it being deemed there an indignity to the imperial majesty, to have his image pass through the hands of tradesmen, dealers, and the dregs of the people.

(39) *D'Entrecolles* ap. *Du Halde*, vol. i. p. 330, & seq.

(40) *Idem* ibid.

S E C T. VI.

Of the character, genius, manners, customs, marriages, burials, feasts, and festivals, of the Chinese; with an account of the natural and artificial rarities of that country.

Character of
the Chinese.

WE have had frequent occasion to shew, how much the *Chinese* nation valued itself, above all others, not only in point of antiquity, but likewise of wisdom, learning, politeness, and other valuable qualities, in comparison of whom, they look upon the rest of mankind as so many rude savages, monsters, or, at best, as creatures in human shape; but either quite destitute, or, at best, endowed with a very little share, of reason; on which

^a which account, they made it a very constant maxim among them, never to entertain any commerce with foreigners, but just as much as should be thought necessary to procure their homage and service. This was the high notion they had of themselves, and were brought up in^a; which was still farther confirmed, by the singular deference which the *Tartars*, *Persians*, *Indians*, and other neighbouring nations, paid to them, in point of wisdom and learning; inasmuch, that when *Xaverius* came to preach Christianity among the *Japanese*, a people not inferior to them in sense and politeness, their objection against it was, that so wise a nation as the *Chinese* had not embraced it.

BUT, abating this overgrown conceit of themselves, of which they were soon cured, after they became more conversant with the *Europeans*, it must be owned, that they were once^b endowed with many shining qualities, though they have so far degenerated from them of late; that they must have been a wise, prudent, and politic nation; that they had true and just ideas of government; that their fundamental laws were excellently well calculated for the public good: and that the people were no less endowed with a sincere regard for, and a natural disposition to observe, them. And hence it was, that, whatever strange revolutions have happened among them, during such a series of ages which their monarchy hath continued, they commonly proved of short duration; and, as soon as they came to be ever so little at their own disposal, they returned to their own form of government again: and one may see, to this very day, in spite of all the changes, corruption, and degeneracy, which hath been introduced since their last conquest, some plain footsteps of their pristine virtue, and veneration for their antient laws and form of government. And though the far greater part of them do now content themselves with the bare outward shew of probity, public spirit, justice, generosity^c, &c. yet one cannot forbear concluding, that there was a time when those noble qualities were the distinguishing character of the *Chinese* nation; and that those princes and great men, who enacted such excellent laws, left behind them such wise maxims of government, and encouraged such a noble system of morality, both by their precepts and example, were every way qualified to reign over such faithful subjects.

THE *Chinese* are naturally ingenious, lively, and industrious, and those of the lower rank laborious to excess. They have no great genius for speculative sciences, as we have formerly observed, but a surprising one for almost all sorts of inferior ones, as well as for mechanics, either for use or diversion. They are quick and witty, but affect a gravity with it; outwardly affable and civil to, but jealous and mistrustful of, strangers, especially such as they suspect of coming to pry into their manufactures, some of whom they have made no scruple to poison, upon the bare suspicion of it; but, where only traffick and gain are in view, they are exceedingly watchful to observe the tempers and inclinations of their chapmen, and keep up the fairest correspondence with them, in order to over-reach them: so that whether a stranger trusts to his own judgment, or to the probity of the *Chinese* dealer, or employs a *Chinese* factor, he is, for the most part, in danger of being cheated, and laughed at, unless he be exceeding careful whom he deals with; for there are still many instances among them, not only of honest and fair dealing, and open and generous usage, but even of fidelity, incapable of being corrupted. They are exceedingly apt to resent affronts and injuries, though they do not, as we do, retaliate them by duels, fighting, or other public hostilities, but will rather seem patient under them, even to insensibility, till they have a favourable opportunity of indulging their revenge to the highest degree. Both nobles and artificers are extremely given to gaming, and will spend whole days or weeks at it; and the latter will lose vast sums at it, and sometimes all they are worth, even to their wives and children, when they meet with a bad run of fortune^e (A).

In other cases, they are very good œconomists, and observe great frugality in their houses, and way of living, from which they seldom depart, but upon some great occasions; such as their national festivals, their birth-days, weddings, burials, &c. at which times they strive to

^a See before, p. 203. (D). & seq.

^b See before, p. 581, & seq.

^c De his, vide MAGAILLAN,

(A) All sorts of gaming are forbidden by the *Chinese* laws; and even that of chess, though so much admired by the whole nation, is yet highly censured by their Literati, as taking up too much of that time which ought to be better employed; and yet they are so very fond both of that and many others which are in vogue among them, that they will even venture their whole estate upon the chance of a game, or even upon a single card, or cast of a die. Upon this account, as well as

the fear of the laws, they are very careful to indulge this passion with as much privacy as possible; though they might easily be prevented from it, if the Mandarins and magistrates, who are equally guilty of it, did not wink at it in their inferiors (42). And, it is not improbable, that these being so often hurt by it, is one main cause of their being so given to cheating in all their mercantile dealings.

(42) Martini, Le Compte, Du Halde, & al.

outdo each other, in the splendidence of their tables, furniture, and the various methods of a entertaining their guests (B), in which they frequently run to excess, and beyond what their circumstances will admit of. Among the variety of sumptuous dishes which commonly adorn their tables at such times, dogs flesh, differently dressed, seldom fails of being one, whatever plenty of other flesh, venison, fish, fowl, &c. there be besides. Yet, even in these feasts, they affect a more than common gravity and silence, and will drink but sparingly of wine, and other strong liquors, even when the cups are put briskly round by the master of the feast, but will only take a small quantity at the bottom of the cup, as if they feared being overtaken with, or betrayed into, some indecorum by it: but they are soon relieved from their gravity and fears, by the diversions above-mentioned, which commonly succeed the third or fourth round. b

Sobriety at them. *Way of eating.* THEY neither use spoons, knives, nor forks, at their tables; but every guest comes furnished with two small and long ivory or ebony sticks, with which they help themselves, with wonderful nicety and ease, to every thing that is set before them, without touching it with their hands: and this makes napkins to be likewise needless at their tables, every dish of meat, fish, &c. being commonly cut into small bits, before it is served ^d.

New year's festival. THE public or national festivals are various, and regularly observed all over the empire; particularly, the two first days of the year, which are celebrated with feasting, music, dancing, playing, comedies, and other diversions, and with sending of presents to their friends and patrons. This solemn time, which, among the great ones, lasts from the end of the twelfth moon of the last to about the twentieth of the first moon of the new year, is properly their c vacation; during which, all business ceases, all their tribunals are shut up, the posts suspended throughout the whole empire, and the generality of the people spend their time in rejoicing, and all sorts of diversions (C).

That of the lanthorns. BUT the most solemn and pompous part of this festivity, begins on the fifteenth day of the same first moon, and is, by the *Chinese*, styled the *feast of the lanthorns*. It is commonly ushered in at court, and the capital of *Pe-king*, pretty late on the preceding night, by the ringing of a vast large bell; the first sound of which is no sooner heard, than it is accompanied by whole volleys of cannon, from the palace and city ramparts, the beating of large kettle-drums, the sound of trumpets, and a great variety of other instruments. The same notice is given in all other parts of the empire, especially the great cities, about the same time, and d much in the same way, the cannon excepted. Immediately upon which, they every-where kindle such vast numbers of fires, hang up such infinite numbers of lanthorns, and play off such variety of fire-works, some representing castles, towers, ships, dragons, elephants, horses, fishes, and other creatures, that the whole atmosphere seems to be in a flame. They have likewise a very dexterous way of intermixing their lanthorns with those fire-works, so as to represent horses, and other animals, in full career, birds flying, ships sailing, armies fighting, princes marching with their whole retinue, and a great variety of other such surprising scenes; whilst the ears of the spectators are entertained with the best music their country affords, and with the joyful acclamations of the people; all which are answered by the trumpets, bells, and other instruments, of every temple and monastery. e

Fire-works, and other illuminations.

^d De his, vide MACAILLAN, LE COMPTE, MARTINI, NIEUHOFF, DU HALDE, & al.

(B) All these kinds of festivals are commonly accompanied not only with variety of music and dancing, such as it is, but with tumblers, rope-dancers, jugglers, posture-masters, and other such diversions, which are there exhibited, by a parcel of strollers hired for that purpose, and are surprisingly dexterous at their respective parts. Those of the middle sort will add some short farce, or dramatic performance, to the rest; and those of rank, a regular play, with all its proper decorations, interludes of music, dancing, &c.; there being almost every-where a sufficient number of those strollers to be found, who are ready to act any play which the company shall call for.

These players are a kind of vagabonds, that wander from place to place, where they are most likely to be hired; and are always paid by the master of the feast, among those of the higher rank; but among those of the lower class, by the voluntary contribution of the guests. They commonly go in companies, of both

sexes, and have a kind of head over them, who either keeps them in pay, or distributes their hire among them, according to the parts they act. These men, in their rambles, make it their business to buy (and often to steal) all the handsome girls they can get from the poor people, whom they afterwards either debauch themselves, or prostitute for some small sum, in order to harden and fit them for their business (43).

(C) This festivity, or vacation, which lasts about three weeks (44), or a month (45), is styled, by the *Chinese*, the *shutting up of the seals*; because, at the beginning of it, they do, with great ceremony, shut up the little coffers wherein the seals of each tribunal are kept. But the greatest rejoicing is on the last days of the old year, when they take their leave of it, with great solemnity; and the inferior Mandarins pay their homage to their superior, the children to their parents, servants to their masters; and every family concludes the day with a sumptuous supper.

(43) Martini, *Le Compte, Du Halde, & al.*
ibid. p. 280.

(45) Kao, *ubi supra*.

(44) *Chinese Embassy*, p. 76. *vid. & Dion. Kao, ap. eund.*

- a Mr. *Isbrandtz Ides*, who was present at one of these feasts *, says, that the noise at *Pe-king*, *East rejoicings*, which continued the same till the next day at noon, was as great as if an army of 100,000 men had been all that time in a close and fierce engagement. And Father *Le Compte*, who was likewise an eye-witness of this grand solemnity, at the time he was there, says, that the number of *lanthorns*, commonly lighted at these illuminations, through the whole empire, was computed to amount to at least 200,000,000. During the festival, the shops are closely shut up; all business is suspended; the streets crowded with processions of numberless idols, carried about in great pomp, the monks and priests attending them, with their censers, songs, and musical instruments; the very women, of all ranks, who at other times are not suffered to appear in public, are then permitted to ride through the streets of *Pe-king*; those of common rank upon asses, adorned with ribands and other trinkets; and those of quality in their two-wheeled chaises, covered on every side but the front, and either singing, or gently touching some musical instrument, or even smoking a pipe, and attended with a maid-servant riding behind them, and playing likewise on some musical instrument. Some of these lanthorns are so vastly rich and beautiful, that the price of them amounts to 1500 or 2000 crowns, and even beyond; and not a house but hath some sort of them, the best they can afford, burning, both before and within it (D). In a word, the *Chinese* are so ambitious of making the most magnificent figure on this festival, that they will retrench from their common expences the year round, that they may do something extraordinary at this time; and, abating the masquerading, will allow themselves in all the extravagancies of a *Venetian* carnival †. But what the cause of all this joy, or the origin of this grand festival is, they either do not care to tell us, or probably know nothing of it themselves (E). We shall, however, in the sequel of this chapter, find a proper place for offering a conjecture of ours, concerning the origin, and extraordinary rejoicings, of this famed festival, which, we hope, when weighed with other concurring circumstances, may, though new, appear to give a more probable account of it than any we have hitherto met with, either from the natives or strangers. *Richness of the lanthorns.*
- b
- c *Its origin unknown.*

* Embassy to China, part i. ch. 15. p. 76.
Du Halde, & al. sup. citat.

† De his, vide & MARTINI, NAVARETTA, LE COMPTE,

(D) These lanthorns are adorned with beautiful carving, gilding, and japanning, and have about six or eight panes of thin blue silk, made transparent by a fine varnish, and painted with figures of trees, men, horses, birds, &c. so skilfully disposed, as to receive, as it were, life, from the great number of lamps, or candles, burning within them. Others are made of blue transparent horn, through which are seen sundry kinds of creatures, painted to the life, and seeming to move, through the motion of the flame within, and representing a variety of scenes, to entertain the spectators. The common sorts of them are about four or five feet high, and have their tops adorned with curious streamers, waving in the wind; but those of the noblest sort are above twenty feet in diameter, and illuminated with lamps and wax candles, the sides of which represent to the eye various figures of men and women, in different characters, or exhibiting some theatrical representations, with gestures suitable to their parts. These are moved by wires, by people placed underneath, like our puppets, or, according to one of their own authors, are acted by living persons (45). They have likewise bonfires, and other fire-works, in all the parts of the cities, towns, and villages; and the whole nation seems to run mad with joy for they know not what. See the next note.

(E) Whether they are really ignorant of the occasion of this festival, or designedly conceal it from strangers, it is certain, none of our authors, who have spoken of it, nor even *Kao*, a *Chinese* native, have given any satisfactory account of it. Some tell us, it was instituted in memory of one of their monarchs, who had caused a magnificent palace to be built, which he illuminated with a prodigious number of these lanthorns, that the day might not be distinguished from the night. Others, that it was in remembrance of a great Mandarin, whose favourite daughter drowned herself; and that he having governed them with uncommon humanity, the country, in gratitude, flocked to him with lanthorns,

to help him to find her out, though without success; in memory of which, they instituted this ceremony, which, in time, spread itself through the whole empire.

Lastly, as their records mention, that the Empress *Ta-kya*, wife of the Emperor *Chew* (both of them of a tyrannic disposition), had, either through fear of a rebellious attempt, or for some other motive, accustomed herself to have the imperial palace illuminated with a prodigious number of candles, to supply the absence of the sun, and to prevent any surprise by night, some infer from thence that this festival was instituted, by the people, after her death, in memory of their deliverance from that cruel tyranny.

But, as none of these carry any tolerable probability, may we not rather think, that the origin of its institution is either forgot, or, which is more probable, is concealed from strangers, out of some superstitious whim? For, we are told, that, with respect to that of the *new year*, they are, in some parts of *China*, so cautious of having a stranger, or even some of their nearest relations, at their own houses, at that time, lest they should catch all the good luck, which, they suppose, attends the moment of its entrance, from the family, that they will not admit any one to share in the festivity of that day with them, nor join in the common rejoicing of the season, till the next and following ones (46). However, by the uncommon magnificence and profusion which reigns through the whole empire, and the universal joy that appears in every look, and the strange sorts of diversions which are in vogue, during the feast, one would be apt to suppose, that so solemn, so joyful, and so universal a festival, owed its origin to some extraordinary event, or blessing, which they either are careful to conceal, or have lost the remembrance of; or, at least, that they expect, from their magnificent way of celebrating it, some great and public blessing will fall on the whole realm, and that those who bestowed the most cost on it, or behaved most frantically, were to have the greatest share of it (47).

(45) *Kao*, ubi supra. (46) Du Halde, vol. i. p. 292.
Martini, Isbrandtz, Kao, Du Halde, &c. ubi supra.

(47) De hac, vide Magaillan, Le Compte,

The two festivals of Confucius ;

the ceremony of them.

Feastings on birth-days.

Marriages.

No dowry brought by the bride.

Wedding ceremony.

The bride's reception.

THE next in rank and solemnity, are the two grand festivals instituted in honour of their famous *Confucius*, and are celebrated, the one in the spring, and the other in autumn. The public honours paid to that great philosopher, used formerly to be performed before his statue, set up in the great hall dedicated to his memory; till their new conqueror *Kang-hi*, deeming it, we are told, a kind of idolatry, and fearing, or pretending to fear, lest his new subjects should, in time, offer the same worship, and prayers, to him, forbade the ceremony to be performed before his statue; instead of which, he ordered a large label, or board, to be erected over a table, with his name and titles written, or engraven, upon it, with some beautiful leaf-work, and other ornaments, carved or painted about it. The ceremony is now performed, by kneeling before the inscription, and prostrating the body nine times before it, till the head touches the ground: after which, the usual offerings are made to it, of wine, victuals, fruits, &c. in the same manner the great families do to their deceased friends, at their mourning feasts; of which, we shall speak in the sequel. The same exchange was likewise ordered to be made in all their schools, colleges, and other places, where that great man's picture was formerly set up, and where nothing but his name is now to be seen^f. We have formerly taken notice of some other festivals, in which the emperors bore the greatest share in the sacrifices, and other ceremonies performed at them, and need not enlarge upon their other public ones, which are inconsiderable, in comparison of those we have now given an account of.

THE private ones are either on their birth-days, marriages, or funeral obsequies, all which they strive to celebrate in the grandest manner that their circumstances can afford. They always observe their birth-days with such feastings, dancing, music, and other diversions, as we have already described, to which the guests join their good wishes of long life and prosperity; and some of them add either a panegyric, or copy of verses, on the person. The whole day is spent in civil treats, mutual congratulations, and mirth, even among those of the lowest rank. The same rejoicings and feastings are observed at the birth of a son, especially the first; and, in both cases, the guests commonly accompany their congratulatory compliments with some real presents, suitable to their circumstances; the greatest princes not thinking it beneath their dignity to have such kind of substantial honours paid to them.

THEIR marriages are celebrated with no less pomp. The married couple are commonly brought together, without any previous acquaintance with each other, the bargain being struck by their parents, or by some go-between, and afterwards ratified, by presents sent by both sides. The bride brings no dowry with her, but is rather purchased by her spouse, who, besides the price he pays for her, commonly spends, in the marriage ceremony, double and treble the presents she brings along with her, especially among those of a higher rank (F). The young couple are never suffered to see each other, till the marriage-contract is signed and sealed, by the parents or friends, and the presents be exchanged on both sides: but, as soon as that is over, the bride is sent home to her bridegroom's house, in a kind of pompous cavalcade, and with a numerous attendance^g of friends and servants; some on horseback, some on foot; some carrying the insignia of the family, others playing on variety of instruments; a third sort carry torches, flambeaux, even at noon-day, and burning odorous perfumes; whilst a fourth bear the presents she brings along with her. The bride, if of quality, is carried in a stately sedan, covered all round with a large and rich canopy of state, borne by a dozen or more lusty fellows, in the livery of the family, and guarded by some relations on horseback. The whole retinue appear in the most splendid dresses; and in this manner they march from her father's house, to that of her spouse; who is there ready, with a vast number of his own relations, all likewise richly dressed, to receive her. The sedan, in which she is brought, is closely shut up on all sides, the door of it is locked, and a faithful servant is intrusted with the key of it, which he is to deliver to none but the bridegroom, who waits at the door, to introduce her into an outer court. Here she is no sooner set down, than he unlocks the chair, with some eagerness; and is then a judge (if he never saw her

^f De his, vide & MARTINI, NAVARETTA, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat. cavalcade described by DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 303.

^g See the

(F) The laws of the country making it an indispensable duty for every man to marry, and many of the poorer sort not having it in their power to purchase wives, the government gives them leave, in such cases, to go to the foundling hospitals, and beg one; which favour is seldom denied, if the man have any tolerable character for probity and industry. This method not only saves a poor man the charges of buying, but contributes to make the wife more obsequious and obliging.

These hospitals do likewise furnish the richer sort with children, when their wives prove unfruitful; and this is done either clandestinely, and then the good wife pretends to be pregnant, and, in proper time, to be delivered; and this is oftener with than without the consent of the husband. The other is done by publicly adopting the children so bought; but as this cannot be done without the leave of the government, nor that be obtained without great expence, the former way is the more frequently chosen (48).

(48) De hoc, vide Megailan, Le Compte, Martini, Isbrandtz, Kao, Du Halde, &c. ubi supra.

before,

a before, which is commonly the case) of his good or bad fortune (G). If he likes her, he hands her out of the chair, and conducts her into the great hall, where they make four low bows to *Tyen*; after which, she doth the same to her husband's relations: and is then put into the hands of the ladies invited to the ceremony, who lead her into a stately apartment, and spend the remainder of the day with her, in feasting, dancing, and other diversions; whilst the bridegroom doth the same, with his male relations, in another. The feasting lasts more or less, according to the circumstances of the persons; and, when once ended, she is from that time secluded not only from the company, but even from the sight, of all men but her husband; except, perhaps, the father, or some near relation, and that only on some extraordinary occasion; unless they have contracted before-hand with him, for the liberty of entertaining a gallant now-and-then, which, we are told, is sometimes done, by an indulgent parent, and agreed to by the no less indulgent spouse, though seldom, if ever, without some valuable consideration ^a.

THE *Chinese* laws allow but one wife to a man; but they are permitted to have several concubines, who are brought into his house, without any other ceremony, than a promissory note of the sum agreed upon, and of using her well; but the lawful wife is generally mistress over them, as well as over all the servants in the house; and the children of the concubines are deemed to belong to her, and have an equal right to inherit. She alone bears the title of mother, and, after her decease, is honoured with the parental mourning of three years. Both the man and the woman may marry again, after the death of either; in which case, the husband is no longer confined within his own rank, but may take any woman he pleases, or even one of his concubines, to be his wife; and this second wedlock is attended with but few ceremonies. As for widows, especially those that have had children, they become their own mistresses, and may marry, if they please; but that, among those of high rank, is reckoned disreputable, though she had lived but one day, or even a few hours, with her husband. But with those of the middle rank, the case is quite otherwise, though frequently less in their favour, through the avarice of the deceased's relations (H).

UPON the whole, it must be owned, that the marriage state is but an uncomfortable one to the *Chinese* women, of any rank, enslaved and immured by their jealous husbands; in some cases, liable to be sold, with all their children; in others, to be divorced from them; and when widows, condemned to observe a long and severe mourning, and then either to live a single life, or to be sold to the highest bidder; without one good law in their favour, except that which permits them to marry again, if the husband absents himself from his home above three years (I). The *Chinese* women are generally very handsome, sprightly, and

^a See MARTINI, LE COMPTE, & al. sup. citat.

(G) It sometimes happens, that a man, when he receives his wife, and finds her beauty not answerable to the character given him of it, or the idea he conceived of her, will immediately lock her up again, and, in the same sedan, send her back to her parents, choosing rather to forfeit the money he gave for her, than to take her home. But this, of late, is not often the case, the female relations of the bridegroom taking all the proper precautions, not only to see and converse, but to view, and examine her, when she is in the bath, and be satisfied, that she is free from any such defects, as might render her disagreeable to him. On the other hand, her parents take care to oblige him, by the marriage contract, neither to send her back, nor to divorce, or use her ill. The laws likewise oblige both sides to have a due regard to an equality of age, and rank; but this last is often overlooked, through dint of money.

The common people observe less ceremony in this case; and the man may have some opportunities to see the woman, before he engages; and, when the marriage is agreed on, the bride is sent to her husband, in the handsomest manner that their circumstances will allow, especially with music, torches, and some retinue of her friends, and is conveyed thither in a close sedan. The ceremony of her reception is much the same with that of the great ones, abating the magnificence (49).

(H) These are often forced by the husband's relations, especially if it be one that hath had no children, to marry some other man, in order to have the money

given for her, or some part of it, refunded to the family. The bargain is often agreed with the new husband, without her knowledge; and if she has a daughter still unweaned, she goes along with her to him. Neither can she avoid the oppression, unless she can procure the above sum to be repaid, or turn bonzefs, or nun, which few care to do. The poor widow being thus sold, whether with or without her knowledge or consent, is immediately clapt into a close sedan, and conveyed to the purchaser, under an escort of some trusty persons, and frequently long before her mourning is over, which is expressly against the law. But if this outrage hath been complained of to the Mandarin, and he be found to have connived at, instead of remedying it, he is liable to be severely punished (50).

(I) In this case, she is obliged to apply to the Mandarins, who, after due examination of it, will license her to take another husband; for, without this formality, she would be severely punished, if she ventured to do so.

With relation to men selling their wives, the law is, that a woman that elopes from her husband may, after conviction, and receiving the correction appointed by the law, be sold by him to whom he pleases; but without such a conviction, both the buyer and the seller would be liable to be punished; and yet, we are told, that some men have sold, or even played away, their wives and children.

The cases in which divorce is allowed, are; 1. Adultery; but which seldom happens, by reason of

(49) *De hoc, vide Magaillan, Le Compte, Martini, Isbrandtz, Kao, Du Halde, &c. ubi supra.*
boc, vide Magaillan, Le Compte, Martini, Isbrandtz, Kao, Vide Du Halde, vol. i. p. 305.

(50) *De*

and amorous; and employ themselves at home, either with their own children, or in some a
sorts of curious works, as painting, japanning, embroidering, &c. Those of distinction seldom
sit abroad, and when they do, they are commonly carried in a low close chair, or a covered
two-wheeled chaise (K), and are, consequently, never to be seen ¹. We shall describe their
dresses in a more proper place.

Funerals, and
deep mourning.

Singular re-
gard to dead
parents.

Length of their
mourning.

THE last pompous solemnity we shall mention, as celebrated by private families, is that of
their funeral obsequies, which, among people almost of all ranks, doth, by far, still exceed
whatever is observed by them upon any other occasions. And such is the singular regard
which the *Chinese* pay to the memory of their deceased friends, especially to that of their
parents, and near relations, that they think they can never sufficiently express it, either by
the cost they bestow on their funerals and anniversaries, or by the deepest tokens of grief for b
their loss. According to their antient laws, the common term of mourning for a parent
was three whole years (L); and though it hath been since reduced, in some cases, to twenty-
seven months, yet do they not abate, in any other respect, of their antient austerity on such
occasions, but spend that whole time in acts of the most pungent grief.

A CHILD that hath lost a parent, is neither permitted, nor will, upon the greatest exigency,
indulge himself in the use of a bed, during the space of 100 days, but chooses to lie all that
time upon the bare earth, lamenting, in the bitterest terms, his inexpressible loss. They
are not to converse with any body during a whole year; and, which is still harder, must
abstain from all connubial intercourse with their wives and concubines, under very severe
penalties: for should any of them be found to have been got with child during that time, c
both they, and much more the husband, would infallibly be condemned to some heavy
punishment. In the matrimonial state, the wife is obliged to mourn, in the same deep
manner, three whole years, or at least two years and a quarter, if not of high rank; and the
husband a whole year for a dead wife; which last is also the common term, more or less, of
mourning for other relations, according to the degrees of their proximity.

Anniversary
obsequies,
whence.

NEITHER is this filial regard confined to the stated time of three years, but is still conti-
nued with annual obsequies performed at his grave, with something near the same mournful
ceremonies; to which we may add, that if a man die before he hath married all his children,
the eldest son is obliged to take that care upon him; and, being then invested with a paternal
authority over them, is esteemed as the representative or substitute of the deceased. Nor d
are these funeral obsequies continued to parents only, but to grandfathers, &c. up to the head
of the family, for whom they keep anniversary solemnities, visit their tombs, in the same
mourning guise, and offer upon them the usual presents of wine, victuals, &c. as if they
were still alive (M).

NOR need we be surpris'd at this extraordinary duty to their ancestors, if we recollect what
was formerly hinted, on another occasion, that they are brought up with a belief that their

¹ De hoc ritu, vide KERCHER, *China illustrata*, MARTINI, *Histor. Sinens.* LE COMPTE, CARERI, DU
HALDE, & al.

their being so closely kept. 2. Antipathy, or contra-
rity of tempers. 3. Excess of jealousy, disobedience,
or indiscretion. 4. Barrenness. 5. Some contagious
distemper. Yet these divorces, we are told, seldom
happen among those of higher rank; it being only
among the common people that instances of it are to
be met with (51).

(K) These sedans are of two sorts: those belonging to
the quality are borne on two, or more, men's shoulders;
and those of the inferior rank have only one pole, put
through a ring on the top, and rather resemble a large
cage, carried between two men, much in the same
manner as our draymen carry a barrel of ale, the
hindmost holding it with both his hands, to prevent
it from jogging to and fro.

Both sorts are made so very low, that the person,
who sits cross-legged on a cushion at the bottom, doth
almost reach the top with her head. Those of the
lower sort, which are commonly of japanned wood,
have either some small holes, or oblong narrow slits,
not only to let in the air, but give them that are in it a
glimpse of what passes in the streets through which they
are conveyed; but those of the better sort are covered
over with such rich silks, as not only shut out the light,
but even the fresh air.

Both sorts, as well as the two wheeled chaises, are
only used in the cities, or for some short jaunts out of

them; but in longer journies, the quality commonly
convey their wives and female retinue in coaches and
litters; and all likewise shut up close on all sides (52).

(L) This term of three years mourning for a pa-
rent, was ordered to express their gratitude for their
parents care during the three years of their helpless
infancy, wherein they stood in need of their assistance:
and it is so carefully observed, that if any of the emper-
or's ministers, of what rank soever, loses a father, or
mother, he must lay down his office during all that
time, and dedicate it to mourning, unless the emperor
should, for some extraordinary reason, dispense with it,
which is rarely done; nor can he resume his post, till
the three years are fully expired (53).

(M) This extraordinary regard was founded on a
wise *Chinese* maxim, that monarchs ought to have the
tenderness of a parent over their subjects, and fathers
the authority of kings over their children; and, when
young persons behold what veneration is paid by their
parents to their own progenitors, it cannot fail of in-
spiring them with a deep sense of obedience and sub-
mission to them: and, as their sages have justly ob-
served, this submission naturally preserves peace in fa-
milies; this produces tranquility in cities, prevents in-
surrections in provinces, and secures peace and good
order through the whole empire.

(51) De hoc, vide Magaillan, *Le Compte*, Martini, *Isbrandtz*, Kao, *Vide Du Halde*. *Vide & al. sup. citat.*
(52) *Id. ibid.* (53) *Vide Martini, Le Compte, Gemel. Careri, Du Halde, & al.*

a souls are still present, though invisible to them, and behold all their actions, and either approve or condemn, reward or punish them; which notion is of excellent use, to deter them from vice, and excite them to virtuous deeds. Neither do their greatest monarchs think themselves, on any account, more dispensed from this filial duty, than the meanest of their subjects, but rather strive to outdo them in it; insomuch, that we read of some of them who have refused to attend on any thing but that, even at a time when their dominions have been invaded by a foreign power (N). *Monarchs; not exempt from them.*

THE funeral rites are performed, among the rich, with much the same pomp and magnificence (if not rather greater) as their marriages, and with the addition of a vast number of Bonzas, and other priests, who adorn the sumptuous cavalcade, some singing, in a mournful tone, the encomiums of the deceased, others playing on a great variety of instruments; some carry the tables, on which are deposited the offerings of wine, victuals, &c. to be set on the tomb, others the perfumes to be burnt upon it, and one of them precedes the bier, bearing the table, or label, on which are written the names of the deceased, and those of his progenitors. The corpse, which is dressed in the best cloaths, is carried in a stately coffin (O), covered over with white damask, or some other rich silk, which is the colour that is used by all the Chinese in their mournings; over it are the insignia of the family; the whole carried by twenty or more lusty men clad in mourning, and covered with a vast stately canopy, which is likewise borne by a great number of men in the same mourning dress. The relations of the deceased, both men and women, follow next, according to their nearness to him, all clad in white sackcloth, girt about with a coarse rope, with straw wrapped about their feet, and rags about their heads; only the women relations, such as the wife, concubines, daughters, and other female kindred of the deceased, are carried in close sedans, or chairs, covered over with white curtains. *Funeral rites.*

IN this manner they proceed from the deceased's house to the burying-place; which must be without the walls of the city, and at a distance from any towns, or inhabited places (unless they chuse to keep the bodies in their own houses, inclosed in such coffins as we described in the last note); but, generally speaking, these sepulchral places are on some mountain, or eminence, about two or three miles from any city, and are inclosed with pine, cypress, and other trees, and some with a wall. The tombs are raised like little houses, but are differently shaped in different provinces. Those of the Mandarins, and princes of the blood, are of a magnificent structure, about twelve feet high, and eight or ten in diameter; and near them stands a table of white polished marble, of a considerable length and breadth, on which are set a perfuming pot, two vases, and two candlesticks, all of the same stone, and curiously wrought. On each side are placed, in several rows, a great many figures of officers, eunuchs, soldiers, lions, saddle-horses, camels, tortoises, and other animals, in different attitudes of grief and veneration. As for the meaner sort, they content themselves with raising a small kind of pyramid of mould or earth over the coffin. *Burying-places.*

THEY seldom bury many persons in one grave, and are exceedingly curious and careful about the bodies of their deceased friends. They would deem it an unheard-of cruelty to have them opened, and the heart and entrails taken out, as is done among us; and they would look with horror on our charnel-houses, and see the bones of different persons promiscuously laid one upon another. And this makes them so fond of those coffins lately described, *Regard for the bodies.*

(N) The Chinese annals record many instances of this filial duty, and particularly, in the singular piety of *Yen-kong*, king of *Tsing*, who, being forced to travel out of his father's dominions, to avoid the snares of an ambitious mother-in-law, and being there informed of his father's death, and of the loss of his kingdom, gave this extraordinary answer to a prince, who offered him his assistance and soldiers to recover it: "That, being become, as it were, a dead man, since his retreat and exile, he no longer esteemed any thing but virtue, and piety towards his parents; that this was his treasure: and that he chose rather to lose his kingdom, of which he was already dispossessed, than to be wanting in those last duties, which did not permit him to take arms, at a time destined for grief, and the funeral honours which were due to his father (54)."

(O) These coffins, about which the Chinese are so solicitous, that they will have them made in their life-time, and some sons will mortgage themselves, to procure one of them for a parent, are commonly made of planks about half a foot thick, and of a lasting sort, some of them of precious wood, and are so well pitched

within, and japanned without, that no bad smell can perpire through them. Those of the richer sort are finely carved and gilt, and cost from 300 to 1000 crowns.

Before the corpse is laid in them, they commonly throw a little lime at the bottom; and, after it is laid, clap on a pillow, or a good deal of cotton, to keep the head steady, and stuff every vacuity with cotton and lime, to soak up any moisture that comes from the body.

We took notice above, that some, out of a more than common regard for their parents; chuse to keep their dead bodies at home; and this they will do at least during the whole three years of mourning, during which their seat in the day-time is a stool covered with white serge, and at night they lie down near the coffin, on a bare matt made of reeds. They deprive themselves, during the whole time, of all dainty meats, wines, conversation, and other comforts; and if they are obliged, on some urgent occasion, to stir out of their houses, or to go out of town, which few will do till a certain time of the mourning be over, they are commonly carried in a close chair covered with white serge or cloth (55).

(54) See *Du Halde*, p. 306.

(55) See *Du Halde*, p. 106, & seq. Vid. & *Le Compte*, & al. *supra citati*.

which some will purchase not only at a great price, perhaps from 50 to 100 crowns, but even with their last penny, and keep them in their houses 10 or 20 years before-hand, and esteem them as the best piece of furniture they are masters of.

Feast given at the burying-place.

Woful mourning.

Hall of the ancestors.

WHEN the procession is arrived at the burying-place, the servants of the deceased, while the funeral ceremony is performing, are busied in preparing an entertainment for the company, which is set on tables, and in a kind of halls reared for that purpose. Some of the relations will partake of them, whilst others will chuse to keep close to the sons and daughters of the deceased, and join with them in their loud cries and woful complaints, than which nothing can be imagined more lugubrious and solemn; except that to an *European*, who is not used to them, they appear too formal and regular to inspire him with the same sentiments of grief. The burying-places of the grandees have commonly several such halls or apartments reared up, in which many of the near relations will stay a month or two, to repeat their mournful ceremonies every day with the sons of the deceased. They are not contented to celebrate their annual obsequies at their tombs; but every family hath a hall, which is called the hall of the ancestors, at which all the several branches of the family are obliged to repair on certain times in the year. These branches, which in some families have sometimes amounted to between 80 and 90, or to 7000 or 8000 persons, meet at the ceremony promiscuously, no distinction being then made between a great Mandarin and a mean mechanic; and, if any preference is given, it is to the oldest, whether rich or poor. Only the richer fort commonly prepare a sumptuous entertainment, to which the whole family is invited as soon as the ceremony is ended.

ONE thing more we may observe under this head of filial duty to the deceased: that many of the *Chinese* will not let the dead corpse be carried out the common doors, lest their grief should be renewed every time they passed through it, but cause a new one to be made for that purpose, which is immediately closed up after the funeral is over.

Mourning for an emperor.

The funeral of Kang-hi's mother.

WHEN an emperor dies, the whole empire goes into mourning, and the same respect is paid to his mother or grandmother. When the mother of the late *Kang-hi* died, a deep and universal mourning was observed fifty whole days, during which all the tribunals were shut up, and no kind of state-affairs mentioned to the emperor. The Mandarins spent the whole time at the palace, and in all outward expressions of grief; and several of them passed whole nights in the open air, tho' then very cold; and even the emperor's sons slept in the palace without pulling off their clothes. All the Mandarins, clad in white, and stripped of their red ornaments, which colour is then forbidden, went on horseback, with a very small retinue, to pay their mournful respects before her image, three days successively; after which, the corpse was carried with suitable pomp to the place where it was to lie in state (P). This was a stately palace out of the city, and all built of new mats, with courts, halls, and other apartments, for the corpse to remain in, till it was thence conveyed to the imperial burying-place.

Education of children.

Parents punished for neglect of it.

THIS extraordinary regard for their deceased parents is not only owing to the laws which give the living ones so great an authority over their children, but likewise to their excellent way of educating them: for even here the laws have taken such care to oblige them to it, under severe penalties, that if any of them happens to commit some crime, or great misdemeanor, and absconds himself from punishment, the father is commonly made to bear it for him, at least for not having done his duty towards him. There are several excellent treatises likewise written on the subject of education, by some of their learned doctors, with proper directions to parents and schoolmasters how to bring them up in the most effectual manner in the love of virtue, and aversion to vice, which, they say, ought to be the chief object of all their care; and, next to that, to train them up to learning, if capable of it, or to industry in some other calling; in doing which, those doctors advise the use of mild and gentle means, preferably to sharp and severe ones, considering that youth is averse to constraint, and easily discouraged by roughness. Instructions and reprimands, they say, should come like vernal winds and rains, which gently promote the growth of plants; and not like hasty showers or storms, which root them up, or wash them away. They have likewise old

ⁱ De hoc ritu, vid. KERCHER *China Illustrata*, MARTINI *Hist. Sinens.* LE COMPTE, CARERI, DU HALDE, & al.

(P) We are told, however, that the emperor would not follow what he miscalled the *Chinese* superstition of causing new gates to be broke open, but ordered the corpse to be carried through the public ones of the palace. He shewed the same contempt for some of the antient customs of his own nation, particularly with respect to four young ladies who had waited on his mother, and had taken their attire, and prepared them-

selves, according to the usage of the *Tartars*, to accompany her into the other world, by sacrificing their lives before her corpse, which that monarch would not suffer them to do. He likewise abolished another custom, till then in use among them, of burning rich furniture, and even the domestics of great men, with their bodies on the funeral pile (56).

(56) *Vid. Du Halde, & al. ubi sup.*

- a story-books, some in prose, others in verse, but in a singular style, fit for children, and written in commendation of virtue, obedience to parents, honesty, industry, &c. The education of the boys, as well as of the girls, is intrusted to the wife, till the former are fit to be sent to school, and the latter come to be married: but all this, however, under the eye and direction of the father, who commonly reserves to himself the power of using severity, when other milder exhortations and encouragements prove ineffectual; and, after the father's death, the eldest son takes the authority over as many of the family as are still unmarried. And as, among those of the middle and lower rank, there will happen now-and-then some wranglings and quarrels, through the indulgence or indolence of the master of the family, the magistrates are obliged to look carefully to the good order and œconomy of it; and, in case of neglect, are themselves liable to be punished, as well as the offenders within-doors (Q).
- b THE *Chinese* are generally very grave, formal, and ceremonious, with each other, as well as towards strangers. Their salutation to an equal is by laying one hand to the breast, and bowing the head; to a superior, or more venerable person, they lay both hands to the breast, and bow the whole body as low as they can; and, to a Mandarin, they fall down on their knees, and touch the ground with their forehead. In saluting a superior either in his own house, or in any other place, the person bends one knee to him, and continues in that posture till he takes him up by the hand, which is commonly done immediately. But it is unusual and uncivil to salute a magistrate in public, unless one be summoned before, or have some particular application to make to, him. The rest, it seems, must only stand with their arms across, and their eyes fixed to the ground; for it is an affront to look them in the face. In their visits they use a great deal of ceremony in their gestures, though they are very laconic in their compliments. They are no less curious in seating their visitors according to their several ranks; and in the style in which they receive the honour of the visit, never speaking in the first person, I or me, but Your servant; and, to a person of distinction, Your humble, poor, or unworthy slave; and, instead of *You* to the person they speak to, they say, *My lord*; as, *Let my lord permit his humble servant to, &c.*; *Let my lord accept of such a thing from his servant, or poor slave.* If a present be the product of his own native place or province, and the country be ever so celebrated for it, as some of them are for their manufactures, others for their fruits, &c. the style must still run in the same strain with relation to that; as, *Let my lord permit his servant to offer him such a thing, which his poor city or province affords*: but if the present come from the country of the person to whom it is presented, then it must be, *for which your noble city, or province, is so justly famed.* The same humble style is observed between the scholars and their masters, to whom they never use the words *I* or *you*, but *Your servant*, or *Your scholar*, did so, or read so; and, *Our master* or *doctor* says or ordered, &c.^k Now, tho' this of speaking may appear to some of our readers extravagant, and mere grimace, yet, to those who are ever so little versed in that of the antient eastern languages, it will appear quite natural and uniform with them, and to be the very same as is still in use amongst most of the eastern nations at this time; so that it would be not only uncouth and absurd, but to a great degree uncivil and affronting, to express one's self in any other. Nay, the same method of speaking is still in some degree preserved by the politer part among several *European* nations, particularly the *Spaniards* and *Germans*. To which we may add, that it is the very style of the antient patriarchs, and of all the *Hebrews* before the captivity of *Babylon*, and even since, till they came to corrupt it by adopting the idioms of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and how much and justly that style is admired by all the learned for its humility and simplicity, we have formerly shewn in the antient history of the *Jews*^l.
- c THE *Chinese* are no less formal in their visits, whether between inferiors and superiors, disciples and masters, which are indispensable at particular seasons, or between relations and friends (R); and as tea is the common liquor the *Chinese* treat their visitors with, they are no less

^k MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat.

^l See Univ. Hist. vol. i. part 1. p. 717, & seq.

(Q) Thus we are told of a Mandarin, who, going through a street, heard a mother-in-law crying out, and cursing her son and daughter-in-law; and, having inquired into the occasion of the quarrel, made a report of it to the emperor, who ordered the son and daughter-in-law to be chastised, his father to lose his head, and the magistrate his place (57).

(R) It is among them a stated rule not to visit any person without sending a *Tye-tse*, or visiting bill, by the porter, to the person. This *Tye-tse* is commonly a sheet of red paper, slightly embellished with flowers of gold, and folded up like a screen; on one of whose folds is written the person's name, with some respectful

addition, according to the person to be visited. They write, for instance, *The tender and sincere friend of your lordship, and the perpetual disciple of your doctrine, presents himself in that quality to pay his duty and his homage to you down to the ground.* If the visited be a familiar acquaintance, the style abates somewhat of that humble strain, and a white paper will serve; and the same sort must be sent in if the person is in mourning (58).

If the visit be made from a person of distinction to another, and the latter hath not time or inclination to receive it, he sends him a civil message by a servant, signifying, that he need not give himself the trouble to alight; and then it is esteemed as a real visit, and

(57) Careri, & al.

(58) Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 295.

Reception of the visitors. less ceremonious and nice in the manner of presenting, receiving, and returning, the cup ; a every dish that is thus drank being attended with the same bowing and cringing, compliments and thanks, even though the cup is commonly tendered by a servant. The same are observed when the visited treats his visiter with a pipe of tobacco ; those that are used in the reception and dismissal would appear still more troublesome and irksome to our *Europeans*, there being so much formality used on both sides at every door they go in or out at, at their sitting and rising, as if the ceremonial passed with us between some great ambassador and the first minister of state : and yet the *Chinese* will by no means dispense with them, unless it be on ordinary visits between familiar friends or near relations ; and even in these we should think them rather too punctilious ; but in formal visits, especially among the great, the least omission on either side would be looked upon and resented as an affront to the other ; and on this account they make it a part of their education and study ; and there are books printed among them ; which settle all those points of civility in so clear and easy an order, according to every rank, that none can well be ignorant of them. As for strangers, though the same exactness be not absolutely required from them, yet the nearer they come up to it, the better they will be received. Even the foreign ambassadors are allowed forty days before they appear in public ; during which they procure masters of ceremonies to instruct them in all the formalities belonging to their character ; and if they should chance to miss in any of them, for want of having been rightly instructed, the master is liable to be severely punished for his neglect^m, by the tribunal of rites, before whom they are obliged to perform and go thro' every part of that tedious exercise, not once or twice, but till the members of that court pronounce them perfect in every one of them. b

Books of civility,

Ambassadors taught by masters of ceremonies.

Reception of strangers by those of the lower rank ;

among the mercantile part.

Even those of the middle and lower rank tie themselves to such formalities as we should think not only useless, but ridiculous and troublesome. Thus, for instance, when a person hath been visiting, or entertained at a house, and is ready to mount his horse, in order to go home, the very ceremony of parting will take up near half an hour. The master of the house comes out to see him on horseback ; whilst he, on his side, protests that he will rather see the world turned upside down, than mount before him ; at length, with much intreating and protestations on both sides, the master retires out of sight till his guest is mounted, and then appears again, and wishes him well home. This produces a fresh volley of compliments on both sides ; the one will not go into his doors till he is gone quite out of sight ; and the other vows he will not move one step till he hath seen him in his house. He complies again to his guest, and steps in ; and, as soon as the other hath moved a few paces, comes out, and halloos a fresh adieu after him, which he must in civility tack about to return with fresh bows and cringes : and, if the person live at a good distance from him, he will not let him go very far before he sends a servant after him, to wish him a good journey, with new compliments, and wishes of seeing him again soon. This latter kind of civilities are most in d

^m MARTINI, NIEUHOFF, CARERI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

is accordingly repaid, either on the next, or in few days after. If the visit be received, the visiter is permitted to pass through the two first courts, and as far as the hall, where the visited comes to receive him. Here the formalities begin, which are to be suited to the rank of both persons, and as they are set down in the *Chinese* ceremonial, where one finds the number of bows that must be made, the titles to be given, the mutual genuflexions, the several turns to be made either to the right or left (for the place of honour is different in different places), the silent gestures by which the master of the house invites his visiter at the hall-door, and says only the words *Tsin, tsin*, Go in, go in ; to which the other is to answer, *Pu-can*, I dare not ; the salutation which the former makes to the chair on which the latter is to be seated, which he must also dust with a blow or two of his long sleeve, or with the skirt of his garment.

As soon as the parties are seated, the visiter, in a most grave and succinct manner, is to declare the occasion of his coming ; to which the other, after a certain number of bows, gives an answer. Care must be taken to sit upright in the chair, and not loll on either side, or lean against the back. The feet must be placed exactly even, the legs upright, and the hands must be laid on each knee. The eye must not be permitted to stare

about, but be fixed towards the ground. After a very short conversation, a servant comes, and brings as many dishes of tea as there are persons ; which must be taken, drank out, and returned, with the stated formality of bowing and cringing. The conversation being over, the visiter or visitors, and visited, have again a number of bows and ceremonies to interchange, till the former come to their chairs, where they are renewed, till each person is got into his ; and then a few more mutual bows pass, till the porters have got the chair on their shoulders, and then a general adieu concludes the ceremony.

Those that pass between the superiors and inferiors of quality, as between a Mandarin, a kolaw, or a prince of the blood, are still more clogged with punctilios and formalities, and much more still those which are observed between a foreign ambassador and the imperial ministers : but we have dwelt long enough on that subject (58). Only one thing we must not forget to observe, that the *Chinese*, like other eastern nations, are so far from uncovering their heads in token of respect, that it is looked upon as an affront for any to stand bareheaded before their betters ; and it was on this account that the missionaries were dispensed by the pope from uncovering the head in their churches (59).

(58) *Du Halde. ubi sup. p. 296.*

(59) *Idem ibid. & al. supra citat.*

a vogue among the mercantile part, who are always most obsequious and obliging to those they get most by, or can best cheat or over-reachⁿ.

THE *Chinese* vary very much in their shape, air, and complexion; and it is hardly possible to be otherwise in a country of such vast extent, and different climates; so that it is not difficult to distinguish a southern from a northern one, who live thirty or more degrees asunder; the latter being as fair and smooth as any *Europeans*, and the former brown and swarthy like the *Tangierines* and *Morocos* of *Africa*; and, with respect to these, it must be farther observed, that though they generally are inclined to the brown and sun-burnt complexions, yet there are degrees of it; not only as they draw nearer to the southern verge of the empire, but as they are, by their rank or occupation, more or less exposed to the scorching beams of a vertical sun: for, even in those hot and sultry climates, one shall see among the gentry, especially among the female sex, who seldom stir out, persons of a good complexion, and not much inferior in clearness of skin to those who live in the more northern ones; though the generality of the rest be pretty deeply tanned, especially those who travel much by land or water, or work at the kilns, and other labours that expose them to the sun; and who, during the hot months, have hardly any covering on their bodies, but a thin pair of breeches, like the waiters at our bagnios, or the guides at the bath^o.

THE men are no admirers of a fine slender shape, but affect rather a fat kind of corpulency, rather squat than tall. Their faces are mostly broad, their eyes and hair black, beards thin and long, their noses short and flat. If a man be of a middle size, or somewhat above it, have a large forehead, little eyes and mouth, flat nose and long ears, a long beard, fat brawny limbs, prominent belly, and a big voice, he is looked upon as a complete handsome man, and so far fit to be made a Mandarin or magistrate. The women are commonly of a middle size, genteely shaped, slender and strait, but have no taste for a small waist, and a protuberance of the breasts and hips, but rather study to carry an uniformity of bulk from the neck downwards. They have generally handsome faces; their noses are short, their eyes black, small, well-cut, and in all likelihood would have a vivid complexion, did not they not deem it a sign of boldness, and strive to conceal it by rubbing their faces with a white kind of powder or paint, to make them look of a pale and languid, or, as they esteem it, a modest, bashful hue, though at the expence of their skin, which is in time much impaired and wrinkled by it^p.

BUT their greatest beauty consists in the smallness of their feet, though this is likewise to the great disfigurement of their legs, which become thereby swollen and large, and all of a bigness from top to bottom. Neither is that the only damage they receive from this artful piece of beauty, which is imposed upon them in their infancy, by binding them so close from the time they are born, as to stint their further growth; for they plainly appear to feel no small constraint from it, by the slowness and uneasiness of their gait, and their liableness to trip; so that they may be said rather to waddle than walk, and that only upon their heels; for their shoes are made so, that the sole never touches the ground; which is in some measure the same as walking on stilts, and must be as painful to them as it is disagreeable to strangers. Yet such is the power of education and custom, that they not only readily submit to those inconveniencies, but contribute to them by the constant care they take of swathing and pinching, and striving to make them still less, merely for the pride they take in shewing them, as they walk, to those few domestics and acquaintance who are admitted into their apartment: for we have already observed, that they are seldom permitted to stir out of it, or to be seen in it by any but female servants; and the apartments wherein they are immured are generally in the most retired part of the house; but yet, such is the common vanity of their sex, that they will spend several hours in the morning in dressing and adorning themselves.

WHAT might be the rise of this odd custom can only be guessed at, the *Chinese* themselves pretending to be ignorant of it; unless it were to keep that sex in subjection. But it is more likely to have been introduced to keep them more closely confined at home, that, if their modesty could not allay their inclination of gadding abroad, the pain and uneasiness of going might the more easily reconcile them to their confinement.

THEIR dress is very decent, comely, and agreeable to the singular modesty of their looks. Their head-dress usually consists in several curls of the hair interspersed with here and there tufts of gold and silver flowers, or fine feathers, on each side, which fall down beautifully to their shoulders. The rest is made up behind in a kind of roll, and fastened by a bodkin. In the northern provinces they wear a gawse, or thin silk, over their hair; and in cold weather they wrap up their heads in a kind of cornet, or hood. The young ladies of quality commonly wear a kind of crown made of pasteboard, and covered with some fine silk, the fore-part of which rises in a point above the forehead, and is covered with diamonds, pearls,

ⁿ MARTINI, NIEUHOFF, CARERI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE. & al

^o *ibid.*

^p *ibid.*

and other rich ornaments. The top of the head is adorned with natural or artificial flowers, ^a intermixed with bodkins with jewels at the end : but those who are advanced in years seldom wear any thing but a piece of superfine silk wound several times about their heads (S).

Vests. ^b THEIR bodies are covered with a fine vest, long enough to reach to the ground, and tied about the middle with a girdle. The elderly women chuse theirs of black, or deep purple ; but the young ones, of red, blue, or green, according to their fancy. Their hands are ^c always concealed within their wide long sleeves, which would trail on the ground, if they did not take care to hold them up ; and whatever is offered to them, is taken with their hands wrapped up in them. They never shew their necks or breasts, but conceal both, either by the closeness of their vest, or by some very short cloak, which is wrapped about the neck and shoulders. Over the vest they wear a loose gown with very wide sleeves, which would ^b likewise drag to the ground, if not held up : so that, upon the whole, their dress is not only very decent, but the best contrived to conceal their bodies in the modestest manner.

Dress of the men. THAT of the men is no less suited to the gravity and modesty they seem to affect (T). Their heads are covered with a kind of cap, which hardly reaches down to their ears ; and their faces are screened from the sun by a fan, which they always carry with them. They shave their heads all over, except one lock behind, which they either leave to hang down, or make up into a roll, and tuck up under their caps or hats ; these are commonly made in the form of a bell. Those they wear in summer are of a fine mat, lined with sattin, and adorned on the outside with a tuft of red silk, or hair, hanging down to the rim, which either covers it all over, or else waves in the wind by its excessive lightness, and appears ^c very beautiful at a distance. The top of the hat hath a large button, fastened to it, of amber, crystal, or some other shining material, neatly wrought and polished. The emperor, princes of the blood, Mandarins, Literati, Priests, Bonzas, &c. have their hats differently shaped and ornamented, according to their respective ranks ; all which, as well as their different sorts of dresses, it were superfluous to describe. As for the poor people, they go with their heads quite bare, or at best have only a slight small cap, not unlike the crown of one of our hats, but not half so deep.

Vests. THE men's vests are long enough to reach to the ground, and so wide as to fold over the breast ; and are fastened on the left side by four or five buttons of gold, silver, or baser metal, as they can best afford it. The sleeves are wide, and long enough to come down ^e to the fingers ends ; and the sash, or girdle, that ties the garment to the body, is commonly of silk, curiously wrought, and hangs down to the knees. They go with their necks bare in summer ; but cover them in cold weather either with a sattin cape sewed to the vest, or with a tippet of sable, or other skin, four or five fingers broad. Over their vest they wear a short loose coat or gown of blue, green, or some other colour, with sleeves that come down no farther than the bending of the arm. When they receive visits, they throw a third loose raiment over the other two, and each of the three are of a different colour. Under them both men and women wear a kind of shirt, or rather waistcoat, of white taffety, which wraps over the breast, and is tied or laced on the right side, and with narrow sleeves. Both sexes likewise wear drawers of the same fine silk : but in winter, the shirt is of linen, and the ^d breeches are wider, like trowsers, and reach down below the calf of the leg ; and these last are made of coarse sattin quilted with cotton or raw silk. The legs are covered with a kind of boot of the same quilted silk, about half an inch thick ; and the foot is made to go into a slipper. These are commonly of coarse blue or purple sattin, flowered with white, with a very thick sole stitched with packthread, and covered over with a white coarse kind of sha-

(S) Some of the ladies will adorn their heads, we are told, with the figure of a *Fong-avhang*, a fabulous bird, formerly mentioned (60), and made either of copper, or silver gilt, as they can afford it. Its wings are gently spread over the fore-part of their head-dress, and embrace the upper part of the temples. Its long spreading tail makes a sort of plume on the top of the head ; the body is placed over the forehead, the neck and beak hanging down upon the nose. The neck being joined to the body by a secret hinge, the head easily plays up and down, and vibrates at every motion of the head, the bird being fixed on it by the feet, which are fastened in the hair. Some of the first quality will wear an ornament made of several of these birds, which, interwoven together, surround their heads in the form of a crown (61).

(T) They pretend to such a high degree of modesty, as to condemn our *European* dress, as exposing too much the lineaments of the body ; whereas they strive to conceal even their arms, legs, and thighs, by their long gowns, wide breeches and sleeves, and ill-shaped

stockens, or boots. They likewise seemed much offended at many of our pictures, as immodest, and even those which we should rank amongst the most modest ; as where the drapery is so nicely disposed by the skilful artist, as to discover the true shape of each limb or part.

But, for all their specious pretences, all this modesty is commonly set aside at home, with respect to the mens dress, during the hot months ; for then they seldom wear any thing about them but a thin pair of breeches, whether masters or servants : and in most cities, especially in the southern parts, their carmen, and other labouring people, and more especially their watermen, work naked all the hot weather, or at most have only a napkin tied round their middle. And, as to pictures and statues, it is plain they have long since abated much of their boasted modesty, since we see many of them brought thence in as indecent and vile attitudes as any that are done in *Italy* ; and some of these as exactly imitated as their imperfect skill in painting would permit them to do.

(60) See before, p. 611.

(61) *Du Halde, ubi sup. p. 282. Le Compte, & al.*

a green silk or cloth, without any heel, and with the foot turning up. They wear hanging at their girdles a pouch, in which they carry their pipe, which is of brais, their tobacco, handkerchief, and the two sticks they eat with. When they travel in bad weather, their caps, upper coats, and vests, are crufted over with a sort of oil, which turns green when dry, and defends them from the rain. In winter the quality wear rich furs, and the inferior sort lamb and other skins, or quilted cotton. Every Mandarin hath upon his clothes some emblem of his dignity, embroidered before and behind. That of the civil magistrates is usually a bird; and that of the military Mandarins, and officers, either a dragon, lion, tyger, or some fierce creature. All these wear also broad swords hanging on their left side^a, with the point forwards.

b THE womens shoes, the longest of which among the ladies are not much above half a span long, are likewise of silk finely embroidered, commonly by themselves, and with a round heel about an inch high, and of equal bigness from top to bottom. Their stockens seem (as far we can gather from their pictures, and there is hardly any possibility of coming at a nearer examination of the premises) to be a kind of appendage to their drawers, if not of a piece with them, and to hang loose about their legs, down below the ankles, where they are gathered up with some ribbon, below which hang about the feet some four or five inches in breadth of the same silk, like a kind of furbelow, or ruffle of a shirt-sleeve, in order, as may be supposed, to hide the protuberant deformity of the leg; and thus much may serve for the present dress of both sexes. It will not be amiss, however, to observe under this head, that this which we have been describing above is not the original dress of the *Chinese*, which had been, according to their account, the only one that had been worn by them from the foundation of their monarchy to their conquest by the *Tartars*; but rather that which the conqueror forced them, not without great difficulty, to exchange for their antient one, in order to enure them the more effectually to the yoke, by abolishing all distinction of dress between his *Tartarian* subjects and them, as will be further seen in the sequel. Forced to change their old dress for this.

WE have already mentioned their luxury in their festivals, in which they indulge themselves in all the variety they can afford. In their common diet they are less profuse and nice; and not only eat of all manner of flesh, fish, and fowl, as we do, but even cats, dogs, rats, serpents, grasshoppers, and other vermin. Horse-flesh, however, is one of the dainties the most esteemed; and, next to it, that of dogs; but of all of them they eat very sparingly, and commonly boiled with a good deal of rice, or some pot-herbs, and made into broths or soups, after the manner of the *French* and *Spaniards*; but, like them, they live mostly upon rice, pulse, millet, herbs, roots, and other garden-stuff, and variety of fruits in their season. The flesh, fowl, or fish, whether boiled, roasted, or broiled, is commonly brought to the table ready-seasoned, and carved into small bits; so that neither salt, pepper, or other condiments, are seen upon it, any more than knives forks, spoons, or napkins; they using only two small sticks to feed themselves with, as hath been lately hinted, without touching the meat with their hands. They commonly use high chairs and tables at their meals, contrary to all other eastern nations, who sit cross-legged on the ground, and either use no table but the floor, or at most have them about a foot high from it. At their entertainments every guest hath a neat little japan table set before him, on which are served the several dishes designed for him, either in bowls of the same japanned stuff, or of china, or coarser earth, according to the circumstances of the person who gives it. Their diet and dainties.

THE most delicious food of all, with which the rich entertain their guests, are, the stags pizzles, birds nests, and bears paws, of which the reader may see an account in the margin (U). Upon the whole, their cooks are surprisngly expert in the variety of dishes they Stags pizzles; and birds nests.

^a MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat. supra citat.

^r See PALAFOX Conquest of China, & al.

(U) The former of them they dry in the sun in summer, and roll them in pepper and nutmeg; and, when they are to be dressed, they soak them in rice-water, to make them soft, and afterwards boil them in the gravy of a kid, well seasoned with spices; and this they esteem as one of their finest dishes.

The birds nests are such as are commonly found on the sides of the rocks along the coasts of *Java*, *Cochinchina*, *Tong-king*, &c. where they are built by birds, which, in their plumage, resemble our swallows, and are supposed to make them with little fishes they catch at sea, and so fasten to the rock by some viscous juice which distils from their backs. They have been also observed to take some of the scum that floats on the surface of the sea, and to cement the parts of their

nests, as swallows do theirs with mud. This matter, though white and soft whilst it is fresh, contracts a transparent solidity, and greenish kind of hue, when dried. As soon as the young ones have quitted their nests, the neighbouring people are very eager to get them down; and sometimes load whole barges with them, and sell them at a good price. These nests resemble the rind of a large candied citron, in shape as well as in size, and, mixed with other meats, give them an agreeable relish.

The bears paws, especially the hindmost ones, which are esteemed by far the finest, are stripped of their skin, and dried with spice, and so preserved for use, much in the same way as the stag's pizzle (62).

(62) De his, vide Martini, Le Compte, Nieuboff, Du Halde, & al. sup. citat.

make of one sort of flesh, fish, fowl, pulse, grain, &c. and the variety of colours, taste, and flavour, they give them; and the Mandarins are no less fond of those, not only which are the most nourishing to the body, but which are the most apt to create an appetite to venery, and a suitable vigour for procreation^a; on which account they eat most of their dishes very hot with spice. Their bread is commonly made of rice; and, though they have plenty of wheat in several provinces, yet they seldom make any but a sort of flat cakes, of a tolerable taste, and these are sometimes mixed with particular herbs apt to create an appetite; but they use little art in grinding their corn or rice, that being commonly done over a flat stone placed horizontally, by rolling a stone cylinder over it, which, by its weight, forces the grain out of its several husks. This must be done at several times, in order to bring it to its purity and whiteness. The first throws off its outward skin, which is as coarse as that of our barley; the next is of a reddish hue, and is taken off in the same manner, and after a second soaking; and so the third and fourth, which are of a finer and paler colour and texture; after which, you have the rice in its perfection: but the poor people content themselves with stripping it of its first, or at most of its second coat. The cakes or loaves they make of it are commonly baked either in a kind of *Balneo Mariae*, or else in a vessel which contains the fire in the centre, and casts so great a heat, as to bake them in less than a quarter of an hour.

Corn-mills

Common drink. THEIR usual liquor at their meals is tea, which they drink hot. The common rule is, contrary to ours, to eat cold, and to drink hot; let the weather be ever so sultry, or themselves ever so thirsty, they will patiently stay till they can get it made boiling hot, before they will drink it. *Made wines;* Wine, we have formerly observed^b, they do not make of grapes, though they have plenty of them, especially in the southern provinces, and of an excellent kind. This circumstance is commonly urged to prove, that *Noah*, the first planter of the vine, could not be the founder of the *Chinese* nation; whereas a more probable one could hardly be brought for his being so, and for his forbidding the use of juice of the vine, on account of the disaster which happened to him on his drinking too plentifully of it: but we shall have occasion to discuss that curious point in a more proper place. In the mean time, though the *Chinese* have been all along very strict in their forbearance of the juice of the grape, till their late conquest by the *Tartars*, they had, from time immemorial, substituted for it other liquors, equally strong, intoxicating, and pernicious, both brewed and distilled, either from rice, wheat, and other grain, or expressed from several kinds of fruits, or made of the liquor which distils from the palm, and other such trees, when tapped at a proper season; all which they have always indulged themselves in the free use of, especially the two former; which encourages such a vast consumption of those two kinds of grain, that it is justly looked upon as a chief cause of those dreadful dearths and famines which so frequently happen in the empire. There are indeed some severe laws against the brewing and distilling of corn and rice, beyond a stated quantity in every district, which, if duly executed, would effectually prevent their immoderate and destructive consumption; but the Mandarins, and those under them, bribed partly by the distillers, and induced partly by their fondness for those liquors, readily wink at it, and suffer that complicated abuse to spread still farther its pernicious effects (W).

made of rice, corn, &c.

The vast consumption of them winked at.

THOSE

^a MARTINI, LE COMPTE, NIEUHOFF, DU HALDE, & al.

^b See before, Introd. p. 493. & (A).

(W) This enormous consumption of corn and rice by brewers and distillers, which deprives the labouring sort in some measure of their daily bread, even in time of plenty, and starves so many myriads to death in time of scarcity, is attended with several other destructive effects, which chiefly affect the rich and wealthy, and in some sort doubly retaliates upon them the misfortunes which they occasion among the poor.

We are told by a considerable eye-witness, that the *Chinese* have contracted (how long is not easy to guess) such a pernicious fondness for those liquors which are distilled from rice, and other grain, that from the highest Mandarins down to the wealthy merchants and tradesmen, they seldom fail of indulging themselves in a large dose of it, just before they go to bed, by way of opiate; and, what is still worse, few of them drink it before they have previously set it on fire, and burnt it so long as to make it as warm as they can possibly get it down; by which means their throat, or oesophagus, becomes in time so contracted, that they can swallow nothing either liquid or solid, but pine and die for want of nourishment; a misfortune which

our author assures us † frequently happens amongst them. Another disaster which these private night doses often occasion, is, that the persons who take them being generally fatigued with the business of the day, and the chambers in which they sleep built very low, and the furniture very light, and easily inflammable, the blaze of the spirituous liquor is apt to get up to the ceiling, or take hold of the curtains, and set the whole place on fire before they are aware of it; the flame of which soon communicates itself to the rest of the house, and thence frequently to a great part of the city; so that some hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of houses, are reduced to ashes, before it can be quenched*.

As for the rice of which their wine is made, though it be different from that which is commonly eaten, and of a coarser nature, it is nevertheless in great request, on account of the liquor drawn from it.

This is done by several ways, every country or city having its own peculiar method; but the most common is, by soaking the rice in good soft and fresh water (or, where that cannot be got, by correcting it

† *Debit*, vid. *Parvini*, in *Lett. edifiant.* vol. xxiv. p. 65—82. & seq. al. *jap. citat.*

* *Id. ibid.* p. 81. & seq. *vid. &*

a THOSE liquors, which are made of rice in particular, are in the greatest vogue, and are *Distilled li-* said to grow stronger by age, and to keep good above 20 years. These are in great esteem *quors.* among the grandes, especially those which come from some particular parts of the empire; such as that which is made at *Pu-si-byen*, in the province of *Kyang-nan*, and owes its excellence to the goodness of the water; and that of the city of *Sbau-king*, which is esteemed still much wholesomer, and is mostly used at court. Some other strong liquors they likewise make by distillation, such as we have hinted at in the last note; and some others, which the reader may find in the next (X).

THE only two liquors, which we find mentioned by our seamen, as most to their taste (for Hock-shue as to tea, they usually leave that sort of beverage to the natives), are what we style the *Hock- and Sam-shue.* b *shue* and *Sam-shue*. The former of these is of a deep-brown colour, but very clear and strong, said to be brewed from wheat, and tastes more like mum than beer. The other is said to be distilled from rice, and is either of a pale or reddish hue, and is by several travellers called wine. But neither of these, for aught appears, are used any-where but on the coasts and sea-port towns, no mention being made of any such being drank in the inland parts.

CHINA, as we have already hinted in the geography of it, is for the most part the finest *Fine roads for* country in the world for travelling; the roads being of a spacious breadth, that is, between *travelling and* 20 and 30 yards wide, and reaching from one end of the empire to the other; the moun- *commerce.* tainous parts being either levelled, lowered, or cut through, or having large galleries along their steep declivity, built of timber, dreadful indeed to strangers to go over*; but so familiar to the natives, that they ride over them without any fear; and others, lastly, having strong and stately bridges, built from one mountain to another, some of which we have elsewhere described. To these if we add the surprising contiguity of their cities and towns, especially along the high roads; so that one is no sooner got out of one, but one comes within sight, if not into the very suburbs, of another; the great number of their navigable rivers, and the infinite multitude of their canals for water-carriage, and continual bridges over them for those who ride, or travel on foot; the wooden towers about 30 feet high, and at the distance of a mile and half from each other, upon which are written, in large characters, the names of the towns to which the roads lead, and their distances from each other, as exactly measured at the public charge; the forts, or redoubts of earth, cast up at proper distances, and guarded either by the soldiery or militia, to keep as much as possible the roads clear from robbers, to forward the dispatches sent by the government, and to examine with the utmost care every traveller that goes by (Y); and, lastly, the vast crowds of people that frequent, or rather crowd, those roads; it must be granted, that no country on the whole globe hath made better and more effectual provision for the ease and security of travelling and commerce, as well as for the delight of all that are concerned in either.

THEIR way of travelling is various, according to the different provinces, and the various *Way of tra-* businesses of people. In general they use horses, mules, camels, and, in some countries, *velling.* buffaloes; and the poorer sort asses, either for riding or carriage: but in the inland parts they

* Vid. int. al. pag. 547.

with some other ingredients), about 20 or 30 days, and afterwards boiling it till it be dissolved; upon which it will appear covered with a light froth, like that of our new wines, occasioned by the ferment of the liquor beneath it. This last they pour off clear into vessels well glazed; and of the lees that remain, they draw off a spirit not unlike our brandy, or rather stronger, and more easily set on fire (63).

(X) They distil, we are told, a strong sort of spirit from mutton-flesh, which the late emperor *Kang-hi* drank sometimes. But this is drank by few except the *Tartars*, on account of its strong and disagreeable taste, and intoxicating quality.

Some other liquors are made in different provinces, both by brewing and distillation, which it were needless to particularize. We have mentioned one sort of the latter, with which his excellency Mr. *Izbrandts Ides*, ambassador from *Muscovy*, was treated (64); and we may conclude this head with observing, that intoxicating liquors are commonly used by the *Chinese* and *Tartars*, though not in such quantities, and destructive variety, as they are among us; and much less by those of the female sex, who seldom taste any thing stronger than tea, unless in some particular diseases, in which they are indulged with some sort of

cordials, made so rather by spices and warm drugs, than by any brewed or distilled liquors (65).

(Y) These forts, which are situate on eminences, and seen at a great distance, by the imperial flag set up on the top, are garrisoned by a certain number either of the militia, or of regular troops, under some proper officers; and these are not only to prevent any robberies being committed on the highway, by patrolling about the length of their limits, or any other disorders happening from the vast multitudes of travellers and carriages, but to stop and examine every one that goes armed, except they produce a pass and licence for it; so that the utmost care and caution is every-where taken to keep the roads safe and free, and the traffick from one part of the empire to the other easy and uninterrupted: and hence it is that there are so few robberies committed any-where, except in the woody and mountainous parts, where they go in large gangs, notwithstanding the great multitudes of necessitous people that swarm every-where (66), and the rich booties that are always to be met with on the roads: but this last may be one main reason of it, they being so continually thronged with travellers, that it would be very difficult to meet with an opportunity of robbing them (67).

(63) *Du Halde*, vol. i. p. 303.

(65) See before, p. 495, & 570, & alib.

(64) See before, p. 585. sub not. (D).

(65) Vid. aut. sup. citat.

(67) *Magailan*, *Martini*, *Careri*, *Nisubhoff*, & al. sup. citat.

Goods carried
by ticket-port-
ers.

employ ticket-porters to carry their goods from city to city, which they do by slings, two to a burden; or, if too heavy for two, they will join two more; and these carry it with two poles on their shoulders, with such surprising quickness, that most of them will travel with their load at the rate of five miles an hour. These are numerous in every city; and have a master over them, who is answerable for them; and who, being applied to by the merchants, distributes their several loads among them: he gives them at the same time a ticket, which they must deliver up, with the goods, to the proper persons, at their journey's end, and bring another from them to him. These are chiefly employed for the carriage of goods which may be damaged by being conveyed in waggons or barges; or where these cannot be had, and sometimes for expedition; they ridding double the ground that any waggon can do.

Coaches and
chariots.

In travelling, the richer sort have their coaches and chariots, though we are not told of what kind these last are; and may be only calashes, or chaises with two wheels, such as are in use among the *Tartars*; and litters for the sick, carried either by lusty fellows, or, which is more common, by mules or camels. The *Tartars* here usually ride on horseback, in towns, as well as on the roads, and are generally good horsemen: their saddles are much like those in use among the *Turks*; and, like them, they ride very short, and with their knees almost as high as the top of the saddle; so that, upon any rencounter either with an enemy or robber, they raise themselves quite upright upon their stirrups, to give the greater force to the intended blow. The quality, both *Chinese* and *Tartars*, chuse to travel in the night all the summer, not only for the conveniency of the coolness, but in several parts to be free from the tygers, and other wild beasts, which they keep off by lighted torches, and other artificial fires, they carry with them; and which are so contrived, that neither wind nor rain can put them out, but will rather make them burn the fiercer. But when they travel with a great retinue, and well armed, as the Mandarins commonly do, that precaution becomes needless.

The rich tra-
vel by night.

Bad inns.

Roads very
dusty.

THESE, as hath been formerly observed^y, have their inns at proper distances, for their reception and conveniency, and kept at the charge of the government. But it is far otherwise with other travellers; for though the common inns be in great plenty in all the high roads, yet they meet but with wretched accommodations in them, unless they bring them along with them (YY); and this is one of the two main inconveniencies of travelling in *China*: the other is, the prodigious dustiness of the roads, which, though kept in the best order imaginable, yet in dry weather, especially when the wind blows hard, such clouds of dust are raised, as quite darken the sky, and stifle the travellers. Nor is this to be wondered at, considering the vast and constant crouds of people, horses, waggons, &c. which are continually passing backwards and forwards; so that they are obliged, at those dry seasons, to go with their faces covered with a thin veil, and with glasses before their eyes, to prevent being stifled or blinded by the clouds of light dust, through which they must make their way. In other respects, a man cannot wish for a better country to travel in, either for speed, safety, convenience, or delight^z.

BUT what adds still more to the pleasure of it, is the vast and almost constant variety of curious objects, with which the eye is delightfully entertained almost all the way; and this naturally brings us to the two last things with which we were to conclude this section, viz. the natural and artificial rarities of the country. Of the first sort we have already mentioned several, as they came in course, either in the geography, or natural history.

Natural rari-
ties. Volca-
nos.

Cataracts.

THOSE of the most remarkable kind, not yet taken notice of, are, 1. Their volcanos, many of which are not inferior, either in the height of the mountains out of which they issue, the dreadfulness of their flames and smoak, and the torrents of sulphur, and other minerals, which they vomit up, to those famous ones of *Italy* we have formerly spoken of^a, or those in *America*, of which an account will be given in its proper place. 2. The great number of

^y See before, p. 495.

^z Vid. NAVARETTA, MARTINI, KERCHER, & al. sup. citat. before, Univ. Hist. vol. v. p. 659. iii. p. 9. & al. pass.

^a See

(YY) The generality of those public inns, except here and there one upon the great roads, are wretchedly built, and worse furnished. They are commonly of mud, without pavement or boards; and those who do not bring their bedding with them, must take up with a mat, and lie in their own clothes: but the poorer sort of travellers are so used to this way of accommodation, that they will lie quite naked on them, wrapped about only with a single coverlid lined with linen. The greatest part of their inns are so ill covered, that one may see the light through the thatch and rafters, and perhaps feel the rain or snow through them.

Their provisions are not much better; and it is a

chance if a traveller can get a bit of meat or fish to eat, or any tolerable liquor to drink, excepting in some places, where one meets with wild fowl or fish very cheap; but even there you must take up perhaps with their way of dressing it, which may prove as disagreeable. The inns in the great cities are somewhat better, being built with brick, and large and handsome, and commonly afford better provisions and conveniencies. In the northern provinces one meets with what they call *Kanfis*, which are large alcoves of brick, built the whole length of the room, with stoves underneath, and mats made of reeds on the top, whereon a man may lay his bed if he hath one (68).

(68) Magaillan, Martini, Careri, Nieuboff, & al. sup. citat. vid. & Du Halde, ubi. sup. p. 265.

a cataracts and cascades, of an extraordinary height and breadth, and no less dreadful and loud, particularly that near the city of *Hoai-gan*, or *Hoay-miu-gham*, in the province of *Kyang-nan*, which falls into the canal of that city, near the river *Hoay*, with such violence, that it is with great labour and cost that they prevent its dreadful effects^b.

THERE are many such cataracts in other rivers, particularly in the *Whang-ho*, or *Yellow River*, formerly mentioned, and so called from its extraordinary rapidity, and the vast quantity of mud it sweeps along with it. *Le Compte* tells us of another, which is always red like blood, probably from much the same reason; and of a third, in the province of *Se-chwen*, which hath a surprising lustre in the night season, occasioned by the vast number of precious stones that glitter through its waves, and for which the natives give it the name of the *Pearl River*. We read of a fourth near *Fo-ming*, which turns blue in harvest, at which time the inhabitants on each side are used to dye that colour; and of a fifth, near *Pan-gau*, whose waters are too light to bear up any timber; of a sixth, near *Ching-tyen*, affirmed to be sweet-scented; of a seventh in the province of *Fo-kyen*, whose waters are of a greenish hue, and are said to turn iron into copper. We omit mentioning several others, remarkable for some medicinal or other virtues, which we have no room to dwell upon; but the most surprising of all is, that which rises yearly on the 18th day of the eighth month, with such a prodigious high tide, before the city of *Hang-chew*, that multitudes of people flock thither from all parts to behold that surprising phenomenon, which neither theirs, nor any of our philosophers, could ever yet account for. We might add some others, which are no less famed for their gold sand, particularly one which on that account is styled the *Golden River*[†].

THEY have likewise extraordinary springs and fountains, some of which ebb and flow; others rise, some hot and some cold, at a small distance from each other. *Nieuboff* mentions a strange one near the city of *Jung-chan*, which issues into two branches out of a stone cut into the resemblance of a man's nose, one of the nostrils of which throws out hot, and the other cold water. Some others, still more surprising, the reader may see in the margin (Z), for which we have not quite so good an authority. They likewise abound with mineral and medicinal springs, either for drinking or bathing; and some of them so intensely hot, that the people can boil their victuals in a kind of *Balneo Mariæ* in them, in a very little time. Some other sorts of water are noted for petrifying every thing that is thrown into them, particularly those of a lake, or river, in the island of *Hay-nan*, which will petrify fishes, lobsters, &c. and spoken of in a former section^c. Other lakes are said to turn copper into, or at least give it the resemblance of, iron. Some others which will bring on storms of rain and thunder, upon the flinging a stone, or any heavy thing, into them; particularly a famed one said to be in the bowels of a prodigious high mountain, full of deep and dreadful caverns, and into which if a stone be cast, it will give a loud roaring report, like a great clap of thunder, and raise a thick mist, which in a little time will dissolve itself into water again. These, and many more of the like nature, which some of our missionaries have in all probability taken from the *Chinese* books, not altogether to be relied on, because not confirmed by more modern experienced authors, we leave to the choice of our readers either to believe, or not, but which, if true, would afford no small delight to a curious traveller to take a view of in his way.

WE omit here their many rich mines of gold, silver, quicksilver, copper, iron, and other metals and minerals, and of a great variety of precious and other curious stones (among which some mention the asbestos, or incombustible stone, so famed among the ancients, and as absurdly exploded by some of the moderns, as the product of some of their mines); their various quarries of porphyry and marble, some of them so beautifully veined with figures of men, horses, trees, cities, mountains, &c. as if done with a pencil; and many others of the mineral and vegetable kind, besides some among the quadruped and volatile sort^d. But there is one sort of fish among them, which, for its surprising beauty and nature, may be reckoned one of the greatest rarities belonging to the watry element, which deserves a particular notice, and with which we shall close this head.

^b MARTINI Atlas Sinen.

TINI. Vid. & DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 118.

[†] Id. ibid. KERCHER, LE COMPTE, & al.

^c KERCHER, MARTINI. Of these, see before, p. 548, 609. & alib. pass.

(Z) Of this nature is that which the *Chinese* tell you is to be seen at *Kan-ton*, and is looked upon by them as miraculous; and, if what they say of it be true, is little less than such, it being affirmed to cast out of the same opening hot and cold water, which afterwards separate from each other. Much of the same wonderful nature is that in the province of *Quang-si*, one half of whose waters run clear, and the other muddy; and, if mixed together, will separate again immediately.

The last we shall mention is that in the city of *Kyng-cheng*, in the province of *Shen-si*, which is no less surprising, it being about five feet in depth, and the water on the top cold; but at the bottom so hot, that it scalds any thing that reaches it (69). These, and many other such, being rather taken from the *Chinese* books, than attested by any *European* eye-witnesses, shall suffice for a sample of the natives' fondness for such kind of preternatural rarities.

(69) Kercher China Illustr. Martini Atlas Sinenf. & al.

*The golden and
silver fish.
Their beauty
and agility.*

THIS beautiful creature, which for its colour, the *Chinese* style *Kin-yu*, or *Golden fish*, is a commonly about the length of one's finger, and proportionably thick. The male is of a beautiful red from the head to above half way of his body; and the remaining part, together with the tail, is spangled with golden spots exceeding our finest gilding. The female is white; the tail, and some parts of the body, having the perfect resemblance of silver. The tail of neither kind is smooth or flat, like that of other fish; but forms a sort of tuft, thick and long, which adds much to the beauty and fine shape of that little creature. They commonly swim on the surface of the water; and shew such a surprising agility in their motion, that it gives an exquisite brightness and variety to it: and it is on that account that they are so admired by the richer sort, that they keep them, in all their pleasure-houses, in little ponds made for the purpose, or else in basons more deep than wide, and adorn the courts, and other parts of their houses, with them, where they afford a singular diversion by their play, they being exceeding tame and active, and, as one would imagine, knew their masters, and those that feed them, by the readiness with which they come up at their approach. The misfortune is, that they are of so tender a nature, that the least inclemency of weather is apt to injure them; and the extremity of heat or cold, strong smells, loud noises, especially of thunder, or the report of cannon, will go near to destroy them (A). Those therefore, who have the care of them, always provide them with a shelter at the bottom of their little pond, which is commonly made with an earthen pan full of holes, and turned upside down, into which they retreat when the sun, weather, or any thing else, discommodes them. Care is also taken to shift their water three or four times a week; and in such a manner, as that the vessel may be always kept full; and to throw some sort of weeds on the surface of it, to shade them from the sun.

Tame and easy.

Tender nature,

Shelter.

Food.

*Fertility.
Spawn how
preserved.*

Colour.

*Artificial ra-
rities.*

*The great
wall.
Length.*

THEIR common food is the little imperceptible worms that are bred in the water, or the little earthy particles which are mixed with it; but the owners will now-and then throw some little bits of paste, or, what is still more agreeable to them, some wafers, which, being soaked in the water, are greedily swallowed down by, and are the properest food for, those little creatures. They breed exceedingly fast in hot countries, provided their spawn be carefully skimmed off the surface of the water, where it swims (which they would otherwise devour), and be put into particular vessels, to be hatched by the sun. The vessel must likewise be sheltered from wind, rain, and cold, till they are hatched: at which time the young fry appear first of a black colour, which some of them still retain; but the greatest part change by degrees to red or white, to gold or silver, according to their kind, which displays itself first at the tail, and thence spreads itself more or less towards the middle of their body; and, when grown to an inch in length, may be safely removed into their native reservoirs, there to be admired as a wonder of nature.

THEIR artificial rarities are various and numerous, and much more frequent, and entertaining to travellers. We shall single out some of the most curious and remarkable amongst them; such as, 1. Their famed long wall, which is the first and noblest structure of all, and offers itself to a stranger at the very first entrance into that empire by land; 2. Variety of artificial mountains, bridges, and causeways; 3. Some of their stately temples; 4. Colossal statues; 5. Their high and sumptuous towers in several of their great cities; 6. Their stately triumphal arches; 7. Some of their large bells, especially those of *Pe-king* and *Kanton*, which excel all the rest.

WE begin with their celebrated wall, which is justly esteemed the most stupendous work of that, or any other kind, that the world can boast of; it being in length, according to *Magaillan's* computation, 405 leagues, exclusive of its windings; and, by *Le Compte*, 500 *French* leagues, or near 1500 miles, with the windings; and fortified all the way, at proper

^c LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.

(A) This is the account which Father *Le Compte* gives of them; to which *Du Halde* adds, that the best way of preserving them in the winter is, to give them no food all that time; and that they will live three or four months, that is, while the cold weather lasts, under the ice, without any other sustenance than what the water underneath affords them, even in the large open ponds. As for those that are taken into the houses, and kept in china vessels closely covered, it is certain they live without any other food; and yet when the spring comes on, at which time they are again removed into their usual basons, they will move and swim with as much agility and briskness as they did the year before. The nobility and richer sort are so fond of them

all over the kingdom, that they make it one of their chief pleasures to feed them; and will give three or four crowns apiece for those that are the most beautifully coloured and shaped; there being persons everywhere who make it their chief business to breed, and sell them to them. As for those which are bred up in large ponds, they become somewhat larger and hardier; and are only preserved there for their spawn, which, when hatched in the manner above-mentioned, raises them to that beauty, and variety of colours, which make them fit for those of the better rank. The way they have to call those which breed in ponds to the top of the water, is by the noise of a clapper, which the persons who feed them commonly use for that end (70).

(70) *Du Halde*, vol. i. p. 19. & 316, & seq. Vid. & *Le Compte*, *lett.* 4. *ad fin.*

distances,

a distances, with strong high towers, to the number of 3000 (B), which, before the conquest of China, used to be guarded by a million of soldiers: but, since then, they only keep garri-^{Antient garri- sons.} sons in those places which are most easy of access, viz. at *Fwen-fu*, *Tay-tong-fu*, *Ning-kia*, *Ya lin*, *Siang-chew*, *Siang-ning*, and *So-chew*; besides which, the mountains within the wall are reckoned sufficient to defend China against the *Tartars*^f: however, as it was originally intended to cover the three northern provinces of *Pe-che-li*, *Shan-si*, and *Shen-si*, from any attack from that quarter, it begins at the latter of them, which lies on the north-west of China, in about 38 degrees of latitude, and is carried on, over mountains and vallies, rivers and deep marshes, first to the north-east, as far as the 42d degree of latitude, then south-easterly to the 39th, and terminates at the *Whang-bo*, or *Yellow Sea*, at the 40th degree, where stands the famous gate called *Shang-hay-quan*, and from which it divides the province of *Pe-che-li* within from that of *Lyau-tong* without; and thence, westward, the other two provinces from *Tartary*. But though the distances from one end of this wall to the other be hardly above 700 or 800 miles, in a direct line from west to east, yet, if we take in also the various windings north and south, and the many ascents and descents over the high hills and dales which are between, we can hardly allow less than twice that number to the whole length of the wall^g.

THIS stupendous fabric was built, according to some, by the emperor *Chi-bo-ham-ti*; and, according to others, by *Sbi-whang-ti*, or, as others call him, *Shing-shi-whang*, 215 years before Christ^h; and is built here and there on such high rocks and mountains, as seem altogether inaccessible; and in other parts over wide and rapid rivers, and such marshes and sandy hollows, as one would judge incapable of admitting a sufficient foundation to support such a prodigious weight. The height of it varies according to the ground; but is no-where less than 20, nor higher than 30 feet; and the breadth about 15 feet, or wide enough for five or six people to ride abreast (C), and extraordinarily well paved all the way. It is continued from one end to the other without any interruption, except at the entrance of the *Whang-bo* into the Chinese empire, and near the city of *Se-chwen*, in the province of *Pe-che-li*, where, instead of it, the country is guarded by high and inaccessible mountains; but is continuous every-where else: and though other rivers flow likewise from *Tartary* into the Chinese territories, and some of them run in and out of them more than once, they all run under stately high arches made in walls; and so strongly built, that their current, though rapid, hath not hitherto caused the least breach or detriment in them. The same may be said of the wall itself, and its stout high towers, so far as both are built with brick and stone, though both have lain exposed to all winds and weathers almost 2000 years: but as to the western part of it, which, as we shewed in a former note [B], is built of earth, it is gone to decay in many places, and hath been several times repaired by the government. The former,

^f See Historic. Observations on Tartary, ap. DU HALDE. vol. ii. p. 263.

TINI, KERCHER, NIEUHOFF, & al. sup. citat.

COMPTE, letter 3 & al.

^g Ibid. ibid. vid. & MAR-

^h DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 20. 172. 262. & alib. LE

(3) That is according to some, at every two bow-shot; but more absurdly, according to others, every mile or two miles; for in neither case could they amount to 3000; so that, if the wall was 1500 miles, and these towers equidistant from each other, there could be but half a mile space between each of them.

The truth is, some have magnified that work at a strange rate; and, from their nearness to each other in some parts, have perhaps inferred the number of these towers according to the extent of the wall; whereas they might stand at much greater distance in other parts that were more difficult of access; for they have committed much the same error, with respect to strength, materials, height, and thickness, of the wall itself, judging it to be every-where the same as they saw it in the neighbouring parts of *Pe-king*, where it is built of stone and brick strongly cemented, and very high, stout, and solid; whereas those who have since taken a more accurate view of it (71), assure us, that it runs at most but about 600 miles in that manner, that is, from the *Whang-bo*, or *Yellow Sea*, to the province of *Shan-si*, where it hath several other faces besides, which form double, and sometimes treble, inclosures for the security of the most considerable passes; but, from the entrance into that province, to its very end in the west, it is all built of earth, or is rather a kind of mud rampart, not only very defective in many places, inso-

much that they were obliged to build, at every four leagues distance, strong forts on the inside, to defend them, but the far greater part of the towers belonging to it were of earth; those that were of brick or stone being but few in comparison of them.

(C) So says Father *Regis*, who was employed by the emperor to make the maps of the empire, and had been often on the top of it; though *Isbrandts Ides*, and others, make it wide enough for eight horsemen to ride abreast upon it; so that when *Le Compte* tells us it is but four, or at most five, feet in thickness (72), it is plain it must be some error of the printer, or of his translator, and that he must have meant at least yards, if not toises, which are equivalent to two of our yards.

Some tell us, that its height is every-where alike, whether on the top of the highest mountains, or at the bottom of them, and in the plains, that is, four fathoms, or twenty-four feet, according to some; and thirty feet, according to others; which disagreement itself would be sufficient to convince us of the contrary, did not the reason of the thing, and the known economy of the Chinese nation, persuade us that they would hardly have bestowed equal cost and labour every-where alike, merely for the sake of observing an uniformity in the work; for that would rather expose their folly than wisdom, for which they so highly value themselves.

(71) Vid. Observat. Historic. on Tartary, ap. Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 263.

(72) *Le Compte*, letter 3.

however, is only cased on the outside with brick or stone, and the space between them filled ^a with some strong mortar, sand, and other rubbish; but so strongly cemented, as to be of equal hardness with the rest.

*The first bul-
wark founded
in the sea.*

Eastern gate.

*All finished in
five years.*

*Artificial
mountains,
whether real-
ly such.*

THE bulwark, at which this noble wall begins, at the east end is a large pile of stone raised in the sea, upon a foundation laid on a number of ships sunk into it by a stupendous weight of iron, and huge stones with which they were laden, in order to secure the super-structure from sinking. The work is well terraced and cased with brick and stone; and the architect was obliged, under pain of death, to cement them so strongly together, that a nail should not be driven between them: which cement runs through the whole work. This bulwark stands in near the same latitude with *Pe-king*, and at a small distance westward from it is to be seen the first gate called *Sbanz-hay-quang*, of an extraordinary height and strength. ^b The other gates are built much in the same manner: and every one of them is defended by a stout fort built on the *Chinese* side. Upon the whole, it is a stupendous work; and, considering the height of some of the mountains on which it runs, and the marshy, dry, sandy, and barren grounds, on which other parts are built, one cannot but admire how it could be carried on to that height and thickness, and such a vast length, considering that in many places the bricks, and stones, mortar, and all other necessities for the work, must have been brought thither from a great distance, and with incredible cost and labour: and what adds still more to the wonder, if we may believe their records, is, that the whole was finished in five years time ^c. They add, that the emperor obliged every third man out of each province of his empire, who was of an age fit for the work, to help to complete it; so that he lived to see his dominions fenced on every side, and severed in some measure from the rest of the world by the strongest barriers; *viz.* on the north by this new and extraordinary rampart: on the west by high and inaccessible mountains, and vast sandy deserts; and by the wide ocean on the south and east.

THE next sort of artificial curiosities of *China*, that we read of, is their mountains fabricated into various shapes of men, horses, birds, &c. which, if really such, must be works of immense labour as well as time; and being to all appearance, designed merely to please the sight, and to set the spectators a gazing, can serve no other end than exposing the ill taste of the *Chinese*, for bestowing so much of either upon such fantastic and unnatural oddities. But this seems to us too opposite to their natural prudence and œconomy, to be easily credited; ^d and though we are told, that their notion of them, especially among the superstitious vulgar, is, that they are the work of demons, and the result of a deep insight into magic; which seems to intimate, as if they bore so near a resemblance to those creatures, as could hardly be given to them by human art; yet, till we have better authority than we have of their doing so, we shall look upon them rather as the effect of chance, assisted by a strong fancy, to supply what is wanting to complete the pretended resemblance. However that be, we think ourselves obliged to give our readers one instance at least of them, that we may not be blamed for omitting what other authors have spoken of with so much admiration, and that shall be one of the most remarkable of all the rest; *viz.* the famed mountain of the five horses heads; and so called from its five summits, which are said, at a distance, to bear a near resemblance to them. ^e It must be owned, that none of them pretend to have gone near enough to know whether that seeming likeness was wrought by dint of labour of the chissel and mallet, nor whether it appeared the same at any point of sight, or only at that which they viewed them from: so that the only wonder seems to be in the number of heads; for, as to other mountains that are said to bear a resemblance of a bird, horse, dog, or any other single animal, those who have but travelled over the *Alps* or *Pyrenees*, will find enough of such cragged rocks on the tops of those mountains, which a warm imagination will easily conceive to bear a near resemblance to those, or a variety of other creatures; and where, did superstition and priestcraft reign so much as they do in *China*, the people might be made to believe them to have been the work of demons, or of some famous conjurers. ^f

*Others of a
different fa-
bri-
cature.*

*Noble cause-
ways cut thro'
them.*

Nor but there are other mountains in *China*, fabricated in such a manner as must appear the work of art, and to have required immense labour; at least we read of some that are perforated quite through in many places, and seem rather a parcel of irregular rocks, or small mountains, cast up at random one upon another, and have on the top either a temple, monastery, or some other curious building; of others that are filled with large spacious caverns; a third sort that have roads cut through them of a considerable length; some close on the top, and others cut open quite up to it. There is one, in particular, in the province of *Fo-kyen*, and near the city of *Hing-wba-fu*, or, as others call it, *Hingoa*, which is cut between two mountains, of a considerable height, and nicely paved the length of twelve miles, and shaded on each side by trees planted at proper distances all the way ^g; but indeed most of the roads round that city are paved in the same manner with square stones, and

¹ DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

^g KERCHER,

planted

a planted with shady trees, the towns and villages about it standing so thick, that they seem to be but one continued town¹; and it must be owned, that the *Chinese* are not wanting in any cost or labour to make their causeways and roads as easy and pleasant for travellers as they possibly can^m; and this makes them build so many fine stately bridges, not only over their rivers and canals, but even from one mountain to another, which is a third sort of their artificial rarities.

We have already described several of them in the geographic part; but, as it would be endless to speak even of the most curious of them throughout the country (for the other sort are without number), we shall content ourselves with describing two or three of the most celebrated, to give our readers an idea of the excellent taste of the nation in these kinds of work also. That called *Lu ko-kyau*, seven or eight miles westward of *Pe-king*; was one of the finest that ever was seen, before part of it was broken down by a land-flood. It was built all of white marble, curiously wrought and polished. It had seventy pillars on each side, divided by cartridges of fine marble beautifully carved with flowers, foliages, birds, beasts, and variety of other ornaments. On each side of the entrance on the bridge, at the east end, stood two lions, of an extraordinary size, on two curious pedestals likewise of marble, with several other smaller lions in different attitudes; some climbing on the backs of the great ones, others leaping off, others crawling between their legs.

At the other end of the bridge stood likewise two other curious pedestals, on which were carved two children with the same skill, and all the rest of the work was answerable to itⁿ. Father *Gerbillon* mentions two more of the same kind, of fine marble, and exactly like each other in their fabricature, ornaments, &c.; on one side of the city of *Cha-ho*, 50 *li's* from *Pe-king*, and the other on the other side of that place; their length was 60 geometric paces, and their breadth between six and seven, and the pavement and parapets were of huge blocks of the same stone^o. This sort of bridges is the most common in the empire, and of which we may say that the *Chinese* spare neither for length, breadth, beauty, nor strength, in the building of them; some of them consisting of upwards of 100 lofty arches, and are above 160 fathom in length, as is that of the city of *Fu-chew*, or, as others call it, *Ox-u*, capital of the province of *Fo-kyen*, which is built across the bay, all of fine white stone^p (D).

They have a second sort, which are built upon barges, some of which are of a very great length. One of these, in particular, built over the river *Kyang*, at the place where the *Kan* falls into it, consists of 130 barges strongly chained to one another, yet so as to be parted; and to open a way in any part of it, to let the vessels pass which continually sail up and down the river. There are great numbers of this sort likewise all over the flat countries, they being much more convenient in those parts where the traffick is chiefly carried on by water.

There is still a third sort, more surprising than the two former, which are built some over rivers, and others over a valley, and join two mountains together. Of this sort, we read of one which consists of but one intire arch, which is reckoned 400 cubits long, and 500 in height, and is, by travellers, styled *Pons volans*, or the flying bridge^q. That which was formerly built over several high hills, on the road to *Hang-chong-fu*, in the province of *Sben-fi*, is still more stupendous. We are told, that 100,000 men were employed in it, to level some of the hills, and to build arches from mountain to mountain, supporting them with pillars, of a monstrous height and thickness, where the intervening valley proved too wide. There are several of these bridges that form part of the road above-mentioned; and some of them of such height, that one cannot look downwards without terror; for which reason, they are all well railed on each side, for the security of passengers^r. And thus much may suffice for this third sort of artificial rarities^s.

¹ KERCHER, MARTINI, LA MARTINIERE, & al. sup. citat. vol. i. p. 288.

^o Travels into western Tartary, ap. eund. vol. ii. p. 274.

^q KERCHER, MARTINI, & al.

^r DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat.

^m See before, p. 547.

ⁿ DU HALDE.

^p DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat.

^s Ibid. ibid.

(D) There is one still more stupendous at the city of *Saven-chew-fu*, which is built over the point of an arm of the sea, which otherwise must be crossed in a bark, and very often not without danger. It is 2520 *Chinese* feet in length, and 20 in breadth, and is supported by 252 huge piers, 126 on each side. All the stones of it are of a greyish colour, and of the same length and thickness, as well those which cross from pier to pier, as those which are laid across, and join them to each other (73). The greatest wonder is how they could cut or place stones, of such enormous weight as these are, high enough for large vessels to pass underneath.

As for the more common sort of bridges, their way of building them is more easily understood, and appears to be this: As soon as they had finished the sides of the arch next to the land, or, if of more arches than

one, the piers that stand between them, they proceeded to lay on the stones, which are commonly not above four or five feet long, and half a foot broad, alternately upright and cross-wise, so that the key stones lay always horizontally. The top of the arch is usually no thicker than that of these stones; and because the bridges, especially those which have but one arch, are sometimes 40 or 50 feet between the piers, and consequently much higher than the causeway; the ascent on both sides is by easy flat steps, not above three inches thick, which makes it somewhat inconvenient for horses and carriages to go up and down them (74); and might be easily obviated, by making the ascent and descent more even; but, in other respects, they are generally well contrived.

(73) Du Halde, *ibid.* p. 27.

(74) *Ibid.* p. 287.

Triumphal
arches.

Some erected to
women.

Their make,
height, &c.

Sepulchral mo-
numents.

Stately towers.

The famed one
at Nan-king.

THE next kind of curiosity that entertains the travellers, is their beautiful triumphal arches, which are to be seen, in great numbers, not only in all their cities, but on the mountains and eminences along the roads. These were originally erected in memory of their heroes, whether princes, generals, philosophers, or ministers of state, who had signalized themselves for some great actions, or some eminent services, done to the public. The number of those that have been erected to such heroes is computed to amount to above 1100, amongst which, there are near 200 of exquisite beauty and grandeur. There is, besides, a small number of others, no less noble and beautiful, erected to several of their illustrious women, whose wisdom and virtue have intitled them to the same glorious monuments, as well as to a place in the *Chinese* history, and in the works of their most famous poets (E).

THESE monumental structures consist mostly of one, or, at most, three arches, the middle of which is lofty and spacious, and the other two on each side of it are of a smaller size and beauty. Some of them are of wood, except the marble pedestal; others are of stone, and others partly stone, and partly wood. Some of them are wrought with exquisite skill, especially those of the oldest standing; while most of those of a more modern date are so clumsy, and ill-designed, as to deserve scarcely any attention (F). Their height is commonly between twenty and twenty-five feet, few above; the whole variegated with figures of men, antics, birds, beasts, &c. in various attitudes, festoons, and other ornaments, indifferently carved; the reliefs of some of which are so bold, that they seem to be separated from the work. Upon the whole, though they are but slightly built, yet, when placed to advantage, as in a narrow street, where two streets cross each other, or in the center of a square, and if in the country, at a due distance from the road, and a right point of sight, afford no disagreeable prospect to the beholders.

To these, we might add their burying-places, and the noble buildings reared on those of great men, which, at a distance, appear like towns, being mostly built on some conspicuous eminences along the road, and yield a very pleasant prospect; but of these we have already spoken, on another occasion.

BUT, of all their artificial curiosities, their fine stately towers are the most delightful to strangers, though built in a stile peculiar to this country, and unlike any thing of that kind among us. These are mostly to be met with in their great cities, and are every where built much in the same form; so that the describing one or two of the most beautiful, will suffice to give our readers an idea of the rest (G). There are two of these without the walls of *Nan-king*, the most beautiful of which, styled *the porcelain tower*, because it is lined all over the inside with china tiles, delightfully painted, is the most admired by all travellers, for its height, symmetry, and variety of carving, gilding, and other ornaments. It is of an octagonal form, nine storeys, or 200 feet, high, and forty feet in diameter; so that every side is fifteen feet in length. The whole is built on a large basis of brick, strongly cemented, which forms a stately perron, or

* LE COMPTE, MARTINI, KERCHER, & al. sup. citat. Vide & DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 17. & 288. See before, p. 629. & seq.

(E) The male worthies recorded in their history, including those who have been famed for their virtue and piety, as well as for valour, learning, &c. amount to about 3636; and the number of the females, whether virgins, wives, or widows, who are recorded for their chastity, piety, or any other eminent virtues, either on those monumental arches, or in the *Chinese* annals, to about 208 (75).

(F) The ornamental part of those antient arches is so curiously wrought, the festoons and flowers so neatly cut, and the birds and other animals carved in such lively attitudes, that Father *Le Compte* looked upon them as *Chinese* master-pieces of that kind; and indeed they appear so wonderfully detached from each other, as if they were only joined to, or run into, each other, by small cordons, and without the least confusion; which sufficiently shews the superior skill of their antient workmen; whereas in those of later date, the sculpture is sparing, looks coarse, heavy, and without any piercing, or variety, to enliven it. Which is a plain indication of their genius having been, in a great measure, cramped and debased, since their late conquest, seeing that few of those antient monuments are of much more than 300 years standing (76).

However, it must be owned, that, excepting the beautiful neatness of the carving above-mentioned, their best architecture, of any kind, comes vastly short

of ours, both as to the proportion and disposition of the parts. They have neither cornices nor chapters; and that which bears some kind of likeness to our friezes, is of such a height, that it rather shocks the eye of those who are unaccustomed to it; though it is so much the more agreeable to the *Chinese* taste, as it affords more space for the ornaments which adorn the inscriptions engraven on them (77).

(G) These stately structures, which, we are told, are to be met with at every metropolis of a province, and in some other of their cities, some within, and others without, the walls, are chiefly designed as ornaments, they being seen at a great distance by travellers, and, from their top galleries, affording a beautiful prospect of all the country round. Their height is commonly from seven to nine, though, *Du Halde* assures us, there are some twelve and thirteen, storeys high, every storey being commonly between eight and nine feet high, and the lowermost about twelve. But, as they are also built for strength, as well as shew, some of them having stood considerably above three centuries, there is a prodigious deal of timber, as well as work, in them; which yet, as *Le Compte* rightly observes, rather betrays the ignorance of the *Chinese* architects, who have not yet discovered that lovely simplicity, wherein the strength and beauty of our *European* buildings consist (78).

(75) *Le Compte*, *Du Halde*, *Martini*, & al.
(78) *Du Halde*, *ubi sup.* p. 289. *Le Compte*, letter 3. *Martini*, & al.

(76) *Ibid.*

(77) *Du Halde*, *ubi sup.* p. 17. & 287.

- a flight of nine or ten steps, likewise of an octagonal figure, by which you ascend to the first storey; and this perron is surrounded with a balustrade of unpolished marble on the outside. The first ^{its height,} storey, or, as it is called, the hall, is the highest of all, but hath no windows, nor any light but ^{ajacent. &c.} what comes in at three spacious gates, which open into it. The wall is said to be about twelve feet thick, and eight and a half high, and cased with porcelain, but of the coarser sort, and not a little damaged by dust and rain. From this you ascend to the second, and thence to all the other storeys, which are all of equal height, by a narrow, and very inconvenient, staircase, the steps of which are ten inches high, and very narrow. Every storey hath eight large windows, one at every front. They all lessen, as they mount one over the other, so as to form, in the whole, a kind of cone, or sugar-loaf; and between each of them is a penthouse, or shed, which projects some yards from the wall all around, and lessens in the same proportion the higher they go. These divide the storeys from each other without, as the timber and the floorings do within: and each room is adorned with paintings, and other ornaments, after the *Chinese* stile, both on the sides, and on the cieling, whilst the outside is embellished with variety of work in bas-relievo, niches, and imagery, in the same taste (H); all which make an agreeable kind of ^{Cupola and} inlaid work, very beautiful at a distance, though both that and the painting and gildings are ^{ball.} somewhat impaired by the wind and rain. But the most beautiful part of the whole fabric is a kind of cupola, which arises thirty feet higher than the uppermost storey, and is supported by a thick mast, fixed at the bottom of the floor of the eighth storey. This piece seems to be inclosed in a large iron-hoop, all the way, and which winds round it like a spiral line, or screw, at the distance of several feet; so that the whole looks like a hollow kind of cone, pierced through, and rising in the air, and supporting on the top a golden ball, of an extraordinary bigness. Such is the structure of that famed tower, which, whether of brick, marble, or whatever other material, is looked upon, by *Le Compte*, and other authors, as the best contrived, most solid, and magnificent work in all the East^w.

NIEUHOFF adds two circumstances concerning it; viz. that the ball, or pine-apple, on the top, is reported by the *Chinese* to be of massy gold; and the other, that the tower hath stood ^{When, and by} 700 years; and was erected by the *Tartars*, as a monument of their having made themselves ^{whom built.} masters of the *Chinese* empire; whereas *Le Compte* affirms it to have been, in his time, of no more than 300 years standing, and to have been built, together with the temple of gratitude, by the Emperor *Yong-lo*; to which *Du Halde* seems to subscribe^x.

Most of these sorts of towers have, either in the uppermost penthouse, or gallery, and others in every one of them, and at every angle, small bells, hanging at some distance, by ^{Bells hanging} chains, or wires, which are easily moved by every blast of wind, and make an uncommon ^{on the angl's} sort of tinkling; which is, nevertheless, agreeable enough to the *Chinese* taste. Of this nature ^{without.} is that we have elsewhere described, which stands near a stately temple built on a very high mountain^y. But the greatest delight which these kinds of structures afford, is from the vast charming prospect one hath from their upper storeys, or galleries, of all the country round about, which is commonly bespangled with great variety of houses of pleasure, orchards, gardens, sepulchral monuments, and such agreeable objects, far and near.

THEIR temples are no less stately and curious. They have a prodigious number of them, ^{Stately tem-} both in their cities and towns, and in the country at a great distance from them. The most ^{ples,} celebrated of which are mostly built on barren mountains; to which, however, the industry of ^{built in soft-} the natives hath given beauties which were denied them by nature; such as, canals, cut at a ^{tary places.} great expence, to convey the water from the adjacent heights, into proper reservoirs, for the use of the Bonzas, and their votaries; gardens and groves for their use and diversions, and deep grottos cut into the rock, to shelter them from the excessive heat: all which do not a little contribute to render those solitudes delightful. These structures, which, whether large or small, are built much after the same manner, consist partly of fine porticos, paved with large square polished stones, and partly of halls and pavilions, which are reared on the corners of the courts, and have a communication with each other, by galleries, adorned with statues either of stone or brass. The roofs of these buildings shine with beautiful japanned tiles, of green or yellow, ^{Their painted} and are embellished at the corners with dragons of the same colour, which project a great way ^{roofs, &c} forward. The rest of those buildings are built of timber, and most of them have some such high tower as those we have been speaking of in the last paragraph. We read of some of these temples that are of a prodigious length and breadth, and have statues in them of a Colossian magnitude (I), to which the Bonzas, who have their apartments round about, offer their wine,

^w LE COMPTE, letter 3. MARTINI, NIEUHOFF, KERCHER, & al. mult.
DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 288.

^y See before, p. 502. & seq. and note (H).

^x LE COMPTE, ubi supra.

(II) This outside appears to be of some sort of wrought marble, or polished stone, gilt over; but *Le Compte* rather imagines it to be of brick, cast in proper moulds in the manner of our plaster-work; the *Chinese* being, it seems, surprisingly skilful in stamping

all sorts of figures on their bricks; the earth of which being much finer, and better tempered, than ours, is much fitter to take any impression from the mould (79).

(I) *Nieuhoff* mentions one of those temples, in the province of *Pecheli*, which is 165 feet high, and large in

(77) *Le Compte*, ubi supra

wine, rice, and other provisions, which are brought thither by their stupid votaries, whenever a they come to consult them about their temporal affairs. The reader may see what hath been said, in a former section, of the various impositions of those religious charlatans on the superstitious and infatuated vulgar².

Their large
bells; their
use,

weight,

and ill shape
and sound.

Fire-works.

Most of their cities have some large bells set up in their high towers, by which they give notice of the different watches of the night; and those which have no bells do it by large drums. The first watch is notified by a single stroke, which is repeated at certain short distances of time, *Le Compte* says, every moment, till the second watch begins, which they notify by two strokes; the third by three, and so on. Some of their bells are of a monstrous bigness and weight; but the largest of all are those of *Nan-king* and *Pe-king*. *Le Compte* tells us of seven they have in the latter of those cities, that weigh 120,000 pounds, which is near five times the weight of that of *Erford* in *Saxony*, which, *Kercher* says, weighs but 25,400 pounds, and is, by him, supposed to be the largest in *Europe*; though he ought, at least, to have excepted that monstrous one of the city of *Moscow*, whose height is said to be nineteen feet, diameter twenty-three, compass sixty-nine, thickness two, and weight 366,000 pounds, and of which we shall have occasion to speak, in a more proper place. Those seven of *Pe-king* we are now speaking of, are twelve feet high, besides the ear by which they hang, which is three feet more, thirteen in diameter, and forty in circumference. But, if we may believe Father *Le Compte*, all the *Chinese* bells are vastly inferior to ours in sound, their clappers being made of a hard wood, which they call iron-wood, of which we have elsewhere spoken²; their metal is moreover very coarse, and full of knots, and their shape ill-contrived, they being almost as wide at the top as they are at the bottom, and their thickness gradually lessening from the bottom upwards. So that, upon the whole, they are mere unwieldy masses of metal, without musical tone, or any thing worth notice, but their huge, dull, heavy sound, and monstrous weight^b (K).

THE last artificial curiosity we shall mention, and close this section with, is their surprising fire-works, in which they may be justly said to exceed all other nations. We have already taken notice, that this was the chief use they made of gunpowder, which they had among them many centuries before it was found out in *Europe*; and that they were wont to exhibit these fire-works at their solemn festivals, and other grand occasions, and in a great variety of figures and representations. What increases the wonder, is, they give all that imagery not d

² See before, p. 562, & seq. and notes.
MARTINI, LE COMPTE, & al.

^a See before, p. 595, & p. 613.

^b MAGAILLAN,

proportion, in which stands the statue of a virgin 106½ feet high. The *Chinese* superstition makes them generally more profuse in these kinds of structures than in any thing else: they build them, for the most part, very lofty and spacious, and embellish them with great variety of idols, before which hang an infinite number of lamps burning with costly perfumes. The rest are also embellished with all the other ornaments of painting, carving, gilding, &c. They reckon no less than 480 of those structures of the first rank; and those of the inferior sort are almost without number, especially if we join to them those that are built not to their gods, but to their great men, of which they reckon above 700, which are very grand, and some even magnificent, besides the triumphal arches and sepulchral monuments, already spoken of. But, as this latter sort of temples were chiefly built by the antient nobility, in honour of their families and ancestors, and those illustrious families have since dwindled away, great numbers of those fine structures have likewise gone into decay and ruin (80).

(K) Those who have read Father *Magaillan's* account of that which is in the imperial palace of *Pe-king*, who affirms, that its sound is so clear, delightful, and harmonious, that it seems rather to proceed from some musical instrument, will, doubtless, be surprised at what we have said above of all their bells in general, on the authority of other missionaries, who pretend to have had as good an ear as he: and, it is not improbable, that what *Le Compte* objects as one of their defects, viz. their wooden clappers, might be the main cause of that sweetness and harmony which his brother Jesuit admired; because, the more these abate of the loudness of the sound, the more they are found to add, in proportion, to the harmonious sweetness; it having pretty near the same effect upon the bell, or rather the ear, as its being rung at a distance.

Le Compte adds, that those he saw were almost in the form of a cylinder, except that they swelled about the middle, where the circumference was equal to the bottom; and that the lower brim was six inches and a half thick, but the top only two, which he could as easily measure; because they had some holes bored through that part to increase, as he supposed, their sound (81). So that, upon the whole, nothing can be more different than the *Chinese* and *European* way of bell-sounding, whether theirs or ours be allowed to exceed the others in sweetness and harmony.

But, after all, we much question whether their boring holes on the top of theirs be not done with the same design that they prefer wooden to iron clappers, viz. to sweeten and ennoble the sound, rather than increase its loudness; and whether their casting them so much thicker at the bottom than at the top does not very much contribute to that solemn melodiousness of their tone, which Father *Magaillan* so much admired, but which his brother Jesuit injudiciously miscalled a dull heavy noise, because it did not answer to the loudness of those of the same size, which he had heard in *Europe*. That a metal hammer, or clapper, will be heard at a much greater distance than one made of ever so hard wood, is what every one will readily grant; but which of the two will give the most melodious and agreeable sound, at a nearer approach, we shall readily leave to the reader to conjecture. All that needs be added on this head, is, that the *Chinese* have a custom of giving particular names to those large bells, not, indeed, those of the saints, as those of the church of *Rome* do, but of a more trivial import: thus, of the seven above-mentioned at *Pe-king*, one is called the *Hanger*, another the *Flyer*, a third the *Eater*, a fourth the *Sleeper*, and so on (82).

(80) Martini, Kercher, Le Compte, & al.
Compte, ubi supra.

(81) Le Compte, ubi sup. letter 3. ad fin.

(82) Le
only

a only its true form and shape, but natural colour. Thus *Magaïllan* relates; that he saw one of them, with no small delight and surprize, which represented a vine-arbour, that burned without consuming, the root, branches, leaves, and grapes, of which, burned, but by 'slow degrees, and all in their true shape and colour'; the grapes were red, the leaves green, and the stem and branches so curiously imitated nature, as to have deceived any spectator. And, since the late peace hath occasioned so great a variety of them in several parts of *Europe*, our readers will not, perhaps, be displeased, if we give them a short description of one, which the late emperor *Kang-hi* caused to be played off, for the diversion of his court, from the account of those missionaries who belonged to his train, and were present at it.

It began by setting fire to half a dozen cylinders, which were planted in the earth, and b spouted flames into the air, and, at the height of twelve feet, fell down again, in a kind of golden or firey rain. This was followed by a sort of bomb-cart, supported by two stakes, or pillars, from whence proceeded a shower of fire, intermixed with many lanthorns, which had sentences written on them, in large characters, of the colour of burning sulphur, and half a dozen of branched candlesticks, in form of pillars, consisting of several rings of light, one above another, which cast a whitish or silver-coloured flame, and, in a moment, turned night into day. At length the emperor, with his own hand, set fire to the whole machine, which, in an instant, appeared all in a blaze, and, being eighty feet long, and forty in breadth, displayed a very great variety of objects, and other curious scenes. The flame having soon caught hold of several poles and paper figures, placed on all sides, a prodigious c quantity of squibs flew up into the air, and a multitude of branches and lanthorns, such as we have elsewhere described, were lighted all over the place. The show lasted about half an hour longer; and, from time to time, there appeared, in one part or other, flames of a bluish or violet colour, in the form of bunches of grapes hanging on a vine-arbour; which, joined to the brightness of the lights, that shone like so many blazing stars, yielded a most delightful prospect to the spectators^d.

^c MAGAÏLLAN, MARTINI, LE COMPTE, & al.

^d DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 292, & seq.

S E C T. VII.

Of some remarkable diseases which reign among the Chinese, and their manner of curing them; their boasted skill in pulses, phlebotomy, cupping, cauterising, inoculating, and treating the small-pox; and method of extracting of the camphire from the tree of that name.

d **I**T were an endless task to go through the bare mention of the various diseases, which must be supposed to reign in so vast and extensive an empire, and through such a great difference of climates and countries, or of their methods of curing them, which differ more or less in every province, and almost in every precinct, notwithstanding the vast multitudes of books which have been published among them upon that ample subject. We have already had occasion to hint what wretched physicians and surgeons the generality of their practitioners of either of those useful branches are, for want of better skill in anatomy and natural history^a. They might, indeed, have made a much greater progress in both, since the coming of the *Europeans* among them, if they could have overcome their natural reluctance to every kind of foreign learning, as well as their extreme aversion to the dissecting of human bodies, for the sake, as they style them, of a few paultry discoveries in the animal œconomy, which may be more surely and copiously attained by experience and observation, by a thorough knowledge and understanding of, and due attention to, the pulse, and other symptoms and prognostics leading to them; in all which branches, they pretend a knowledge far exceeding that of all nations of the world.

In this persuasion, they are contented to go on in their old beaten tract; and how much soever our theory may exceed theirs, it will be well if their practice, upon examination, doth not prove more safe and agreeable than ours, whilst they draw the main part of their medicinal assistance from the long experienced virtues of the vegetable kind, from gentle purgatives, emollients, alteratives, and other salubrious remedies, calculated to strengthen, rather than fatigue and weaken, the stomach, to assist and invigorate nature, rather than to storm and endanger it: and, it must be owned, that they have some very expert practitioners in this excellent way, as well as the greatest plenty and variety of medicinal plants and roots, exactly suited for that purpose, of any nation in the world. They are, indeed, seldom, if ever, troubled with rheumatisms, gout, stone and gravel, and other chronic diseases, which

^a See before, p. 597, & seq.

Their physical compositions clogged and difficult. seem to require a stronger regimen; and this is partly owing to their constant use of those noble diluters and purifiers of the blood, their green and bohea tea, and partly to their frequent chewing of ghin-seng, rhubarb, and other physical roots^b. But, were they so, we much question whether they would not still prefer their gentle, though slow, method of curing them, to those of a quicker, but more violent nature. The misfortune is, that their very best and most approved physical books do commonly clog every receipt and remedy with such mixtures of roots, leaves, seeds, gums, &c. prescribe so many rules and punctilios, in the choice, weight, quantity, and preparation, of them, as make the process difficult and tedious; so that the far greater part of their very practitioners are quite discouraged from following of them, though the whole stress of their success, according to their authors, seems to depend upon a scrupulous observation of every rule, and minute circumstance, and chuse rather at all hazards to follow their own experience; which they may the more safely do, as their medicines are all of the gentle kind.

Pretended skill in pulses. *Various sorts of them,* *and manner of feeling them.* NEXT to the knowledge, and due mixture and preparation, of their *materia medica*, they likewise challenge a superior skill in the pulse above all other nations; and pretend to judge exactly of the kind and degree of every disease, what part of the body, either inward or outward, is affected, whether it be curable, or no; and, if the latter, how many days, weeks, or years, the patient may linger under it. They make a particular difference between the pulse of a man, and of a woman; between that of persons of tall or short stature, corpulent or lean; between that of youth, middle, and old age; between that of one season of the year and another, especially spring and autumn, summer and winter. This variety of pulses they distinguish by sundry odd names, as well as those which are caused by the nature of the distemper; that is, not by the obvious ones of quick and slow, weak and strong, and the like, but by such canting ones, if our authors have rightly translated, as are only understood by themselves. Thus they style one sort the *superficial*, another the *sliding*, the *four*, the *tremulous*, the *rolling*, the *scattered*, the *leaping*, *swimming*, *ebullient*, and many others of the like sense and import. They do not content themselves with applying their fingers to the wrist, without distinction of right and left, between which they suppose another material difference, but move them from one part of the body to another, according as they find them more or less affected with the disease: if it be the heart or liver, they feel the wrist of the left; if the stomach or reins, that of the right. They dwell a considerable time upon it, and at different times, in order to discover, as near as possible, every irregularity in the pulsations, before they venture to give their judgment, or administer any medicine to the patient^c.

Rules for judging rightly of them. THEY likewise pretend to fix the right number of times the pulse ought to beat, between every respiration, in a person that is in full health, *viz.* four, or, at most, five times; if above that, they infer some disorder to be in the body, greater or less, according to the number of beats; if six, it denotes only some slight indisposition; if seven or eight, they judge the distemper proportionably dangerous; and, if above that number, mortal.

Astrology the basis of their physic. *Times for bleeding, purging, &c. marked in their almanac.* THEY observe a multitude of other formal ceremonies, and punctilious niceties, both in the discovering the root, seat, and degree, of a distemper, as well as exact a great number of others from their patients, which it would be tedious to mention; especially as there is so much reason to question their so much boasted skill in botany and the pulse, and whether the tenth part of their theory or practice be really founded, as they pretend, upon reason and experience^d; especially when we consider, that the basis of both is laid chiefly on a thorough knowledge in astrology; and that, according to them, there is no part of the body, no species of the vegetable, mineral, or animal kind, but what are under the influence of some planet, sign, or constellation, whose nature, virtues, places, periodical times, and other such whimsical circumstances, must be diligently consulted, before any vegetable can be gathered, or any medicine applied with any success: insomuch that their almanac-makers were obliged to mark out the proper days and times for bleeding, purging, sweating, &c. as well as for planting, sowing, reaping, journeying, and other such superstitious fooleries, till that care was turned over by the emperor *Kang-hi* to some of the learned Jesuits, who, on that very account, declined the task (A), till that monarch had consented to their leaving all the astrological

^b Vide LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat.
COMPTE, NAVARETTA, & al. sup. citat.

^d Ibid. ibid.

^c DU HALDE, vol. ii. p. 184, & seq. LE

(A) They excused themselves, we are told, to the emperor, from having any hand in these almanacs, though much better qualified for it than the *Chinese*, not only on account of the ridiculousness of the astrological rules and observations of good and bad, lucky and unlucky days, which were always carefully inserted in them, but likewise because such kind of superstitions, which were inconsistent with their religion, might

be imputed to them. To this the emperor replied, That is not what I desire of you, and you shall be excused from that part; neither do I give any more credit to those ridiculous whimsies, than you: I require nothing of you but what regards the kalendar, and hath relation to astronomy.

After such a declaration, they had nothing more to object, and were obliged to comply; but as they fore-saw,

a astrological trash out of them^e; which yet doth not hinder others from still supplying that supposed defect.

We have formerly observed, that the circulation of the blood was known to them long before the coming of the *Europeans* among them^f. Their old physical books make frequent mention of it, though without pretending to account how it is performed; nevertheless they are very sparing of the use of phlebotomy, unless in cases of absolute necessity; and even then they take care to make but a very little orifice, and let but a very small quantity of blood at a time, seldom above the quantity of half a porringer. Those who have no lancets, will make their incision with any other sharp tool, or even with a broken piece of china. They apply no bandage or linen over it, but only sprinkle the orifice with a few grains of salt. They use, in some particular cases, another way of bleeding, which may be called acupuncture, or pricking several holes on the part affected with a large needle: but, as this curious invention was brought to them from *Japan*, we shall defer the farther description of it till we come to speak of that empire, where that operation is performed in much greater perfection.

The *Chinese* in general attribute the greater parts of their colics, aches, and other distempers, to the malignity of some stagnated and corrupted winds which breed in the body, and which they endeavour to draw away by topical application, such as the acupuncture last mentioned, cupping, or, if those fail, by cauterising the part affected. There is one distemper very common and dangerous among the lower class of people, occasioned, as is supposed, by the badness of their diet; which at first seizes the stomach and bowels, and causes intolerable gripings and vomitings, and other inward pains and convulsions; and, if not timely removed, throws the patient into a profound lethargy, or atrophy. In this case, their common method is, to apply a red-hot iron bullet near enough to the soles of the feet to raise a blister. If the patient becomes sensible of the pain, they withdraw the bullet, and he commonly recovers soon after; but if he continues senseless, they apply it closer and closer, till the flesh is burnt up to the very bone.

The use of clysters might prove of excellent service to them in several of their colicky ailments, but that was wholly unknown to them. The *Portuguese* of *Macao* tried to introduce it among them, but without success; the *Chinese* being, on the one hand, too averse to all *European* novelties to admit of it, and, on the other, affecting too great a degree of modesty to give it any better name than that of the barbarian remedy, which is that which it goes by all over their country.

There is hardly any nation in the world, among which one may see a greater number of purblind and quite blind folks, or a greater variety of distempers of the eyes. This is commonly attributed to the quantity of rice consumed among them at their daily meals. Whether that grain, which in other respects is so friendly and nourishing to the body, have any such pernicious effect upon that curious and most valuable part of it, or whether it be not rather owing to some other cause hitherto unknown, and particularly to their drinking so much of it distilled and burnt, which may probably affect the eyes, as much as it is found to do the throat and swallow^g, we will not pretend to determine.

Among the great variety of disorders in the eyes, we shall single out a very extraordinary one, which is very little, if at all, known in *Europe*, but is very common all over *China*; the natives give it the name of *Ki-mung-yen*, which, in their language, implies, according to our author^h, a darkness in the eyes, like that which is natural to fowl and poultry, by which they pretend to explain the cause, but doth by no means come up to it, this last being only a heaviness of the eye-lids, occasioned by the absence of the sun's rays; whereas the distemper we are speaking of, and which *Etmullerus* calls *Nyctalopia*ⁱ, doth not consist in a bare dimness of sight morning and evening, but in an almost total darkness during the whole night, not to be removed by any artificial light, whilst the patient enjoys a perfect sight all the rest of the day. In the night, the flame of a wax-candle, brought near him, appears like a large and dim globe of fire, without enabling him to discover any other object either near or distant: in the day-time he sees every thing as distinctly as those who enjoy a perfect sight. We shall not trouble our readers with the various conjectures of the learned con-

^e Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 133, & al.

^f See before, p. 598, & seq.

^g See before, p. 637.

^h DENTRECOLLES in Lett. edif. vol. xxiv. p. 130, & seq.

ⁱ Vid. & Dict. Art. &

saw, that the *Chinese* would not be contented with such maimed productions from the observatory, and that the pretended defect would be supplied from other hands, they took particular care to protest against, and condemn, such superstitious fooleries; because human

actions could in no respect depend on the influence of the stars, but only on the wisdom by which they were conducted. Which precaution the emperor highly commended, as well as the manner in which they expressed themselves (1).

(1) Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 133. Engl. edit.

cerning this periodical succession of light and darkness, but only subjoin the method of cure which the *Chinese* doctors make use of, and which, from the instances which our author gives us, appears to us to be effectual; the receipt of which is as follows:

How cured.

TAKE the gall of a black-headed ewe or wether, cut it from the liver, not with an iron, but a sharp bamboe knife; strip it of its nerves, pellicles, and filaments, and sprinkle it over with salt-petre; wrap up the whole close in a leaf of *Nenubar*, and stew it over a slow fire in a proportionable quantity of water: let the patient keep stirring it all the time, holding a sheet spread over his head, to keep in the steam from evaporating, but that it may be all received by him at the nose and eyes; which will cause the latter to run, and by that means discharge the morbid matter, and complete the cure. Some advise the drinking of the liquor in which the gall is stewed; and others pretend that the patient will be cured without it, and even though the ewe's or wether's head were of any other colour than black; but all agree that the fumigation is the chief cause of the cure^k.

Inoculation of the small-pox.

THE reader may see in the author last quoted, and in *Du Halde*, several curious extracts out of the *Chinese* physical and botanic books^l, for which we have not room in a work of this extensive nature, and which, at the best, would prove agreeable but to few of our readers; we shall therefore content ourselves with selecting two of the most curious and remarkable ones out of them; viz. *their method of inoculating*, or, according to their own more significant term, *Tchung-teou* (B), of *sowing the small-pox*; and the description of the famous camphire-tree, the method of extracting and purifying its gum, together with the various virtues they attribute both to that, and to the wood itself.

Known in China, and probably discovered there.

THAT the *Chinese* had the art of inoculating the small-pox, in order to prevent the dreadful havoc which that distemper made among them, long enough before we knew any thing of it in *Europe*, or in all probability the *Armenians* at *Constantinople*, from whom we first received it, is evident from their physical books which treat of that distemper, and of the properest methods of communicating and curing it, and vindicate and recommend it as a most safe and beneficial discovery.

By whom, and where.

THIS last circumstance, joined to the great vogue which it hath gained throughout the empire, may be looked upon as a strong presumption that the *Chinese* were the first authors of it (C), it being quite contrary to the maxims and practice of that politic nation to admit, at least with such zeal and readiness, any new arts or inventions, how promising and useful soever, much less so uncertain and dangerous a one as this must appear at first, which come to them by the hands of strangers. Accordingly their books tell us, that the first discoverer of this new method flourished in the province of *Kyang-nan*, near the frontiers of *Kyang-si*; and that it began to grow in vogue about the latter end of the dynasty of *Ming*, or about 120 or 130 years ago.

Its great success in Tartary.

BUT that which gave it the greatest reputation and authority, was the great services it did afterwards in *Tartary*, about the year 1724, whither the emperor sent some of the most expert proficients to exercise it upon the children of his *Tartarian* subjects, among whom the

^k DENTRECOLLES, ubi sup.

^l Hist. of China, vol. ii. p. 183, & seq. 212, & seq. & alib. pass.

(B) The verb *Tchung*, we are told, properly signifies to sow, and *teou*, or *teso*, is the name they give to the small-pox, and to a small eating pea they have among them; so that it is probable this name might at first be given to that distemper on account of the likeness of the pustules it raises on the skin to the colour and figure of that small pulse, there being no difference either in the writing or pronouncing of that word.

The term sowing, which they use instead of grafting and inoculating, may likewise be in all probability taken from their method of communicating it, which is not by injection of the pus, as ours is, but by blowing some small quantity of the powder of a dried pustule into the nostrils of the patients. The first hint of it, it is supposed, was taken from the violent itching in that part, which was observed to be the forerunner of that distemper in children; from which they rightly inferred, that the place where the first seeds or symptoms of it appeared might be the properest place for sowing them in other persons, and the most likely to convey it with ease and speed into the rest of the body (3).

(C) Some of our *English* writers, who received the first news of this new method from *Constantinople*, and other parts of the *Othman* empire, where it was practised only by a few *Armenians* about the 17th century, have imagined that they had brought it from some of

the countries adjacent to the *Caspian* sea; which conjecture, if true, might incline one to believe, that the *Chinese* might likewise receive it from those parts by the means of the same *Armenian* caravans which have trafficked into that empire a considerable number of years: but if we take in the account which the *Chinese* themselves give of it, it will be much more probable that both the *Armenians*, and those countries thro' which they travelled, had it originally from them.

But it is hardly credible that those *Tartaric* nations about the *Caspian* should have the least notion of so valuable a secret, who knew not so much as how to fence against that distemper, and were wont, upon the first appearance of it, to flee from it as from the most dreadful pestilence, abandoning their nearest relations, when once infected with it. Add to this, that if the discovery of it had been brought by the caravans of those parts into the *Chinese* empire, the province of *Shen-si*, which is contiguous to it, must have had it before that of *Kyang-nan*, which is situate on the south-west of it, and is that where the *Chinese* assure us the author of the discovery then lived; so that, every thing duly weighed, we may venture to agree with that author (4) in giving the credit of that useful discovery to the *Chinese* nation.

(3) Dentrecolles in *Lettres edifiantes*. vol. xx. p. 306, & seq.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 312, & seq.

a small-pox was looked upon as the worst of all pestilential diseases; insomuch that whenever any of them, whether old or young, were attacked with it, every-body, even his nearest relations, fled from him, and left him to take his chance, either to die of it, or, which seldom happened, to overcome it by the help of a strong constitution.

ANOTHER motive which induced that excellent monarch to take this precaution, was the dreadful havock which it made among not only his grandees, and other officers, who brought from thence the usual tributes and presents to him, but likewise among the merchants who came thither to traffick, as soon as they arrived at *Pe-king*, which is seldom free from that distemper; so that few of them escaped being seized with, and most of them of being killed by, it. *Encouraged by the emperor.*

b THOSE physicians, according to his orders, soon went and dispersed themselves into several parts of *Tartary*; where they, by their prudent care and management, had such surprising success, that they returned some years after laden with the most valuable commodities of that country, and became immensely rich, and in high esteem at that prince's court, who, we may be confident, did not fail of encouraging so useful and beneficial a discovery. But it is time now to give our readers an account of their method of proceeding in it, as it was, not without great difficulty and secrecy, communicated to our author by some of those physicians then attending the court^m (D).

PROVIDE yourself with a good quantity of the dried scales which fall off the breast or back of a young healthy child, between one and seven years old, especially if he be gone thro' the small-pox in thirteen days, and the pustules appear to have been full and clear; preserve those scales in a china vessel closely stopped with wax, by which means they will keep good a whole year; whereas leaving them exposed to the least air would spoil them in a few days: let the child, on whom you design to inoculate the small-pox, be at least a year old, and in full health, and his body be rightly and duly prepared by proper medicines. If the scales you have for use be small, take four of them; if large, only two; and put between them about a grain of musk, and wrap up the whole in some fine cotton, in the form of a tent, which you must thrust into the left nostril, if it be a boy; and in the right, if a girl; taking previous care that the future of the child's cranium be well closed, and that the body be not inclined to a looseness, or any ailment which is contrary to the operation. If, after all these cautions, the pustules do not appear in three days after the fever hath begun to shew itself, then one may safely promise one's self that eight or nine in ten will go through it with safety, and do well after it; but if they put forth on the second day after the fever, it is a question whether one half of them, and if on the first day, whether any of them, will outlive it. *Their method of proceeding in it.*

d Thus far the first physicians; from whose account, though short, one may still see what wise precautions they take in every step of their progress. As to the mixture of the musk with the scales which are put into the nose, it may perhaps appear to us a trifling nicety; and some authors tell us, that they use no other ceremony than that of blowing the powdered scales into the child's nostril through a funnel or corner; but this can be at best but a slovenly way, and used only among the poor vulgar; for, besides its carrying such a great force with it, as may cause the nose to run, and discharge the morbidiferous powder, if we consider that the use of those high perfumes is in great vogue amongst them, and enter into a great number of their physical compositions, it is not without mature deliberation that they apply the musk in this present case, not only as it is a strengthener of the brain, heart, and stomach, and consequently a promoter of the intended secretions; but as it may, by its balsamic quality, correct the acrimony of the fermentative virus, as well as the nauseousness of the effluvia which arise from the morbid scales. *Convey the disease by the nostrils.*

e THE other two doctors are somewhat diffuse and intricate, especially the last, which might be designedly done, either to display his skill and accuracy, or more probably to perplex a process which he reluctantly communicated to a stranger, and to prevent his reaping any advantage from it. However, as neither of them differs from the first in any of the material points above-mentioned, we shall readily subjoin whatever we meet with in the two latter, that may serve as a supplement or improvement of the former. And, *Mistaken, why added to the scales.*

f Some further improvements in their process.

^m DENTRECOLLES, ubi sup. vol. xx. p. 315, & seq.

(D) There were three of those physicians who were prevailed upon to give him each an account of his method; the first of whom, though the most concise, hath given as explicit and satisfactory a one as our readers would care to read. The other two differing in no essential part of the process, but having only added some further minute directions and receipts towards preparing the patients, and promoting the process of the operation; but which consist only of some

compositions of plants, and other drugs, most of them unknown, and of little or no use to us in the like cases; for these reasons, and to avoid needless repetitions, we shall only add such material directions out of the two last, as the first had omitted in his; and refer those of our readers, who are desirous to be more fully acquainted with the *Chinese* practice, to the author himself (5).

(5) *Dentrecolles*, ubi sup. p. 320—361.

FIRST,

Proper time
for it.

FIRST, As to the proper time for performing the operation, they exclude extreme hot or cold weather, when the animal spirits are either dispersed and exhausted, or else too clogged and stagnated; and recommend the spring and autumn as the fittest season, when they are free, and in full vigour. Upon the same account they commonly chuse serene and clear before rainy and foul weather; for we must remember, that it is not subject to such sudden changes in those countries as it is with us.

The scales,
whence to be
taken.

SECONDLY, With respect to the scales to be used in the sowing of the distemper, they prefer those that come off the back or stomach before those of any other part of the body, especially the forehead and feet: and as those that are recently gathered are apt to convey too great an acrimony into the blood, they usually correct that defect by holding them some time in a thin gawse over the steam of hot water, in which have been infused some slices of liquorice and scorzonera root: but those scales which have been kept above a month have no need of this corrective, and may be safely used without it.

The patient
how to be
treated.

THIRDLY, With regard to the treating of the patient, they prescribe the same regimen which is commonly used in the natural small-pox; only the last of the above receipts adds the administering to the decumbent about two or three scales pulverised in half a pint of the broth called *Chinma*, to be drank on the second day after the insertion.

If the pustules do not appear on the fourth or fifth day, the morbidic tents must be taken out, and recourse be had to the dose prescribed to be taken before the insertion, by way of preparative, the composition of which the reader will find in the margin (E); and which, the third physician assures us, will as effectually preserve the patient from ever having the distemper, as if the inoculation had had its due effect; especially if the same be repeated on the fourth, fifth, eighth, and ninth, moons after his decumbiture.

Opium given
to help the
secretion.

THIS, by what our author could learn, is all the *purgative* they use by way of preparing their patients, if the gentleness of its operation may admit of that name. Emetics, bleeding, and other more forcing remedies, they carefully avoid, lest they should debilitate rather than assist nature, and obstruct the secretion and excretion; instead of which, when they find the fever to continue, and no pustules appear, some of them mix a small quantity of opium with their other medicines, which helps to reunite the spirits, and assists them in throwing out the morbidic virus. Thus far their method of sowing or inoculating the small-pox; which, whether more easy and safe than that of conveying the morbidiferous pus by incision or puncture, as is practised by the *Greeks* in *Turky*, and by our surgeons in *England*, we will not take upon us to determine; much less whether it ought to have the preference before the natural

Their notion of
the natural
pox.

one. If our reader should be desirous to know what account the *Chinese* books give of the latter, we can only tell them, that they seem unanimously to agree, that every child brings the morbidic poison with him from the womb; but whether it receives it from the father or mother, they are not agreed; neither can they give any tolerable account why or how it displays itself in such various shapes, produces such different effects, and at such different and distant periods of life^m.

The camphire-
tree described.

THE last thing we proposed to mention, under this head of physic, was the famed camphire-tree, their method of extracting and purifying its gum, and the virtues they ascribe to it, as well as to the wood which bears it. This noble tree, so famed for its largeness and prodigious height, is called by the *Chinese* *Tchang*, and the camphire which is extracted from it *Tchang-nao*. The account we have of it, and of the *Chinese* way of extracting and sublimating its excellent gum being taken from an old *Chinese* book, which the emperor *Kang-hi* caused to be reprinted, with the observations of some of the most learned and curious virtuosos and literati of the empire, carries its own authority with it, and confutes several erroneous notions we had of that process here in *Europe* (F); for which reason we hope our readers

^m DENTRECOLLIS, ubi sup.

(E) Take of red, green, and black peas, and sliced liquorice, of each one ounce; let them all be finely pounded and sifted, and put into the hollow of a piece of pilled bamboe, leaving the knot at the two ends; and let them be stopped very close with two pieces of fir-wood, covered all over with wax. Suspend the said stick, in the winter, in the soil of a *Mao-cang*, or house-of-office, during the space of a month or two. When taken out, cleanse the outside thoroughly, and dry the powder in the shade: and add to every ounce of it three *Mas*, or three tenth parts of an ounce, of the flower *Moet-tse*, a kind of wild apricot, which blows only in winter, and bears no fruit, well dried by a fire, and powdered. The dose is from one half to a whole *Mas*, or from half an ounce to an ounce, in

proportion to the child's age; the whole diluted in a decoction of the stalks of a *Sé-ssou*, or kind of oblong wild gourd, which are said to have a diuretic, carminative, and refreshing quality.

Some *Chinese* books give us, however, a more cleanly, short, and easy way, of preparing this medicine, by boiling all the above-mentioned ingredients in an earthen vessel, till the whole becomes of a moderate thickness, and giving it in a double quantity; but whether or no it will have the same virtue, we will not warrant; only our missionary assures us, that the red peas expel all peccant matter from the heart, the black from the reins, and the green from the stomach (G).

(F) Amongst these we may reckon that of the famous M. *Lenery*, who affirmed the camphire to dubil

(G) *Dentrecolles*, ubi sup. p. 330, & seq.

from

a readers will not be displeased to have a more clear and authentic account of it than they have hitherto met with, as it hath been communicated to these *European* parts by the same ingenious missionary, from whom we had the curious process of the *Chinese* inoculation, mentioned in the preceding article †.

THE tree itself is of such a monstrous size, that some of them rise to above 300 feet; its thickness is proportionable to it, insomuch that 20 men can hardly embrace its trunk. The branches spread a considerable way; and the wood, which is very hard and durable, is of singular use for the construction of large ships, as well as for other more curious pieces of joinery, by reason of the beauty and glossiness of its surface, and the great variety of its veins. Their texture is so tenacious and close, that it is very common to see many of them above
b 300 years old.

THEY neither yield their fine gum by distillation nor by incision; an operation so easy, and well known among the *Chinese*, that, if it could be got by that way, they would readily adopt, as they do with regard to the fir and other resinous trees, preferably to that tedious and difficult one which they are obliged to take to extract it from this; and which is as follows: They take some of the newest branches, and saw them across in thin slips of about an inch in thickness; and these they chop again into small square bits, and soak them three days and three nights in well-water, by which time they are sufficiently macerated to be set a boiling on a moderate fire. They stir them all the while with a fir stick, till they have yielded their gummy juice, which is easily known by its sticking like a white jelly to the stick: they then strain the whole, taking special care that none of the faeces, or other filth, be intermixed with it; and pour it gently into an earthen vessel well varnished, in which they let it stand and cool a whole night, and on the morrow is found the camphire coagulated into a mass or cake.

THIS mass is afterward purified or sublimated in the following manner: They take a basin or flattish vessel of red copper, and put into it a layer of the pulverised earth of some old mud wall, and over that one of the mass; they add a second, third, and fourth, layer of each, and cover the whole, first with a fresh layer of the leaves of the plant *Po*, or penny-royal, and this with another copper basin of the same bigness, turned upside-down upon the first; and so strongly cemented together, that none of the effluvia can evaporate through the joining, which would otherwise mar the whole process. The first basin being thus filled, and closely covered, is set on a moderate fire, which must be neither too fierce nor too slack, and care be taken that the cement be not cracked by the heat, or any accident; and, after having been a sufficient time on the coals, which is mostly gained by experience, it is taken off, and left to cool; and, upon parting the two basins, the camphire will be found incrustated and sublimated, sticking on the top and sides of the uppermost one. If the same experiment be repeated in the same manner twice or three times, each operation will yield a fresh quantity of the same odoriferous gum. These must likewise be put between two earthen vessels, well closed together with cement, or with wet paper, to stop all evaporations; and be set upon a moderate fire, in order to make it fit for use; and, when taken off and cooled, the camphire will be found in its utmost perfection, and ready for all uses.

It is not unlikely, continues our Jesuit, that some expert *European* chemist, who could procure a quantity of those recent branches, might find out a more easy and expeditious way of extracting this valuable gum from it^a, and sublimating it to the same degree of perfection; and yet it is no less plain, that the *Chinese* are neither ignorant of, nor averse to, a shorter way, seeing they can sublimate even mercury between two well luted common crucibles; so that they must be supposed to have some grounds for keeping up to this more laborious process, in order to have it in its true purity and perfection; though, from the notion of *Lemery*, and others, of its being brought crude and foul from thence into *Holland*, one may easily conclude, that they do by it as they do by their tea, and other commodities; and either extract it in a more slovenly way, or adulterate it with some heterogeneous mixture; the cakes of it, which are brought from thence by the *Dutch*, or perhaps rather by the *Batavian* natives, who commonly trade thither, appearing as if they were cast in the lid of a porridge-pot. However, it is plain they make sufficient quantities of the purer sort for their own use, since it bears no higher a price at *Pe-king* than about 2 d. per ounce, and is still cheaper in the distant provinces, from whence they fetch it. There is moreover a double advantage in extracting it in the tedious manner above-mentioned; the one is, that it may

† DENTRECOLLES, ubi sup. vol. xxiv. p. 406, & seq.

^a Idem, ubi sup. p. 422, & seq.

from the trunk and the larger branches of the tree; and that of *Etmuller*, and others after him, who pretend that it is drawn from the tree by incision (7), and that it is brought crude from thence by the *Dutch*; all

which is plainly confuted by the more curious account given us by the *Chinese* book above-mentioned, as the reader will see by what follows.

(7) *Dict. Art. & Scient. sub voc. Camphor.*

be done at all seasons of the year, whereas there could be but one season for doing it by inci-
sion; the other, that the lopping off the branches doth not hurt the tree like the wounding
of it^o.

*Virtues of the
camphire.*

Of the wood.

THE virtues the *Chinese* book above-mentioned attributes to the camphire are various. It is of an acid and warm nature, and in no case prejudicial or hurtful; it helps to carry off the phlegm and slime from the stomach and bowels; it purifies the blood from filth, and rectifies the disorders which are caused by cold and dampness; it eases the most violent colics, and *cholera morbus*, loathings and flatulencies in the stomach; it cures the itch, scabs, and other cuticular ailments; fixes loose teeth, and cleanses rotten ones: and is an excellent preservative, as well as an effectual remedy, against bodily vermin. The wood of it is likewise affirmed to have all the virtues of the gum, though in a much inferior degree, the decoction of it being successfully used against all the above-mentioned disorders; and, if taken in a large quantity, works as a gentle emetic, and cleanses the stomach and bowels from peccant humours. Lastly, and to name no more, shoes, the soles of which are made of this wood, cure the feet from excessive sweating, and are a great strengthener of them. And thus much may suffice for the virtues of this tree, and its excellent gum; though the *Chinese*, it must be owned, is universally allowed to be greatly inferior to that which comes from the island of *Borneo*^p.

Complete treatise of anatomy translated into the Tartarian tongue.

The emperor's judgment on the dissection of criminals.

To conclude this article, one may safely say, that the whole skill of the *Chinese* practitioners in physic, among whom the *Lamas* are reckoned some of the best, consists chiefly in the knowledge of a certain number of plants and drugs, and the possession of some approved receipts, transmitted as an inheritance from father to son, and preserved with the utmost secrecy in their families; and which, if misapplied through inadvertency or ignorance, which is often the case, and fail of the promised success, those pretenders are never at a loss for some specious excuse, by throwing the blame either on the weather, the irregularity of the patients, or the carelessness of those who attend them: whereas the emperor *Kang-bi* had been so well convinced, that most of their miscarriages were owing to their want of skill in anatomy, that he ordered one of the best *European* treatises on that subject to be translated into the *Tartarian* language, and adorned with all the variety of cuts that were necessary for such a work, which were those of the famed *Bartolinus*; all which was executed with the utmost care, under the direction of Father *Parrenin*, and highly admired at court. When the work was completed, that prince, recollecting that he had seen, among other of his rarities, a statue of about three feet high, cast in copper, on which were, as he imagined, all the veins and arteries delineated in their proper places, he ordered it to be brought out, and compared with those of the treatise. To their great surprize, they found those lines all parallel to each other, and almost all of the same length, without any the least resemblance either to veins or arteries, or answering to their true situation and number. The statue having at length been examined by two of the expertest physicians belonging to the palace, they soon found that those lines were traced on the figure with no other view than to point out the places that were proper to let blood at, by the operation lately mentioned, called acupuncture, or by the help of coarse needles, in cases of rheumatism, gout, sciatica, &c. Upon which the emperor told them, that he remembered that there had been a dissection of a human body under the foregoing dynasty of *Ming*, which was the first, if not the only one, that had ever been made in *China*: *Though*, added he, *I should not be against their being often repeated on the bodies of criminals, for the sake of the advantages that may be reaped from it, provided it were done privately, and only in the presence of physicians and surgeons; it being but just that those wretches, who have done so much mischief to the public in their life-time, should be doomed to make some useful amends for it after their death*^q. But the difficulty is, how to induce the *Chinese* to think in the same just manner.

^r ^o DENTRECOLLES, ubi sup. p. 424. vol. xvii. p. 386, & seq.

^p Id. ibid. p. 428, & seq.

^q PARRENIN. ubi sup.

S E C T. VIII.

Of the origin, antiquity, and chronology, of the Chinese nation.

Origin and antiquity of the Chinese.

WE have already, in some of the foregoing sections^{*}, had occasion to inform our readers, that, with regard to the account we gave of the origin, antiquity, and first peopling, of the *Chinese* nation, we contented ourselves with following the most received opinion, which supposes them, as well as the *Tartars*, to be descended from *Magog*, *Meshech*, and *Tubal*^a; and accordingly laid before our readers a series of the most material arguments

^{*} See before, p. 557, and Introd. p. 491, & seq.

^a Ibid. p. 601, & seq.

which

- a which have hitherto been urged against the hypothesis of the late learned *Shuckford*, of *Noah* being the same with the *Chinese Fo-bi*, the founder of that monarchy^b. These we endeavoured to set in the strongest light, not so much as our real opinion, as with a view of exciting thereby some of our ingenious correspondents, whom we know to be on the contrary side of the question, to communicate their thoughts to us on that curious and so much controverted subject, in hopes of receiving some farther light from their discoveries, which might either corroborate or explode the general opinion of the learned. Our hopes have not been frustrated; and we dare flatter ourselves, that the many judicious hints we have since received from a certain quarter have now enabled us to resume the argument in favour of *Dr. Shuckford's* system, not only in a manner almost intirely new, but backed with such fresh and authentic proofs as will, we doubt not, appear to every unbiaſſed reader more than equivalent to any thing that hath hitherto been objected against it, and on that account justly to deserve a place in a work like this; that, by a fair comparison between them, every one may be enabled to embrace that side of the question which appears to him to carry the greater weight. And this we judge the more incumbent upon us, as the greater part of the authorities we shall produce are such as have not hitherto appeared in public, at least in the clear light in which they will be found in the following pages, and which we are not without hopes may afford matter for greater improvement among such as are best versed in those remote antiquities: for though we readily own, that the ingenious *Dr. Shuckford's* hypothesis, on the foot he hath proposed it, and from the method he hath undertaken to prove it, appears still clogged with such seeming insurmountable difficulties, as might easily determine a hasty reader to reject it in the lump (for which reason we shall follow it no farther than we can plane the way before it); yet if those seeming difficulties can be clearly removed, and such new proofs be brought, as will make it appear not only extremely probable and rational, but (which is the most important, though difficult, point to carry) easily reconciled with, and by some authentic fact shewn to be quite consistent with, our *Hebrew*, as well as with the ancient *Chinese* chronology; it is to be hoped that the mutual evidence which these two will be found to reflect on each other will easily outweigh all that can be urged against it, either on account of the newness or singularity of it: and much more so, if, by their mutual help and agreement, we shall be enabled to fix the *Chinese* chronology, from the very foundation of its monarchy, upon a surer basis than hath been hitherto attempted, or thought upon. But as this last is the most important point of all, and fittest to precede immediately the history of the *Chinese* monarchs, we shall defer it till then; whilst we now go on with the other topics, by which we intend to shew the great probability of *Noah* being the same with *Fo-bi*, and the founder of the *Chinese* monarchy.

- THIS hypothesis (for we will not yet venture to call it by a stronger name) hath been in a great measure already confirmed by various learned pens, by a much greater number of arguments than our designed brevity will permit us to insist on; for which reason we shall confine ourselves to such only as either carry the greatest weight, or as have not been urged in favour of it by any another. We begin with the former; which are as follow:
- e 1. THE affinity or analogy of the names of *Noah* and *Fo-bi*; together with other particulars of their history, too trite and well known to need a longer detail here, as some of the most material will come in more properly in the sequel.
2. *NOAH* and *Fo-bi* being contemporary; a point which hath been partly proved by *Dr. Shuckford*^c, but will be more fully so under our last head.
3. SEVERAL remarkable particulars which the *Chinese* history records of *Fo-bi*, and do in a great measure agree with those which *Moses* hath related of *Noah*, are another strong presumption of their being the same person (A).
4. A FOURTH argument is the vast and almost universal opposition which is found between the *Chinese*, and all other the descendants of *Noah*; particularly with regard to their religion, laws, government, learning, arts, customs, &c. and more especially still with respect to their

^b Connection, part 1. p. 99, & seq.

^c Ibid. part 1. p. 102.

(A) Thus *Fo-bi* is affirmed by the *Chinese* to have had no father; and *Noah*, all whose ancestors perished by the flood, being the first patriarch of the postdiluvian world, stands there as if he had no father, no mention being made of any in the *Chinese* annals. 2. *Fo-bi's* mother is said to have been impregnated by the rainbow; a conceit most probably arising from its being given by God as a pledge to *Noah* and his posterity (1); and agreeable enough to the imperfect notion which the *Chinese* retained of that phenomenon. 3. *Fo-bi* is

said to have carefully bred up seven sorts of creatures, which he used to sacrifice to the supreme Spirit of heaven and earth. *Noah* is affirmed by *Moses* to have taken into the ark of every clean beast, and fowl of the air, by sevens, and to have offered them up a burnt-offering unto the Lord (2). Lastly, The *Chinese* derive the name of *Fo-bi* from his oblations (3); and *Moses* gives *Noah* his name on account of the grant which God made to him in consequence of his offering (4).

(1) *Genes.* ix. 13. (2) *Ibid.* vii. 2. (3) *Martini, Le Compte, Du Halde, & al.* (4) *Genes.* viii. 20. & seq. See also *Antient Hist.* vol. i. p. 85, & seq.

Noah separates himself from his offspring at Babel.

Reasons why the Chinese differ from other people.

And mostly in their language.

Reasons for Noah's separating himself from his descendants.

language^d; from all which it is justly concluded, that they must have been a different people from those who were dispersed soon after the building of the tower of *Babel*, among whom there still remained a sufficient conformity in all the above-mentioned respects to help one to trace them to their common original: for if all the difficulties that are raised against the possibility of *Noah's* leading a colony into *China*, and founding a monarchy there^c, long before his death, can be effectually removed, as we hope they will in the sequel, what can be more rationally inferred from this surprising difference between the *Chinese* and all other nations, than that the good old patriarch, finding his authority too small to deter the greatest part of his descendants, grown by that time too numerous and untractable to be deterred from their detestable design of fortifying themselves against the power of Heaven (B), wisely separated himself from them; and, taking as many with him as abhorred that impious conspiracy, led them far enough eastwards to be out of the danger of being involved in the punishment which he had cause to fear would quickly fall on those rebellious miscreants; till, by slow and gradual migrations, he at length reached some of the northern provinces of *China*? This supposition, which we shall endeavour to back in the sequel with much stronger proofs, will then easily account not only for the vast difference between the *Chinese* and the rest of the world, but likewise for the singular contempt they have ever had for all other nations; their interdicting all commerce and intercourse with them; their shutting up the entrance into their dominions against all strangers, unless by way of embassy; and their forbidding their natives to go into foreign countries, without the emperor's permission, lest their religion, laws, and customs, should become corrupted by such intermixtures. Now, if the impious conspiracy above-mentioned be allowed a sufficient cause for *Noah's* separating himself and small colony from the rest of his rebellious offspring (and a more rational and laudable one cannot well be imagined); then it will be no longer a wonder that the religion, laws, government, &c. which he established in his new monarchy, which were, without all doubt, the same which he received from the antediluvian patriarchs, should be in all respects so opposite to those of a mutinous crew, whom the Divine Providence had thrown into a state of confusion and anarchy; and, being dispersed over different parts of the world, and split into various governments, rather sought how to enlarge their dominions by fraud and force, than how to settle the old patriarchal religion and government among them; for this plainly appears to have been the case of all the monarchies which were formed after the general dispersion at *Babel*, whilst the empire of *China* alone, by their close adherence to, and improvements on, the old patriarchal maxims of religion and government, lived in plenty and security, promoted all the useful arts and sciences, and rather strove to cultivate their own territories to the best advantage, than to enlarge them at the expence of their own peace and happiness. As to the difference of their language, it must of course be expected to have been still greater, if we suppose *Noah* and his colony to have separated themselves from the rest before the confusion at *Babel*. Accordingly we find so little affinity between the *Chinese* and those tongues that were formed just before the dispersion, that it is justly, and on all accounts, allowed to carry the marks of an undoubted priority to them; so that nothing can be more extravagant than to search for any of the roots of the latter out of the former, seeing the more it differs from all the rest, especially as it bears such visible marks of a primitive one, the fairer it bids for being that of *Noah*, and of the antediluvian world.

5. For, if this prodigious difference between the *Chinese* and all other nations be such a strong argument of their being originally a distinct people from them, as hath been fully proved by the generality of *Chinese* writers, and other learned pens; and if no properer time or occasion can be probably assigned for this separation, than the conspiracy above-mentioned at the tower of *Babel*^e, what other part can we reasonably suppose the good old patriarch to have acted in such a juncture, than first to use all his rhetoric and authority to dissuade and deter them from it; and, when he found it prove ineffectual, to abandon those wretches to their destiny, and save himself, and his small number of adherents, from it, by leading them into some of the remotest climates from those cursed plains, and settling them in some

^d BAYER Gramm. Sinic. & Music. Sinic. KERCHER Chin. Illustr. LE COMPTE, MARTINI, & al plur. WEB Primitive language. SHUCKFORD, &c. ^e See before, Introd. p. 492, & seq. ^f See Gen. xi. 3, & seq.

(B) It must be observed, that some commentators and bold critics have given themselves some pains, not only to palliate, but even to commend that action as a very laudable one, and as intending no more than the building a kind of metropolis, which might be as the centre of their future empire, and a citadel which might be strong enough for its defence (5). It plainly ap-

pears, however, from the whole tenor of the *Mosaic* account, particularly from his introducing the Divine Providence as expressly descending from heaven to view and blast their enterprise, that it must have been of a more malignant nature, and calculated to defend themselves against a second deluge. But of this we shall find a proper occasion to speak more fully in the sequel.

(5) Vide *Tostat. Peirer. Le Clerc, & al. in Genes. xi.*

a more peaceful abode, where they might quietly enjoy the fruits of their piety, and the benefit of his farther instructions? This will at once sufficiently account for the vast difference above-mentioned between his own colony and the rest of his offspring, that is, for the primitive simplicity and purity preserved in the former, and the excessive depravity of the latter; and likewise for *Moses's* surprising silence concerning the remainder of the good old patriarch's life, whose name is not so much as mentioned by *Moses*, in the sequel of his history, except where he acquaints us with the year in which he died; which seems plainly to imply, that he wholly withdrew himself from the rest of his descendants: for, had he continued still among any of them after the general dispersion, is it credible that the inspired historian would have let him sink so soon into utter oblivion, whilst he is so particular in his account of the migrations and settlements of his three sons, and their numerous descendants? But there may be still assigned a more powerful reason why *Moses* concealed this remarkable particular from the *Jewish* nation, if not rather for God's concealing it from him; viz. to prevent any intercourse between those two nations, which might in time not only degenerate into a superstitious veneration for the sepulchre of that patriarch (for this seems to be the very motive why the Divine Providence took such care to have that of the *Jewish* lawgiver altogether unknown)†; but much more still to prevent their contracting such a fondness and admiration for the purity and simplicity of the *Chinese* worship, as might inspire them with some strong and invincible dislike against the great number of rites and ceremonies which he, for very wise ends, was going to impose upon them.

c VI. ANOTHER proof that *China* must have been peopled by some such early colony as we are speaking of, is, that it plainly appears to have been not only inhabited, but very populous, much sooner than it can be supposed to have been by any other of *Noah's* descendants after the general dispersion: had any of these, whether *Tubal*, *Meshech*, or any other, been the first peoplers of the *Chinese* empire, as they are allowed to have been of the north-eastern parts of *Tartary*, considering the length and difficulty of the way, and the slowness of their migrations, which were chiefly occasioned through want of room in proportion to their gradual multiplying, not only the kingdoms most contiguous to *Shinaar*, as *Babylon*, *Persia*, &c. but a great number of countries to the eastward of it, must be supposed to have swarmed with inhabitants before they could have reached, or at least before they could have tolerably peopled, any of the *Chinese* provinces; for this plainly appears to have been the case of the north-eastern *Tartary*, which we have formerly shewn was thinly peopled even so late as the time of *Madye's* expedition into *Asia**. But that this was not by any means that of *China*, Their early armies against *Ninus*. against the prodigious armies of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: for though we should, as we justly may, suppose the accounts of it to have been greatly exaggerated by antient historians; yet, as we have no reason to think them more so on one side than on the other, we may still safely conclude both the invaders and invaded to have been upon a par; and that the latter were strong and numerous enough to repel the forces of the former, whether or no they were really so many as they have been represented. Nothing, therefore, can so fully account for those remote eastern parts being so well inhabited and populous at such early times, as the supposition of some such colony, whether under *Noah*, or any other chief, separating themselves from the rest, either before or about the time of the dispersion, and marching still directly eastward, till they settled themselves there in about a century or two after.

How much more than probable such a supposition is, will be made to appear more fully still under several of the subsequent heads: at present we shall content ourselves with observing what double advantages such a colony, how small soever in its first beginning (C), must have

† See Deuter. xxxiv. 6. See also Ant. Hist. vol. i. part 2, p. 543, (I) & (K).
P. 491, & seq. ‡ D. SICUL. l. ii. JUSTIN. l. i.

* See before, Introd.

(C) By that expression the reader may observe, that we purposely avoid entering into a too nice disquisition, whether *Noah* had any sons after the flood; and, if he had, whether they only, or any number of his other descendants, accompanied him eastward.

As to the first, though *Moses* makes no mention of any, probably for the reason already given, yet the *Chinese* records give him a numerous issue; in which they agree with the *Pseudo-Berosus*, who makes them to amount to thirty, whom he styles *Titanes*, a word which implies no more than easterlings, or people settled in the eastern parts of the world; it being derived, as we have formerly shewn, from the old *Celtic* *Ti*, and *tan*, which, in that language, signifies the house of fire†; a very proper and significant expression for the sun, from whence that of *Titanoi*, or *Titanes*, was commonly

given to those people who were seated nearest to the sun-rising.

As to the second point, we think it highly probable, that not only *Noah's* postdiluvian sons, but a much greater number of his other descendants, chose to follow him into the east, rather than join in the impious design of their brethren: but let the number of his followers have been ever so small, yet the 200 years, which, we shall shew in the sequel, he and they took up in travelling from *Shinaar* to *China*, were more than sufficient to enable him to bring thither a numerous and powerful colony enough to found his new empire upon; considering the then great increase of mankind, their longevity, health, vigour, and other advantages they enjoyed above the rest of the dispersed tribes, from whom they separated themselves.

† See before, Ant. Hist. vol. ii. p. 245, note (B).

had over all the other people of the dispersion, with regard to its growth, in number, strength, and opulence; for, as they were united into one body, and under one head, their strength, and capacity of promoting the welfare of the whole, was greater in proportion than that of the rest of mankind, who were soon split into so many governments, as mult of course greatly diminish their power. 2. They lived in peace and plenty, in a rich and fruitful country, and under an excellent climate and government; and so could propagate and multiply much faster than those, who, besides their being less happily situated, were ever warring against and depopulating one another.

The dispute
about the two
Ararats of no
consequence in
this case.

VII. FROM what hath been hitherto said of *Noah's* separating himself from the rest of his descendants, either a little before, or soon after, the confusion of *Babel*, the reader may easily conclude of how little import the much disputed point, whether the *Ararat* of *Armenia*, or that of *India*, be that on which the ark rested, is to our present argument. The latter, which is that of *Dr. Shuckford*, makes indeed that patriarch's migration into *China* much easier and shorter; but the former, which is the most commonly received, is far enough from making it appear so impracticable and absurd as is pretended by those on the opposite side: for, if he and his descendants could travel from the *Armenian Ararat* to the plain of *Shinaar* in about 70 years (D), by which time they were grown numerous and stubborn enough to form that conspiracy, where can be the impossibility, or even unlikelihood, of their reaching to the frontiers of *China* in a much less time than the 250 years which he lived after the dispersion? Add to this, that as, in his first migration from *Ararat* to *Shinaar*, it doth not appear that he had any other inducement for it but the change of pasture and climate, so his journies might be made as leisurely as he pleased; whereas in his second, from *Shinaar* to *China*, he hastened away from a crew of determinate rebels, bent on their own ruin, from whom he could not part too soon, nor go too far, to avoid sharing in their punishment. However, though we seem thus far to give up the point in favour of the *Armenian Ararat*, we are so far from looking upon the main argument insisted upon in proof of it, viz. the sons of *Sennacherib* fleeing thither for refuge, to be at all conclusive on that side, that we think it might with much more reason be urged on the other; and that the vicinity of *Armenia* to *Assyria*, if it was not then subject, or at least tributary to it, would never have permitted two such sacrilegious parricides to flee thither for sanctuary, or to raise forces for their own safety; especially if we consider that, in their flight from *Nineveh* thither, they must be forced to cross over too considerable a part of the *Assyrian* empire, and be in continual danger of being seized: whereas by steering their course towards the north-east, or towards the other *Ararat*, they could be much sooner out of those dominions, and be in greater safety when got to their journey's end. We beg leave here likewise to add, that the argument urged by *Dr. Shuckford* in favour of the *Indian Ararat*, from *Moses's* expression of the builders of *Babel's* tower coming מִקֶּדֶם from the east^b, is far enough from being satisfactorily answered by the opposite side^c; and that the induction of one or two doubtful parallels, allowed to be irregular, ungrammatical, and ungeographical, and which are the only ones in the whole Old Testament in which the particle מ appears to bear a different sense, is not a sufficient authority to determine in any other case that is free from those defects. In the parallel insisted upon, the geography of the place plainly shews, that, in the words *Mikaddem*, the particle *mem* cannot signify, as it every-where properly doth, *from*, but rather *to*, or *towards* (E); but, in the other case, the point from which those builders set out, whether from the eastern or western *Ararat*, being the matter in dispute, must be determined by some better proof than that; and the learned *Mr. Basnage* was so far from being satisfied, that, in this last case, the words *Mikaddem* might be taken to signify *towards the east*, notwithstand-

Armenian
Ararat not a
safe place for
Sennacherib's
murderers to
flee to.

The argument
drawn from
their coming
from the east
not sufficiently
answered.

^b Genes. xi. 2.

^c See before, Introduction, p. 494.

(D) The dispersion is said by *Moses* to have happened about the 100th year of the flood, out of which number less than thirty cannot be supposed to have been taken up in hatching, ripening, and executing, the impious design that occasioned it, the procuring the proper materials, and the rearing of their stupendous edifice to some considerable height; so that the latest they can be supposed to have come to the plain of *Shinaar* must be about the 70th year after the flood (6).

(E) This we say upon the supposition that the *Hebrew* word was originally so written; whereas, from the well known situation of the places, one would be apter to suppose it to be an error of the transcriber, who mistook a מ for a ד, and wrote *Mikaddem*, from the east, instead of *Bikaddem*, into or towards the east; such

oversights not being unfrequent in the books of the Old Testament. This plainly appears from the instances mentioned by *Basnage* (1) out of the book of *Kings* (2), compared with the parallel text in the *Chronicles* (3); and that in the former, where *David* is said to have gone to *Baal-Jebuda*, to fetch the ark from thence, the grammar requires it to have been originally written בִּבְעָלִי, *Bebaale*, instead of מִבְּעָלִי, *Mibehale*, that is, the particle ב instead of מ, or *to* instead of *from*.

If we should be asked why the same error may not have crept into both, as well as into one of the texts? we can only say, that we shall be ready to acknowledge the possibility of it, when the one can be proved as ungrammatical and ungeographical as the other; neither of which can be said of that which we are now upon.

(6) Genes. xi. 1, & seq. See also *Usher's Annals* on that year.
(2) *Kings* vi. 2. (3) 1 *Chron.* xlii. 6.

(1) *Antiq. Judaic. tom.* ii. c. 1. §. 19.

a ing the parallel above-mentioned, that to avoid giving them such an unnatural and ungrammatical sense, he has made those builders to fetch a wide compass about, from *Armenia* to *Mesopotamia*, in order to bring them from the east into the plain of *Shinaar*. The truth is, that those learned pens, who have declared in favour of the *Armenian Ararat*, have endeavoured to overwhelm their antagonists with a confused heap of testimonies from antient authors, geographers, lexicographers, historians, &c. *Hebrew, Chaldee, Arab, Greek, and Latin*, which have lived a vast number of centuries one after the other, and all of them at some thousand years after the flood; to say nothing of the pretended antient arts, relics, common tradition, medals, and other such precarious arguments, as if their number could be of any decisive authority in a point of that remote antiquity, and make up in bulk what is wanting in evidence; although the greatest part of them have been since so effectually confuted, that there is just reason to wonder they should appear afresh in print †.

b So that, for any thing that hath hitherto been urged on either side, though we readily own that the *Armenian Ararat* is commonly meant by the sacred historians in most places where that word occurs, yet the *Indian* may still be that on which the ark rested, if they are not indeed only parts of one and the same continued ridge, reaching quite from *Armenia* to *India*.

VIII. NEITHER need we here be much deterred at the insurmountable difficulties which are thrown in *Noah's* way to *China*, whether he set out from *Shinaar*, *Armenia*, or *India*. Those pretended impenetrable forests, long and insurmountable ridges of mountains, and vast sandy deserts, which lie now between them, are mere illusions, which could have no being so soon after the deluge, to whatever cause they might owe it afterwards: for, 1. With regard to those monstrous forests, the whole globe must be supposed to have been too well peopled at the time of the flood to have any room for such wild plantations; or, if any such there had been, they must have been all pulled up by the roots by the violence of the waves which covered the whole surface of the earth. 2. As to the long and high ridges of mountains which lay in the way, what insurmountable difficulties can we imagine there could be in going over them, if we rightly consider the condition they must have been in immediately after the flood, and during some centuries beyond, that is, with their vallies filled and choaked up with a thick incrustated mud, which every-where subsided after the waters were dried up? Can we call a gradual declivity on both sides, covered with a pleasant continued verdure, an insurmountable difficulty? for this is all that can be supposed those mountains could then present, to obstruct those travellers journey, till the rains and the rivers, which sprang from the tops, had gradually washed away all that mud and earth; which could hardly be done till some centuries after.

THE same may be said, 3dly, of those now unpassable deserts, whose sands must, by their own weight, have subsided under such a thick crust of the same mud and earth, as nothing but a vast length of time could wash away, or sink through them. If such, then, was the surface of the earth for a much longer number of years than were sufficient for *Noah* and his colony to have reached the *Chinese* territories, though they had set out even from *Armenia*; or for his descendants to have marched from the *Bactrian* hills to the plains of *Shinaar*, as *Dr. Shuckford* supposes; is it not a mere illusion to lay such pretended insurmountable obstructions in their way, as were not in being till some centuries after, and then represent such journies as absurd, monstrous, and against the nature of things? But,

IX. THERE was still an easier and speedier way for *Noah* and his colony to have reached *China*, namely, by water. He could not so soon have forgot the structure of the ark, which had preserved him in a more perilous navigation; so that, upon his meeting, in his way from either place, either with the *Indus*, *Ganges*, or any other large river, which he could not but conclude must disembogue itself into some sea, or large reservoir, he had nothing to do but to fit out a sufficient number of vessels for himself and company, and sail down it, and thence steer his course as nearly as he could eastward, till some milder climate than those sultry ones he had left behind, or the prospect of some pleasant and fertile coasts, invited him to the shore. He might also proceed farther into the country, either by land, or by the help of some of those noble rivers with which *China* abounds, till he met with a settlement to his liking; the farther from his other descendants the better, and more out of danger of their disturbing his new colony. What would almost determine us to conclude that this was the way which that patriarch took to come into that country, is, that the *Chinese*, and their descendants, are the only people in all the known world, who, in the fabrication of their trading vessels, have kept strictly up to the original model of the ark, as will be shewn more fully under a subsequent article. But if the *Chinese* tradition be rather followed, which tells us, that *Fa-hi* first settled in some of the northern provinces, which are at a great distance from the sea-coasts, it will be more probable that he came thither all the way by land; unless we will suppose that he first landed on some of the southern coasts; and, either for conveniency or safety, removed farther

† See before, Introd. p. 493, & seq. BASNAG. Antiquit. Judaic. vol. ii. c. 2. §. 20, & seq.

northward, till the vast high mountains which divide that part of *China* from *Tartary*, appeared a to him a sufficient barrier to secure him, on that, from any invasion or disturbance from the other side.

How he came
to steer so
right.

As none of the suppositions above-mentioned can appear otherwise than rational and feasible (especially if we can, as we doubt not to do, remove all the other objections urged against *Noah's* being really cotemporary with *Fo-hi*, and consequently more probably the same with him), the only difficulty remaining with respect to the point in hand will be, how that patriarch, who must of course be supposed to have been but very little acquainted with the nature, form, and superficies, of the postdiluvian world, particularly with respect to its different zones, climates, soil, air, &c. came to steer his course so happily and judiciously, as to hit upon one of the pleasantest and most fertile spots in the whole world. To this it may be answered, that he might acquire a great part of that knowledge, by observing, as he travelled eastward, how b parched and barren every soil, and how sultry the climate, the nearer he approached to the sun, and *vice versa*; so that he could not be long at a loss how to make the best choice. And as to the extraordinary fertility of the country, we have already shewn, in the geography of it, that it is more owing to the ingenuity and indefatigable industry of the inhabitants, than to the mere natural fecundity of its soil or climate. As to the other part of the difficulty, it being raised on a wrong supposition, that the antediluvians had but a very imperfect knowledge of what we call the sphere, or globe, we shall now, in the

The antedilu-
vians masters
of astronomy.

TENTH place, make it evidently appear, that whatever not only the antient *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, *Babylonians*, &c. but even the *Chinese*, knew of astronomy, was, for the most part, if not wholly, derived from them. This being a curious point, which hath not hitherto been c sufficiently cleared up, we shall beg our reader's patience, if we dwell a little longer upon it, than we have on the former; especially, as the surprising harmony and uniformity which reign through the fundamentals of their several systems, will afford us a farther, and, as we think, a very convincing proof of the *Chinese* having received their own from no other, but the immediate hand of the patriarch *Noah*, after his settling himself with them in that country.

Convey it alike
to all the post-
diluvians.

To make this clear, we beg leave to observe, that the whole basis of what the antient nations above-named comprehended under the notion of astronomy, was every-where the same, not only with regard to such points as were demonstrable from observation and deductions, but likewise to many more, which were altogether arbitrary, and, which is still more surprising, with respect to a much greater number of such as were imaginary, doubtful, and groundless, d or absolutely ridiculous and false. We shall, for the sake of such of our readers as are not so well acquainted with these abstruse matters, subjoin an instance or two of each sort, in the subsequent note (E), by which they will easily perceive, how early the superstitious and ridiculous notions of astrology intermixed themselves with the more useful and noble discoveries in astronomy, among all those antient nations, how separate and distant soever from each other.

(E) Among those of the first, or demonstrable, sort, we may reckon the division of the heaven into zones, and other circles, the declension of the ecliptic, the distance of the poles from the equator, the course of the sun, moon, and other planets, &c.; of the second, or merely arbitrary, sort, where the division of the ecliptic into twelve signs (whence came the twelve months of the solar year, which we have formerly shewn, from *Moses's* account of the deluge, were in use as well before as since that time), that of the signs into degrees, and that of the rest of the heavens into constellations, and others of the like nature. Among those of the third, or imaginary, uncertain, or erroneous, kind (which are still more numerous and various, as superstition and falshood commonly propagate farther and faster than truth), we may reckon the whole tribe of superstitious rules, which make up the astrological art; such as dividing the ecliptic into four triplicities, answering the four elements, and allowing to three signs to each of them; as, ♈, ♎, and ♊, to the fire; ♉, ♊, and ♋, to the earth; ♌, ♍, and ♎, to the air; and the remaining three to the water. The assigning to each planet a different nature and influence, as hot, cold, moist, dry, malevolent, or benevolent, as also certain houses, or signs, in which their influence is more or less strong and powerful; thus, ♄, which is allowed the most malignant of all, hath his night and day-houses, and is reckoned strongest, in ♏ and ♑, is exalted in ♈, detrimented in ♉ and ♊, which are opposite to, or half a circle of 360 degrees distant from, his two houses above-mentioned, and hath his fall in

♋, opposite to the place of his exaltation; ♅, which is allowed the most benevolent of all the seven, hath his two houses in ♈ and ♉, is exalted in ♊, determined in ♋ and ♌, and hath his fall in ♏; and so of the rest; only with this difference, that the sun and moon have but one sign, or house, allotted to each of them, whereas the other five planets have each of them two. 3dly, Of the same uncertain or fabulous kinds are the different influences of these planets, according to their aspects to, that is, their distances from, each other; thus, a sextile, or distance of two signs, or sixty degrees, is reckoned good; a square, or three signs, bad; a trine, or four signs, best; and an opposition, or six signs, worst of all. From these various configurations of the planets, and the nature of the signs they chance to be in, and from numberless other rules of their art, equally uncertain, not to say imaginary and fabulous, they pretend that all sublunary affairs are so intirely governed, that not only the conception, birth, life, death, &c. of every living creature, the production, growth, perfection, and virtues, of all vegetables, minerals, &c. but the rise and fall, good or ill fate, of empires and countries, good and bad seasons, wars, pestilence, drought, famine, and, in a word, all the good and evil which happen in this world, is intirely owing to them, and may be foreseen and foretold by that pretended art, in which the astrologers of all nations followed almost the very same rules; and, from all which, we cannot but of course conclude, that they must all have received them from the self-same hands.

NETHER were the former confined to a mere speculative theory, or embraced only by a few crazy enthusiasts, but taught by the most learned, encouraged by the most powerful, men in every kingdom, and consulted by great and small, in the most important emergencies. Now there are but two ways to account for this general conformity, both in theory and practice, as well in points of an arbitrary, uncertain, and fallacious, as in those of a more certain and demonstrable, nature; *viz.* either by supposing, with several learned men, that *Adam* was created with a perfect knowledge of the nature, courses, and influence, of the heavenly bodies, and transmitted it to his posterity, by whom it was, in process of time, corrupted with an intermixture of the astrological and superstitious notions mentioned in the last note; or else, that his descendants acquired it, by the help of those frequent observations, which their longevity, serener atmosphere, and other advantages, they then enjoyed, enabled them to make, till, in process of time, their degeneracy, and natural propensity of prying into futurity, sunk them into all the astrological superstitions we have been speaking of.

LET the reader then suppose which of the two cases he will, he must be still forced to conclude, that the astronomical sciences, as well as the astrological superstitions built upon it, must have immediately flowed from the old into the new world: for, had those two systems been the product of the postdiluvian world, they must have been both completed, either before the general dispersion, or since. The former is altogether incompatible with their condition so soon after the deluge, that is, with the smallness of their number, the shortness of the time, their frequent migrations, and the few opportunities they had of making so many exact observations on the heavenly bodies, under such disadvantages.

NETHER can it possibly be supposed to have been done after the dispersion; for then, instead of that surprising conformity, which we observe to reign among all their systems, as well of astrology as astronomy, we should have met with nothing but the widest difference between them; at least, this must have been the case among nations so vastly distant from each other, with regard to the arbitrary points, and all the imaginary and groundless parts of their several astrological systems, whatever agreement there might be in those more demonstrable ones of their astronomy. And as for the *Chinese*, as they were the most distant from, as well as least conversant with, the rest, they must, of course, have differed more widely from them all; whereas, by all that we can judge from their antient writings, either in the astronomical or astrological way, they plainly appear to agree with them in all the fundamental rules of both, whether of theory or practice. From all which, we may fairly conclude, that they, as well as the rest of the eastern nations, must have received them from *Noah* and his three sons, some time before either he separated himself from them, to go eastward, or they were dispersed from one another. But how inconsistent this is with the contrary supposition, of *China* not being peopled till some long series of years, or rather ages, after the flood, let the reader judge.

How the astrological came so soon to intermix itself with the astronomical part, we shall endeavour to account for in the sequel; but, with relation to the latter, we beg leave to add, that nothing can more plainly evince their having received it from the antediluvians, than the little progress and improvements they made in it afterwards: for, can it be imagined, that the few men who were then in the world, by the mere strength of their genius, and by the help of the few occasional observations they made within the short space, which elapsed from the flood to the general dispersion, could be able to compile so exact and excellent a system of the heavenly bodies, and yet not be able, in a much greater number of ages, to raise it to any higher perfection? And yet nothing more clearly demonstrates this, than the great ignorance we find all those nations in, till we come to the time of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, concerning the cause, and method of calculating, of eclipses, and the jejune hypothesis of epicycles, by which they pretended to solve the swift and slow, the stationary and retrograde, courses, which they observed the inferior planets to move in; which epicycles, however strange and irregular, did yet pass current among all the old astronomers, till within these two centuries, when the *Copernican* system opened their eyes to a more satisfactory solution of that, and other puzzling phenomena, of the *Ptolemaic*.

THE reason of this universal neglect of astronomy, appears plainly to be their fondness for astrology; and that their learned only studied the former, for the sake of diving deeper, or, at least, of being thought so to do, into the pretended mysteries of the latter; and, as this was the most encouraged, and sought after by the great ones, and, of course, the most gainful to the professors, it is no wonder they should neglect the other, though the more noble and useful, for the sake of that. The *Chinese*, equally wrapped up with the same superstition, are the only antient nation that pretends to have made any considerable improvements in it, and to have found out the art of calculating eclipses, from the earliest times; and yet we have sufficiently shewn, in a former section, that all this boasted skill consisted rather in a diligent and curious observation, and recording of these, and other heavenly phenomena, than in foretelling them. In the former, no nation was more careful and exact; but that their skill fell

How it came to be intermixed with astrological figures.

Both flowed from the old to the new world.

The Chinese received theirs from Noah.

The slow and small progress of astronomy after the flood.

The boasted skill of the Chinese uncertain.

Consisted rather in observation than in calculating.

vastly short with respect to the latter, plainly appears from their being wholly ignorant of the above-mentioned irregularity of the motion of the inferior planets; insomuch, that they never took any notice of it, much less did they ever attempt to account for it, either by the supposition of epicycles, or by any other way, till the whole matter was unravelled to them by the *European* missionaries ^m.

THE sum and substance of what hath been said, under this tenth head, is briefly this:

1. THAT the exact harmony which we have observed to reign between the astronomy and astrology of the *Chinese*, and that of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, and other antient and far distant nations from them, not only in demonstrable, but in arbitrary, uncertain, imaginary, and erroneous points, is an evident proof of its being derived to them all from *Noah*, and his three sons, as it was to these from the antediluvian world. b

*Antediluvians
had some sort
of writing.*

*The best re-
cords preserved
by Noah.*

2. THAT all this great variety, both of true astronomical knowledge, and of astrological superstition, could neither be preserved by mere strength of memory, nor conveyed by bare oral tradition (F), but plainly supposes those antediluvians to have had some better helps, whether by painting, delineating, engraving, cutting in wood, stone, or metal, or by some other way, nearly equivalent to our writing or printing. The age of the world, and the longevity, vigour, and other advantages mankind then enjoyed, will not permit us to doubt of their being capable of making some such inconsiderable discovery, for preserving and communicating their knowledge; and the plainness and simplicity of the original *Chinese* characters ^a, which they boast to have received from their founder, makes it highly probable, that the art of writing was at least brought to that low pitch about the time of the deluge. If so, then it will as probably follow, that *Noah*, who had lived to see the greatest improvements made either in that, or any other branch of learning, spent some time in that long 100 years warning, which God had given him of the approaching deluge, in collecting and securing the best of these monuments, for his own and his posterity's use and instruction, and esteemed them as the most valuable relics of the old world. c

ACCORDINGLY, we are told, by *Josephus* ^{*}, that *Seth* first began to reduce astronomy into a regular system, which was gradually improved by his descendants, down to the time of the deluge; which they might the more easily do, considering their extraordinary longevity, pastoral life, serene sky, and other advantages, already named. *Noah*, who was heir to all their discoveries, and, without doubt, added many considerable ones of his own, all which he took care to communicate to his three sons, is, on that account, rightly supposed to be the *Atlas* of the heathen writers. His descendants so far imitated his example, as to be able to make some very considerable observations on the planetary system; particularly, that remarkable one which is recorded by those two celebrated astronomers of antiquity, *Adrastus Cyzicenus* and *Dio. Neapolites*, to have happened in the planet *Venus*, in the reign of *Ogyges*, when that luminous planet was observed to have received a very great change in its course, magnitude, colour, figure, &c. This singular phenomenon is likewise mentioned by *Castor*, and from him by *Varro*, and from them by *St. Augustin* [†]. It is true, none of the afore-mentioned authors tell us in which of the *Ogyges*'s reigns it happened; but it is commonly supposed to have been in that who is surnamed *Priscus*, and is reckoned to be the same with the Patriarch *Noah*; and that this wonderful change was occasioned by the vicinity of that planet to the earth, at the time of the general deluge [‡]; which is highly probable, considering, that she is nearest of all the seven to the earth, except the moon; and that, during the ten months in which the waters prevailed on the globe's surface, she came at least three times to her apogee, or greatest nearness to it; so that it can hardly be supposed, but that she must have received some very considerable change, or impression, from the vast atmosphere of fluid that then surrounded it d

^m See Father GAUBIL's Remarks in DU HALDE, Engl. part ii. p. 129.
p. 502.
c. 8.

^{*} JOSEPHUS Antiq. l. i. c. 3. & seq.

[†] See BURNET's Theory, WAKREN's Geologia, & al.

^a See before, Introduction,
[‡] AUGUSTIN. Civit. Dei, l. 21.

(F) It is, indeed, hardly to be supposed, that they could preserve, much less convey, the ideas of such a great number of circles, lines, &c. as compose the celestial sphere, together with the signs of the zodiac, and all the other constellations, without some such method as we are speaking of; especially, if we take in the names, nature, magnitude, situation, distance, &c. of those fixed stars that compose each constellation. With respect to these last, we are told (6), that some antient *Chinese* maps exhibit a number of them; which, though not visible to the naked eye, are yet found in their proper places (allowing for their progressive motion), by the help of a good telescope, an instrument

which doth not appear to have been known in *China* before the coming of the *European* missionaries thither. But whether these stars were discovered by the antediluvians, who, probably, enjoyed a better sight, and, doubtless, a clearer atmosphere, or whether, since the flood, by any other instruments unknown to us, is not in our power to divine. We are indeed told, by *Diod. Siculus*, on the authority of *Hecateus*, that the antient druids made use of some such instruments, by which they could draw the moon so near, that they could perceive seas, mountains, &c. in it. But if the *Chinese* had ever any of that kind, they have since quite lost all remembrance of them (7).

(6) Vide Father Kepler ap. Du Halde, Engl. vol. ii. p. 130.

(7) Father Gaubil ap. eund. ibid. p. 129.

- a on all sides, and much more so still, as often as she came in conjunction with the moon. Which being granted, doth plainly shew, not only how soon after the flood they began to make such curious observations on the planetary system, but likewise that they must have received the theory of them much earlier, viz. from the antediluvians, otherwise they could never have taken notice of this surprising change, in so many particulars as are above-mentioned. *Origen* accordingly tells us, that there had been found in *Arabia Felix* several manuscript copies, mostly treating of astronomy, which were universally allowed to have been transmitted to the new world by *Noah*; and *Tertullian*, who had seen, and read, some of them, assures us, that they were written on that subject; though, as we may probably suppose, not without some intermixture of the then reigning astrological stuff, foisted in by the transcribers of them.
- b HENCE those who kept so close to, and were most conversant with, that patriarch, must, of course, have received a double advantage by it, above those that dispersed themselves from him; for, in the first place, though it be reasonable to suppose, that he imparted his knowledge to them all alike, yet the latter being forced, after the dispersion, to suspend that study whilst they went in search of new settlements, and soon after that in the pursuit of their frequent wars against each other, that science must have suffered no small decay; whereas the former, whom we style *Noah's* eastern colony, had not only the constant use of his valuable records, but likewise the benefit of his expositions and lectures, both during their peregrination; and after their settlement in *China*; so that it is no wonder that they should make so much earlier a progress in it than the rest of the world: and accordingly the *Chinese* annals tells us that *Fo-hi* laid the first foundation of that, and other arts and sciences, and that his four or five immediate successors (G) brought them gradually to the perfection they were raised to afterwards °, till the arrival of the *Europeans* among them.
- c

The great advantage his colony received from them and him.

- But, 2dly, there was still a much greater advantage which they reaped from the lessons and example of the good old patriarch above all his other descendants, namely, that it preserved them from falling into the horrid idolatries which the rest gradually sunk into; for though, like all other antient nations, the *Chinese* ascribed some particular influences to the heavenly bodies, to which all sublunary things were in some measure subject (H); yet neither they, nor their descendants, ever degenerated so far as to worship them, till after several centuries, that is, till 64 years after Christ, when the accursed heresy of *Fo* was accidentally brought thither from *India*, and with it an inundation of the most abominable idolatries, but which are nevertheless held in the greatest abhorrence to this very time by all their philosophers, Literati, and better sort of people.
- d

FROM what hath been observed under the last article, one may be enabled to make a probable conjecture at the nature of epidemical sin, which occasioned the destruction of the old, and the so speedy dispersion of the new, race of mankind. The former, we have shewn, were infected with the absurd notion of the heavenly bodies having a considerable influence over all sublunary events: from this they might gradually degenerate into that of their being the only

° See their several reigns in MARTINI, DU HAI DE, and others.

(G) These five last we shall prove in the sequel, on the authority of our *Hebrew* chronology, to have been cotemporary with *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Amram*, *Levi*, and *Moses*.

(H) What is still more surprising is, that they, as well as all the other antient nations, should so unanimously agree in ascribing such particular influences to the very constellations, which, being no other than a colluvies of fixed stars of different natures, magnitudes, distances, &c. circumscribed within certain limits or lines, so as to represent in some measure the creatures whose names they bear, can, at best, be supposed, when thus arbitrarily joined into one sign or figure, to acquire a new virtue, in the same manner as a certain quantity of medicinal drugs of various natures do, when jumbled together in one compound: and yet we find this unaccountable influence not only acknowledged by all the antient astronomers, but even taken particular notice of in the book of *Job* (8), where the Almighty being introduced, by the inspired writer, as making express mention of their virtues, would incline a serious person to think that notion better founded, than the almost infinite distance of those bodies seems to admit of.

The words of our version, though short of the energy of the original, run thus: *Canst thou bind* (prevent, or restrain) *the sweet influence of the Pleiades, or let loose the bands of Orion? Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his*

season, or guide Arcturus, with his sons? Knowest thou the ordinances of heaven, or how to appoint them their dominion over the earth? How far our version hath hit the right names of these constellations, is out of our province to inquire; the reader may consult the commentators about it, and more particularly the curious dissertation published by the learned Mr. *Coster*, of *Oxford*, on that subject. It is enough for us that the *Hebrew* words *Chezid*, *Mazzaroth*, *Hay*, &c. are agreed to signify some certain constellations; and that the terms of binding, loosing, &c. imply some kind of peculiar virtue or influence belonging to them, by the appointment of their all-wise Creator. And thus far all nations might agree in general; but that they should all be so unanimous in assigning to each its proper influence, can hardly be otherwise accounted for, than by supposing that they all received the same theory from one person, that is, from *Noah*. In which case it will be equally difficult to conceive how the *Chinese*, the most remote from, and unacquainted with, the rest of the world, should retain so great a share of it in common with them, if not led and settled there under him. Had their country been peopled by the same latter colonies that peopled north-east *Tartary*, they would have been quite as ignorant of astronomy and other sciences as they, instead of cultivating and improving, as they did, from the beginning of their monarchy.

(8) *Ch.* xxxviii. 31, & seq.

directors

Preserved
from sinking
into idolatry.

The old super-
stition not quite
extinct among
the rest.

The Chinese
believe an
over-ruling
Providence;

and other
parts of the
ancient reli-
gion and wor-
ship.

Their astrology
did not exclude
an over-ruling
Providence.

directors and governors of this lower world, and consequently the only objects of their worship; a
than which notion, nothing could be more capable of sinking them into that universal corrup-
tion and degeneracy, in which the deluge overtook them^p. We must, however, here except
the righteous line of *Setb*, among whom alone the true religion, that is, the belief of an over-
ruling Providence, was still preserved; the last of whom were *Noah* and his sons, who were
on that account reserved to replenish the new world with a more hopeful progeny. However,
it but too plainly appears, that these three last were not all perfectly cured, by that severe
punishment, from the antediluvian contagion, since it so quickly raged afresh, and infected
the greatest part of this new off-spring in less than seventy years after the flood: for what else
could they mean by building such a monstrous high tower, but to secure themselves against
a second deluge? and what should put such a wild and impious notion into their heads, but a b
firm persuasion, agreeable to the antediluvian belief above-mentioned, that, as the first was
caused by the power and influence of the stars and planets in some certain configuration, so the
same might again, or would most likely, happen whenever these heavenly bodies came to meet
again in the same position†? It is true, they had an express promise and assurance to the con-
trary from God himself^q; and no doubt the good old patriarch took care to urge that, and all
other proper topics, to deter them from that wicked enterprise; but the catastrophe shews how
little regard they paid to either, or even to the punishment that so closely followed their rebel-
lion, seeing they had not been long dispersed from one another, before we find them all alike
immersed in the old idolatry, and the worshipping of the sun, moon, and stars, and all the
hosts of heaven, whilst even the bare notion of an over-ruling Providence seems to have been c
quite extinguished among them.

XI. THIS consideration affords us another probable argument of *Noah* being the *Chinese*
Fo-hi, and planting his colony there; namely, the just and constant idea which that nation
hath religiously preserved, not only during a long series of ages, but doth still to this day
among their philosophers and better sort of people, of a divine over-ruling Power, who directs
and governs all things, knows the secrets of all hearts, and to whom all men are accountable
for their thoughts, words, and actions^r. Had *China* been peopled by *Tubal*, *Meshech*, or
any other remote descendants from *Noah*, we should have found them, like all the rest, immersed
in idolatry, and worshipping the whole starry and planetary tribe, under the names of *Baal*,
Astarte, *Milkom*, *Chemosh*, *Dagon*, and such-like, without the least notion of a superior power d
over-ruling them. Even the very heads of the line of *Shem* were so tainted with the same
idolatrous infection, that it was the very reason why God called *Abraham* from among them,
when he made choice of him to be the restorer of his true religion and worship^s: whereas
the *Chinese* appear to have retained, from the earliest times of their monarchy, the sublimest
ideas of, and deepest regard to, the divine and over-ruling Lord of heaven, not only from
their *Shu-king*, and other canonical books, but from the constant and regular sacrifices which
they offered up to him at all proper seasons, and the solemn manner in which it was per-
formed; insomuch that no person, however great, wise, or good, was deemed worthy to
perform the priestly function, but the emperor himself, as we have elsewhere shewn ‡.

To this we may add another equally ancient and laudable custom of theirs in all public cala- e
mities, such as civil wars, pestilence, famine, great droughts, &c. of applying themselves in
the humblest manner to the Supreme Being alone for relief; and returning their most solemn
thanks to him alone, as soon as they had obtained it (I). How opposite was this to the prac-
tice of all other nations, who, upon all such occasions, used to celebrate solemn festivals to
their false deities, carry their images about in solemn processions, and ascribe the glory of all
their blessings and deliverances to them!

It must be owned, indeed, that the *Chinese* were infected, like all the rest of *Noah's* poste-
rity, with the superstitious contagion of the starry influence over all sublunary bodies, and
from the earliest times directed most of their astronomical observations to that end: but there

^p Vid. Genes. vi. 5. [†] See JOSEPHUS Ant. lib. i. c. 5.
their *Shu-king*, CONFUCIUS's Morals, and other philosophical works.
xxiv. 2. [‡] See before, p. 582. See also vol. v. ii. p. 410, & alib. pass.

^q Genes. ix. 8—13.

^r See

^s See Genes. xiii. & seq. Josh.

(I) We find accordingly, in the *Chinese* annals, many
singular instances of their pious ancient monarchs, who,
in all such public calamities, went at the head of a nu-
merous court, all dressed, as well as themselves, in the
meanest garb, and other marks of the deepest humility
and repentance, to intreat the Lord of heaven to avert
his just judgments from them; and here the good
monarchs, addressing themselves to that Supreme Being
in the most humble and pathetic terms, earnestly be-
sought him, that, if his anger and justice could not be
otherwise appeased, he would let the effects thereof fall
upon them alone; and that their lives might be accept-

ed by him, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the rest of the
nation. The blessing, once obtained, was celebrated
with public and solemn thanks; to which those princes
added vast donatives, and other immunities, to the
poorer sort of their subjects, especially to such provin-
ces as had been the greatest sufferers. We shall have
occasion, in the sequel of this history, to give some re-
markable instances of this singular piety, in which those
monarchs, as high-priests of the whole nation, seem to
have acted so very conformably to the office of the sa-
crificature, both before and under the *Jewish* law, that
we could not forbear taking particular notice of it.

was

a was still this difference between them, that whereas the other nations believed those heavenly bodies to be free and powerful agents, and applied to them as to the sole directors of all sublimary events, the *Chinese* looked upon them only as necessary agents, whose power and influence were impressed upon them by an almighty hand, who had still the supreme rule and government over them, and, as such, addressed themselves to him in all great emergencies, without the least regard to any of the starry tribe, which they believed to be no other than instruments in his over-uling hand^c. But how they came to judge and distinguish so justly of both, above all other nations, will be difficult to account for, unless we ascribe it to the singular care which their good old patriarch must be supposed to have taken to forewarn them against that dangerous error, which he so well knew had been the main cause of the destruction b of the old world, and of the fatal degeneracy of the new, and the chief motive of his withdrawing himself so far from them (K).

XII. THIS last consideration naturally leads us to a new and no less probable argument in favour of our hypothesis; namely, the excellency of the religion, laws, government, policy, morality, philosophy, &c. of the *Chinese*, above all other antient nations, even those which are allowed the most learned and polite; and consequently every way worthy of so divine a patriarch and lawgiver. This is indeed a point we could with pleasure dwell longer upon, had it not been already so learnedly displayed by much better pens, that it is now universally allowed by all sides; but, on that account, we shall content ourselves with referring our readers to the short sketch we have formerly given of them^d, and shall only add here a remark or two from the whole, which will still farther confirm it.

FIRST, then, it is well worth observing, that, among the sublime ideas which their canonical books give us of the Deity, beyond what is to be met with in the theology of other antient nations, it mentions, in particular, the care which the Divine Providence takes to forewarn mankind by signs, prodigies, and other awakening methods, of the impending judgments which are going to fall upon them, in order to excite them to avert the divine vengeance by all proper acts of repentance^e; which excellent notion, taken in its full extent, can hardly be supposed to have flowed from any other source than from the threatnings, warnings, and dreadful omens, which the good old patriarch had been a mournful witness to, during more than a whole century before the flood: for, though other heathenish nations not only looked upon all such dire prodigies, but even upon every uncommon phænomenon, to be the forerunners of some public calamities, yet it doth not appear that they looked upon the former as directed by the divine goodness to forewarn mankind against the danger of the latter: much less did they entertain any notion of repentance being the only effectual means to avoid it; choosing rather to have recourse to such horrid rites and sacrifices, as were more likely to hasten than avert the impending judgment.

SECONDLY, We find that they had, among their most valuable records, some signal prophecies of the Messiah's being to appear in human flesh in some of the western parts of the world; and which were so plainly understood, so firmly believed, and so religiously preserved, that their great philosopher *Confucius*, who lived near 500 years before our Saviour, could point out the very year of their cycle, or sexagenary, in which he was to be born. And we are farther assured, that in that very year, which was that in which the world's Redeemer was born, the then reigning emperor *Ngai* (which name signifies victorious) exchanged it for that of *Ping*, peaceful, or *pacific*^f; from which we may reasonably infer, that they must have likewise

^c See their *Shu-king*, and other canonical books.

Introduction, p. 498.

Sinic. lib. iv. p. 149. x. p. ult.

^d See *Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 115, & seq.* See before,

^e MARTINI *Hist.*

(K) If it should be asked, how so wise and good a man as he could suffer this favourite colony to intermix still with such sublime and just notions of the Supreme Being, so much of the astrological superstition, and did not rather endeavour to extirpate all the remains of that old antediluvian leaven? it may be answered, either that the notion of the influence of the stars on this lower world might not appear to him so false, absurd, and ill-grounded, as it is now commonly judged^{*}, nor in any other way dangerous, than as it excluded the belief of an over-uling Providence, which last he doubtless was careful to prevent both by his lessons and example; or else it may be reasonably enough supposed, that some of the seeds of that superstitious notion might be privately preserved by some of his people, and suffered to spread itself by degrees amongst the rest, unknown to him, or perhaps, more likely, against all his

endeavours to suppress it; so bewitching was that belief, and still is among the greatest part of the world.

We have dwelt somewhat the longer on this subject of the astronomy and astrology of the antients, as it is a point which hath been but slightly, if at all, considered, either with respect to the inventors of it (the honour of it being generally given to the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, *Babylonians*, &c. and by few, if any, to the antediluvians); or, secondly, with regard to the *Chinese*, so far as they have excelled all other antient nations in cultivating and improving it; nor, lastly, with respect to the proofs which might be, and which we hope we have, actually drawn from its universal conformity, of *Noah* being the *Chinese* *Fo-hi*; which we therefore flatter ourselves will be a sufficient excuse for the extraordinary length of this article; we shall endeavour to be more succinct in those that follow.

^{*} See before, note (H), on *Job xxxviii. 31. Judg. v. 20. & alib. pass.*

had some clear notion of the character, and peaceable reign, of that divine person; and it was from a firm persuasion of this prophecy that the philosopher above-mentioned used to comfort himself with the thoughts that the HOLY-ONE, as he styled him, was to come from, or to appear in, the west². But how the *Chinese*, of all the descendants of *Noah*, came to preserve such lively traces of the promised Messiah, when all the rest, and even the family of *Shem*, of whom he was to be born, hardly retained any notion, till he was more clearly revealed to *Abraham* and his posterity, can no otherwise be accounted for, than by supposing that *Noah* left some authentic records of it among them, and that *Confucius* had been sufficiently conversant with them as to be able to find out the year in which he was to be born, and the part of the world where he was to make his appearance. If it be asked, how even *Noah* could so exactly know the time of his birth, whilst the latter *Jews*, who had much clearer revelations concerning it, and we may add the Christians too, are at such variance about it? The answer is easy, there being a constant tradition in *Noah's* family, as well before as after the flood, that Christ was to be born either at the very close of the fourth, or the entrance of the fifth, millenary (L); so that the difficulty among the Christians and *Jews*, about settling that remarkable period, proceeds merely from the difference of their chronologies with respect to the age of the world, of which we have given an ample specimen at the beginning of our Antient History[†]. If, therefore, the *Chinese* could so exactly point out that remarkable epocha, and fix the end of the fourth millenary so rightly, all that can be inferred from it is, that they have preserved their records more carefully, and in greater purity, at least from the creation to the birth of Christ, than any other nation we know of, whatever corruption they may have been suffered since to undergo, either to make them tally more exactly with the septuagint chronology, or to give the *Chinese* nation a greater antiquity: for it is hardly to be supposed they could have any other rule to fix that epocha by, but the tradition in that patriarch's family, of Christ appearing in our flesh at the end of the fourth millenary; and since, as it plainly appears that he was born exactly at that year, according to our *Hebrew* chronology; and that, in the very same year, the then reigning monarch did, out of regard to his character, exchange his name of victorious into that of pacific; we cannot but look upon this as a strong presumption that the *Chinese* chronology would be found more exact, and agreeable to our *Hebrew*, if it had not been lengthened and disfigured, to answer some of the sinister ends above-mentioned. This is not, however, the only proof we have to offer on that head, though the properest place in which it could be mentioned. The remainder, which we hope will be allowed of much greater weight and authority, will be better reserved for a subsequent article; in which we shall display such farther harmony between the *Chinese* and *Hebrew* chronology, from some authentic facts recorded in both, as will at once make them reflect a mutual and surprising evidence on each other, discover the fallacy of the pretended *Chinese* antiquity, and of its boasted agreement with the septuagint, and enable us to fix the beginning of their monarchy upon a more rational and authentic foundation than any hitherto extant.

Whence they had this last.

The antient Chinese chronology proved thence to be more juſt.

Their religion a proof of Noah being their founder.

BUT, before we dismiss the topic of their excellent religion, laws, &c. we beg leave to observe how inconsistent the supposition of its having been founded by some of the more remote descendants of *Noah* must appear, to any unbiassed reader, with that purity of their antient worship and doctrine, which displayed itself so wonderfully from the earliest times, whilst all other nations were sunk into the lowest kind of idolatry, the most unnatural and inhuman rites, and scarcely retained the least awe or notion of a supreme and over-ruling power. If *Noah* must not be allowed to have gone into *China*, but to have settled any-where else amongst his other descendants, how comes it that neither the excellency of his doctrine as a preacher of righteousness, nor his authority as their common parent, could preserve them from the general corruption and degeneracy in theory and practice? And how can a few late stragglers, who, by gradual and long-continued migrations, searched for new settlements, be supposed to have been the only ones who preserved their faith and manners so long incorrupt, and lived in a manner the most agreeable to all the precepts and example that such an holy patriarch could have given

² MARTINI Hist. Sinic. lib. iv. p. 149. x. p. ult. Vid. & KERCHER, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, & al.
[†] See before, Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 69, & seq.

(L) This tradition, which is affirmed by the *Jews* to be as antient as the promise made to *Adam* after the fall (9), is founded on the creation being finished in six days, and God resting on the seventh; from which, computing a day for a thousand years (10), they concluded that the world would last 7000 years, that is,

2000 before the law, 2000 under the law, and 2000 under the Messiah, after which was to follow his glorious and universal reign of 1000 years, styled by them the great sabbath, and by the Christians the millennium, of which we have given an account in the Antient History of the *Jews* (11).

(9) Genes. iii. 15.

(10) See ii. Peter c. ult. ver. 8.

(11) See Ant. Hist. vol. i. p. 614.

a them, had they been under his immediate care and government * ? Is it not more rational to think that they received their religion, laws, philosophy, morality, learning, and way of life, from him ; and that it was their deep regard to his authority that influenced this people to observe them with that constant tenaciousness, which they have ever since maintained ? whilst all his other descendants (the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Chaldeans*, *Celts*, *Scythians*, &c. down to the *Greeks* and *Romans*), chusing rather to be guided by what they called the light, though too often more truly the corrupt appetites, of nature, than by his excellent maxims and authority, gradually sunk into the most extravagant follies, monstrous impieties, and inhuman rites and superstitions, as every reader may see by the account we have formerly given of the religion and customs of those antient nations, in each of their respective histories : but it is time
b now to pass on to some other arguments.

XIII. THE *Chinese* records ascribe the invention of their antient characters, of which we have formerly given an account ^a, to *Fo-hi*, and his immediate successors ; and we have lately observed, that the antediluvians could not but be possessed of some such way of preserving and imparting their knowledge, of which *Noah*, apprised as he was so long before of the approaching deluge, and of his being designed to repeople the new world, must be supposed to have made the best collection. But as those characters, whatever they were, could not prove sufficient to answer all the variety of ideas which he had acquired by the different scenes which the new world continually offered to his observation after the flood, he must of course be under a necessity of inventing some new ones answerable to them. And hence probably proceeded both the primitive similitude, and the accidental difference, between those of the antient *Chinese* and *Egyptians*, the two most distant nations, not only in point of situation, but likewise with respect to their religion, learning, &c. whilst the descendants of *Shem* and *Japhet* seem to have wholly neglected that useful art ; at least it doth not appear that they had it among them till the use of letters was divinely revealed to *Moses*. However, as to those antient characters, or hieroglyphics, there can be no doubt but that the vast alterations which were made on the new world must have required a fresh supply of them ; and who could be fitter for such a task than *Noah*, who was so well acquainted with the old ones ? on which account he might easily enough be styled the inventor of the whole ; and it cannot be denied that those ascribed to *Fo-hi* bear the undoubted marks of a primitive and original one.

d If, upon the whole, therefore, *Fo-hi* and *Noah* can be shewed to be coeval, the invention of those characters will still add to the probability of their being the same person, only under two different names ; and at the same time account for the singular and even religious regard which the *Chinese* have ever paid to that way of writing, since, in that case, they could not but look on the author of it as a person divinely inspired.

XIV. AND hence may also have proceeded that surprising zeal, and tenacious fondness, they have always retained, above all other nations, not only for their religion, laws, discipline, &c. but likewise for their antient customs relating to education, behaviour, dress, eating, drinking, conversation, ceremony, œconomy, and the like : for it is plain that they look upon all the maxims and rules concerning every one of them to be plainly either expressed or implied in their canonical books, which they esteem to be of divine authority ; inasmuch that their monarchs thought themselves indispensably bound to observe them ; and those are most celebrated in their annals, who paid the greatest regard to them. And under this head may we not justly insist upon that singular and extraordinary respect which we have elsewhere observed is paid by the whole nation, from the highest to the lowest rank, by children to their parents ? This is indeed one of the duties they most strenuously insisted upon in their canonical and other philosophical writings ; and the unparalleled instances we have formerly given of its strict observance, fully shew to what a height they have carried it above all other people we now read of : but, whether in this, or in all other respects above-mentioned, how can it be supposed that a less authority than that of the good old patriarch, joined to a deeply-rooted consciousness of the efficacy of parental blessing or cursing, such as they had seen a remarkable instance of in the case of one of his three sons, could have ever enforced such a religious and indelible sanction on all his institutes, and inspired a whole nation with so lasting a regard to them, as even to despise and hate all the rest of the world for not observing them ?

XV. The same may be urged with relation to their agriculture, the invention of which they ascribe to the same *Fo-hi*, as *Moses* doth to the patriarch *Noah* soon after the flood ^b. From the words, indeed, of the sacred historian (and *Noah began to be an husbandman*, or, as the original imports, began his first essays in husbandry) we may reasonably infer, that the antediluvians were not much versed in it ; and therefore his first attempts seem to have been only of the rude and common kind, as planting, sowing, &c. : but, by that time he had

* De hoc, vid. TRIGLAND Chr. exped. ap. Sin. lib. i. SMED. Relig. Sinar. p. i. c. 18. NIEUHOFF Ambass. part. ii. PURCH. Pilgrim. lib. iv. & alib. KERCHER Sin. Illust. MARTINI, LE COMPTE, DU HALDE, MAGAILLAN, & al. sup. citat. See before, Introduction. p. 502. b GEN. ix. 20. Their antient characters another argument of Noah being their founder. Their religious fondness for all their old customs another argument of it. Their agriculture another argument.

travelled through so many different climates, and variety of soils, in his slow and gradual migrations towards the east, he might become so perfect a master of it, as to be able to leave his descendants such useful rules and observations, as might justly intitle him to the honour of being the inventor of it.

No-where
more encourag-
ed and im-
proved.

Their monarchs
obliged to ex-
ercise it.

IN the like manner the *Chinese* records tell us, that *Fo bi* left some such excellent directions to his successors, for the encouragement and improvement of it; and that they proved such diligent and strenuous observers of them, that they enacted sundry laws, and caused divers treatises to be written, for the promoting and endearing it to all their subjects. And the reader may judge, by the description we have given of that whole country in a former section, to what a degree of perfection their genius and indefatigable industry have since raised it; insomuch that no nation under the sun ever cultivated it to better advantage, or gave greater encouragement to it, than this. We shall only add, that even their greatest monarchs are not exempted by their laws from putting their hands to the plough; but, over and above the many immunities, and other favours, they are under a necessity of granting to the husbandmen, in times of drought, famine, and the like, are obliged, at some particular seasons of the year, and more especially soon after their accession to the throne, to divest themselves of the imperial grandeur, and, in the homeliest rural garb, to perform some of the lowest exercises in agriculture, as we have elsewhere shewn^c: so that, upon the whole, as no nation ever more closely followed the steps of the first postdiluvian patriarch than this, it can hardly be supposed that a less authority than his could have enforced so strict and long an observation of those laws which are there enacted in favour of that most useful art^d.

The forbidding
the use of wine
another argu-
ment.

XVI. THE subject of agriculture naturally leads us to another argument on this head; viz. that the *Chinese* are the only people that we know of, before *Mohammed's* time, that ever interdicted the use of wine, or ever so religiously abstained from it, from the earliest date of their monarchy down almost to their late conquest by the *Tartars*^e. This singularity hath indeed been urged by the opposite side as an argument that *Noah* never set his foot in the *Chinese* territories; since this branch of husbandry is there wanting, which that patriarch is recorded to have made one of his first essays^f: but how justly or judiciously, let the reader judge. *Noah*, whilst yet with his sons, planted a vineyard; and being at that time, as is most likely, quite unacquainted with the strange effects of its juice, drank so plentifully of it, that it threw him into a deep sleep, in which he lay with his body so exposed, that two of his sons were put to no small difficulty to cover him with a truly filial decency; whilst his third had a most dreadful curse pronounced on him and his posterity, for exposing him^g. If, therefore, there had not been one single vine growing in the whole *Chinese* empire, could a better reason be given or imagined, why the good old patriarch would not suffer such a dangerous plant to be propagated within his dominions, than the disaster which befel him by it, let it have been of what nature it would^h. Could he express his displeasure at it in a stronger manner, than by the blessings he bestowed on the two former, and the curse he vented against the latter? or could any thing be a stronger motive for his interdicting the use of that dangerous liquor to his descendants, though *Moses* hath not taken any notice of it? And indeed to what purpose would it have been for him to have mentioned it, when he so well knew that all the rest of the world, his own kindred not excepted, shewed so little regard for it, and the *Chinese* alone were the only people that paid a due and strict obedience to it? But, what still more redounds to their honour, and confirms our hypothesis, is, that vines are as much cultivated among them as in any other nation, whatever be pretended to the contrary by the opposite side, and afford as great a variety of the finest grapes (M), which they content themselves with eating either ripe or dried, and only abstain from the juice of them.

The Chinese
vessels made

XVII. THE *Chinese* are the only people that we know of in the whole world, excepting the *Japanese* (who have taken it from them), who, in the structure and dimensions of their trading and other vessels of burden, have retained the original model of the ark. 1. They allow them six breadths to their length, which *Moses* tells us was exactly the proportion of *Noah's* ark^b; whereas other nations allow theirs only three breadths, except only in some

^c See before, p. 500.

ibid. ^f GENES. ix 20.

vol. i. p. 118, Note †.

^d See KERCHER, MARTINI, LE COMPTE, & al. supra citat.

^e GENES. ubi sup. vers. 25, & seq.

^b GENES. chap. vi. vers. 14, & seq.

^g Ibidem

† See Ant. Hist.

(M) We are told accordingly by *Martini*, *Smedo*, *Nicuboff*, and others, that the provinces of *Shan-si* and *Shen-si* are famed for the beauty and sweetness of their grapes; and those are more particularly celebrated which grow in the neighbourhood of the city of *Pyng-yang*, where *Yau*, their eighth emperor, and great promoter of agriculture, who was a great lover of them, did, on that account, chuse to reside. Since, there-

fore, the *Chinese* allow themselves the use of other exhilarating and intoxicating liquors, which are neither so palatable, nor so easily made, it will be hard to account for their abstaining from such fine wines, as they might express out of their noble grapes, if it be not done upon some such religious account as we have been speaking of.

- a small canoes. 2. They build them flat on the head, stern, and bottom; whereas all other nations have them sharp. 3. They commonly give them three tiers, or storeys, one over the other, and each of them parted by long galleries reaching almost from end to end, and subdivided into smaller apartments of different sizes: some for stowage of merchandizes, provisions, &c. and others for lodgings for passengers, and those that belong to the vessel; all which is likewise exactly according to the structure of the ark, and quite different from all other nations. This cannot but be allowed to be very singular; and, though we will not enter into a needless contest, about which of the two methods be most preferable, or best contrived, either for safety, expedition, or for carrying the greatest burdens; but readily own, that the latter is an improvement of the former; yet will it then be still more hard to conceive how the *Chinese*, who are in no way inferior to any other nation in ingenuity, and have moreover been inured to the maritime trade from the earliest ages of their monarchy, came to give all along the preference to their old way of building, unless we suppose it to be out of a singular respect they ever paid to the divine model above-mentioned, and to the venerable builder of it (N).

- XVIII. To all the topics lately urged from the extraordinary regard they paid to every thing which they thought to be derived to them from their worthy founder, we may add the sacred antiquity and authority which their philosophers and Literati have always attributed to their *Schu-king*, and other canonical books, as well as to their other antient records, above all other nations. Of this we need no greater proof than, 1st, The many comments which have been written on them, and the high encomiums they have bestowed on their authors, whom they esteemed as men inspired by heaven, and endowed with a divine character and authority. 2. The great veneration that is paid by the learned to their commentators and expositors, such as *Mencius*, *Confucius*, and others. And, 3dly, the generous use they have always made of those books and comments, for the good and instruction of the people; and that most justly too, since there is nothing to be found in them but what plainly leads their readers to their original fountain the great *Fo-hi*, and his immediate successors, without the usual parade of any such obscure, remote, and incredible antiquity as we meet with in those of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, and other antient nations: neither did they contain any thing but what was conducive to make men wiser and better, in proportion to their being conversant with them. It is therefore no wonder if, instead of secreting them from public view, and locking them up as the great arcana of their religion and government, as was done every-where else, they esteemed it their duty and glory to publish and explain them to all who had capacity or inclination to dive into them; rightly judging, that that was the most effectual way to preserve to those antient writings the veneration they so justly deserved; and to prevent at the same time their being abused and corrupted by designing men, as those commonly are most liable to be, which are purposely kept from public sight, and can only be admired by the ignorant.

- XIX. To what hath been urged under the last head, some seemingly considerable objections have been started, which we shall now endeavour to clear up under this.

1. It is pretended, that there are many false and fabulous things inserted in the six or seven first reigns, which quite destroy their authority; and that the length which is allowed to them in their annals is very much disputed, nay discredited, by the most judicious writers, and even by those of that nation. To the first of these it may be easily answered, that there hath been scarcely any antient people under the sun that have not had something in their origin, and first beginnings, which hath the air and appearance of fable, but which would carry a quite different aspect, were we better acquainted with their mythology, antiquities,

¹ De his, vid. HERODOT. MANETHO, SANCHONIATH. & al.

(N) In speaking of that surprising structure, we know not whether we may not add another *Chinese* custom, which seems very probably to have taken its rise from it; viz. their famed festival of lights or lanthorns, of which we have taken notice in a former section †, as having been observed throughout the whole empire from time immemorial, and with the greatest pomp and solemnity. We have there shewn what a lame and uncertain account some of their writers give of its origin and institutor; but which is so unsuitable and unworthy of the solemnity and grandeur with which it is kept, that the wiser sort justly look upon it as ridiculous, though they cannot substitute a better for it.

May we not therefore more reasonably conjecture it to have been instituted, from the very beginning of that monarchy, in memory of the many lamps with

which the good patriarch was obliged to enlighten his gloomy habitation, during the twelve melancholy months of his confinement in it? And may not those shews which we observed are exhibited in some of those large lanthorns by puppets, and other machinery, have been originally designed to represent some of the scenes of that dreadful transaction, such as his conveying all the living creatures into the ark, feeding them there, his coming out with them, his first sacrifices to God, and the like; the remembrance of all which, by length of time, became obliterated, as well as the reason of the institution of that pompous festival: but these conjectures we submit to the reader, only as being at least more probable than any which have been hitherto offered concerning it.

† See before, p. 625, & seq. & (D).

Argument a-
gainst their
genuineness.

idiom, characters, and other the like particulars; so that all this pretended series of fables a may, for aught that appears to the contrary, be intirely owing to mistake and ignorance, and that in no case more probably than with relation to the *Chinese*, whose original character, language, &c. were understood by so few of their learned, and so liable to be misunderstood. And as to the length of the first reigns above-mentioned, though they are allowed to be much questioned, or even discredited, by the partisans of the septuagint chronology, or even by some of the *Chinese* writers, out of an affectation of a greater antiquity; yet if we can prove, from good authority, that those which have intervened between *Fo-hi* and *Yau* do as exactly tally, as any thing of that nature can do, with the coeval generations recorded by *Moses* between *Noah* and *Joshua*, whom we shall likewise prove to have been cotemporary with *Fo-hi* and *Yau*, according to our *Hebrew* chronology, it is to be hoped b that this will be looked upon not only as a sufficient answer to the objection above-mentioned, but likewise as no small confirmation of the *Chinese* annals, so far as relates to the length of those reigns; especially as nothing material hath been hitherto urged against it, except its disagreement with the septuagint, and *Chinese* chronology; according to which, that of all the subsequent dynasties and monarchies is calculated and determined, or rather hath been stretched out and lengthened at pleasure, as will be more clearly seen in the sequel.

HOWEVER, abating that one point, in which, to reconcile two chronologies together, they have been forced to spin out the period between the reign of *Yau* and the birth of Christ, by near 900 years above what our *Hebrew* makes it, there can hardly be any question, but in all other respects the history is as exact, faithful, and well compiled, as any extant; and c more particularly so with relation to the series of dynasties, the names, successions, and exploits, of each royal family, and respective reign, as *Du Halde* hath lately shewn^k; and if, in this last respect, it be confessed to be less copious and particular than those of some other nations, it will also be found less fabulous, and consequently more to be depended upon, than they, as we shall shew in the sequel.

Not the scar-
city of facts,
and other ma-
terials.

BUT to this two things are objected, which seem to carry some weight; viz. that their great *Confucius*, who is said to have lived about 500 years before our Saviour, complained much of the great scarcity of materials then to be found towards compiling such a history as might be worthy to be transmitted to posterity; insomuch that he was forced to content himself with these few observations on some extraordinary phænomena, and such other d common events as he could find upon record, instead of the illustrious achievements with which he would much rather have chosen to have embellished the reigns of those antient monarchs, had any such been transmitted down to his time. Well, be it so; can the sterility of those old records destroy the credit of those facts which they take particular notice of? Is it not rather a mark of their faithfulness, that they transmit nothing to us that might be liable to be questioned? The characters and exploits of those antient monarchs might have been as too commonly is the case, greatly exaggerated in their favour; whereas such uncommon phænomena as are there recorded, and could be observed by the whole nation, and more safely relied were upon, things which they justly thought more worthy to be transmitted to posterity. We shall have occasion, under our next head, to instance f in one or two particulars, which will sufficiently shew how curious, exact, and just, they were in observing and recording such kinds of remarkable events, whilst they appeared to have been quite negligent of others, which we should judge more weighty and proper for a national history.

All the antient
records pre-
tended to have
been destroy'd
by Shi-whang-
ti.

BUT, 2dly, the universal destruction which *Shi-whang-ti* caused to be made of all the *Chinese* books and writings which related to history, or any other science, except law and phy- sic, is here objected against the credit of all their antient records; and from this general havock, which happened, according to their chronology, about 213 years before the birth of Christ, they infer that little else could be recovered but some scraps and fragments, which were so liable to be mangled and corrupted by the collectors, that no credit can be safely g given to, or dependence had upon, them; insomuch, that these hypercritics much question whether any of those editions of them, which were since published, bear any resemblance to their prototypes; though the *Chinese* annals assure us, that *Vu-ti*, a wise and excellent successor of the tyrant above-mentioned, caused them to be every-where sought for, and written anew, within little more than seventy-three years after, and to be taught in all the academies of the empire^l. To which it may therefore be justly answered, that it is absurd to suppose that such an universal destruction of books so highly esteemed, could ever reach through every part of so extensive an empire, let the tyrant's authority have been ever so great, or his edict ever so severely executed.

That destruc-
tion could not
be universal.

^k See Engl. edit. vol. i. p. 130, & seq. seq. & (D).

^l See MARTINI, DU HALDE, and Introd. p. 512, &

a THE *Shu-king*, and other canonical books, as well as the writings of *Mencius*, *Confucius*, and other great philosophers, were held in too great esteem, to be supposed to have been thus tamely given up to the flames, in every province, and by every owner of them. It is much more reasonable to think, from the short space of time it took up to have the greatest part of them re-published, and dispersed, that a good number of copies were preserved intire, either in some of the remotest provinces, or, at least, in some of those petty kingdoms, which were only tributary to, or independent on, him. Much more unlikely is it, that the many other kingdoms without the limits of the empire, some of which were very considerable, and among whom those venerable writings were held in equal esteem, should all thus basely join in so execrable a design. *Sbi-whan-ti*'s whole reign, which lasted thirty-three years, could hardly have sufficed for the discovery of such a vast number of volumes, scattered far and near, without, as well as within, his dominions, much less to have forced them out of their owners hands; how much more so, if we consider that his edict did not come out till the latter end of his reign, as will be seen in the sequel? Let it then be but supposed, that two or three authentic copies were preserved intire, either within or without his empire, and afterwards purchased by *Vu-ti*, would they not have been sufficient not only to have supplied the empire with a speedy and copious sett of new ones, but likewise to have prevented their being mutilated or corrupted by the transcribers of them (N)?

All those books recovered soon after.

Thus far then we may fairly conclude, that neither of the two above-mentioned objections; plausible as they may appear at first, can be of weight sufficient to invalidate the authority of those canonical and other valuable books, much less the credit of the antient history, which, abating some few seeming exaggerated encomiums on their founder, and his three or four next successors, contain little else than an account of some preternatural or remarkable events, which are recorded to have happened in the subsequent reigns; and from which we can only infer, that the writers were more diligent in observing, and transmitting, such uncommon things, than curious to enrich their histories with the exploits, whether real or fabulous, of their antient monarchs.

The nature of their records.

AMONGST that number, we have ventured to rank that remarkable record concerning Christ, and the year, and part of the world, he was born in; for it cannot hardly be supposed, that *Confucius* had it by immediate inspiration, which he doth not appear ever to have pretended to, but to have repeated it frequently, as a comfortable promise, handed down to, and well understood by, all the learned of his nation, both before and after him, as may be plainly inferred, from what we lately observed of the reigning monarch, at the time of Christ's birth, changing his name; and from what we have formerly mentioned, of the Emperor *Ming-ti*'s fruitless embassy into *India*, in search of that holy and miraculous person*, about sixty-four years after. If therefore we suppose *Fo-bi* to have been posterior to *Noah*, it cannot but appear very probable, that he received that noble prophecy from him, as a matter of the highest importance, and worthy to be transmitted, as it really was, with the greatest care, to all his descendants, down even beyond the Christian æra. But, if it be proved, by an authentic fact recorded in the *Chinese* annals, and confirmed by the authority of the Old Testament, and the *Hebrew* chronology, that those two were cœtemporary, and consequently, from all that hath hitherto been urged, were most probably one and the same person, under different names, then may we reasonably hope, that all this united evidence will appear to every unbiassed reader, not only to amount to something more than a bare probability of *Noah*'s being the founder of the *Chinese* monarchy, but likewise to afford us a much firmer footing for settling the beginning of it, than any that hath hitherto been offered, or thought upon: and that is what we shall now, God willing, endeavour to do, under the following head, with which we shall conclude this section.

Confucius's remarkable prophecy of Christ.

XX. THE fact on which we design to fix the main basis of the foundation of the *Chinese* monarchy, and antient chronology, is that surprising one recorded in their annals to have happened some time within the reign of *Yau*, their seventh monarch from *Fo-bi*, in words

Noah and Fo-bi proved, from an authentic fact, to have been cœtemporary.

* See before, p. 561, & (G). & 666, & seq.

(N) With respect to the canonical *Shu-king*, and its recovery, their records mention the following remarkable circumstance: that an old man, named *O-wo-feng*, who was still alive when the search was made after the lost books, did boast of having that one intirely by heart; upon which he was immediately ordered to pen it down, according to the best of his memory. He did so; and, upon its being afterwards compared with the original, newly recovered, they were found to agree in every thing, except in some few words, which, nevertheless, made no difference in the sense (1). We

are told by the same author, that the five books called *King* had been recovered, together with the writings of *Confucius* and *Mencius*, so soon as the reign of *Hiao-king*, *Vu-ti*'s successor, and were all published afresh in that of *Hia-ou*, about seventy-five years after the burning of the old ones. We omit some other frivolous objections urged against the authenticity of these new books, by some members of the *French* academy, and which the reader will find fully answered by the author last quoted, in his letter to them on that subject (2).

(1) See the *Coll. of Lettres edifiant. & curieuses*. vol. xxi, p. 122.

(2) *Id. ibid.* p. 123, & seq.

to this effect, that *the sun did not go down during the space of ten days*^m; and which, compared with that miraculous one mentioned in the book of *Joshua*ⁿ, will, we hope, be made evidently to appear to be, in all respects (excepting the length of its duration, which will be easily accounted for in the sequel), the very same, if it can but be fairly proved from the *Chinese*, as well as the *Hebrew* chronology, that that monarch, and the *Jewish* general above-named, were cotemporary. It is true, indeed, that this supernatural event, as it is related in the *Chinese* annals of that prince, hath been singled out, by some of the opposite side, to ridicule the vanity of their observations, and expose the pretended falshood of their antient records^o. Nevertheless, since the miraculous phænomenon recorded in the book of *Joshua*, hath been so fully proved, from the express words of the sacred historian, and other corroborating arguments, to have been (not such an uncommon *luor*, mock-sun, lúcid cloud, or *aurora borealis*, as *Maimonides*, *Spinosa*, among the Jews; *Grotius*, *Le Clerk*, and others, among the christians; have endeavoured to represent it, but) a real and supernatural solstice, obtained by the prayer of the *Jewish* hero^p; and which must of consequence have been equally observable in all those eastern parts, where that luminary had only passed their meridian some few hours. If it can be made to appear, from the joint testimony of the two chronologies above-mentioned, to have happened much about the same time, or, which is tantamount to it, that the distance of time between *Noah* and *Joshua* is much the same with that which the *Chinese* records put between *Fo-hi* and *Yau*, we may justly hope, that the mutual light and evidence which those two histories reflect on each other, will be allowed to carry a much better authority for our producing that extraordinary phænomenon in favour of our hypothesis, than any thing that hath been hitherto urged by the opposite side can do, to explode and ridicule it.

The miraculous solstice in Joshua's time the same with that recorded in Yau's reign. The length of the period between Noah and Joshua, and between Fo-hi and Yau, near the same.

Now, the remarkable phænomenon recorded by *Joshua*, happened, according to the *Hebrew* chronology, in the year before Christ 1451, and of the flood 897; of these, *Noah* lived 350^q; so that there elapsed only 547 years between that patriarch's death and *Joshua*'s solstice. Within which period, *Moses* reckons seven generations; that is, from *Abraham*, who according to Archbishop *Usher*, was born two years after *Noah*'s death, and *Joshua* exclusive: viz. 1. *Abraham*; 2. *Isaac*; 3. *Jacob*; 4. *Levi*; 5. *Kobath*; 6. *Amram*; and 7. *Moses*, *Joshua*'s immediate predecessor. Just in the same manner the *Chinese* annals reckon seven reigns between *Fo-hi* and *Yau*, inclusive; viz. about the latter end of whose reign, the same phænomenon was observed in *China*. These, with the length of their respective reigns, are set down as follows:

	Reigned years.
1. <i>Shin-nong</i> , alias <i>Xin-nung</i>	140
2. <i>Whang-ti</i> , alias <i>Hoang-ti</i>	100
3. <i>Shau-bau</i> , alias <i>Xao-bau</i>	84
4. <i>Chwen-hyo</i> , alias <i>Chuen-bius</i>	78
5. <i>Ti-ko</i> , alias <i>Cous</i>	70
6. <i>Chi</i>	8
	480

AND 7. *Yau*, in some year of whose reign, the annalist doth not say which, the same phænomenon was observed in *China*.

Both from the Chinese and Hebrew chronology.

ALL these reigns added together, amount to 480 years; which period falling short of the 597 years, which elapsed from *Noah* to *Joshua*, by seventy years, doth naturally lead us to conclude, that the solstice happened in the 67th year of that monarch's reign; which being but the first of the administration of *Joshua*, brings the number of these reigns, and of the *Mosaic* generations above-mentioned, much upon an equality as to number and duration. So that, by this time, the reader may easily perceive the motives which have induced the sticklers for the *Septuagint*, and such of the *Chinese* writers as were ambitious to raise the antiquity of their nation beyond its true bounds, to complain of the uncertainty and brevity of this period, and to cry down the annals of it, as of no authority: and all that needs to surprise us is, that they have not taken the same pains to stretch it, as they have done that from *Yau* to the birth of Christ, to the exact standard of that chronology. But, it is likely, they never took notice how exactly it coincided with that of the *Hebrew*, and therefore contented themselves with condemning it, in the whole, as dark, uncertain, and not to

MARTINI, Hist. Sinic. sub *Yaus*.
& seq.

See Introd. p. 511.

JOSH. x. 12. & seq. See SHUCKFORD Connect. vol. i. p. 29,
P See the Ant. Jewish Hist. vol. i. p. 558, & seq.

GEN. ibid. Vid. & SHUCKFORD Connect. ubi sup.

a be depended upon, if it was not rather some judicial infatuation, that made them overlook so material a point. For nothing can more clearly shew the imposture of this new-invented chronology, than the singular agreement above-observed of the antient *Chinese* chronology, and our *Hebrew* one, with respect to the number and length of those generations and reigns, and its vast disagreement from thence downwards to the birth of Christ.

b Be that as it will, it is still well for us, that we have the length of those reigns conveyed by one of those particulars, and who cannot therefore be suspected of having altered any thing in them, but must be reasonably supposed to have faithfully copied them, as he found them in the *Chinese* records, and as he himself assures us he did. Neither can it, with any reason, be supposed, that either he, or any of his fraternity, would have transmitted to us such a supernatural event, as that we have been insisting upon under this head, unless it had been thus circumstantially mentioned in some of those authentic records they were allowed to consult, since such an imposture could not serve any other visible end, except, perhaps, that of corroborating the evidence of *Joshua's* miracle; and that could not be done, but at the expence and overthrow of their chronology.

c For, if the solstice mentioned in *Joshua*, and in the *Chinese* annals, be allowed to be the same, it must follow, from the list of those reigns we have given above, as well as from the authority of the *Hebrew* chronology, that the Emperor *Yau*, in whose reign it happened, must have ascended the throne in the year of the flood 830, or 1519 years before the birth of Christ; whereas the *Chinese* and *Septuagint* chronology place the commencement of his reign in the year 2357, or, according to *Du Halde*, 2327, before Christ; making it thereby, the one 896, and the other 906, years older than the *Hebrew*, or indeed than it ever can be proved to be by any other evidence, than the precarious authority of the two chronologies above-mentioned, and the pretended calculation of a few eclipses to corroborate them; all which have been so fully exploded by this time, and by much better pens, that it were needless to say any more on that subject.

d HOWEVER, the fixing the basis of the *Chinese* chronology on the year of this miraculous solstice, and the authority of our *Hebrew*, will (besides the evidence it bears against that of the *Septuagint*) prove of twofold benefit; viz. First, As it will bring down the reign of *Yau* much nearer to the times in which *Fouquet*, *Maigrot*, *Fourmond*, and other learned moderns, have endeavoured to fix it, and upon a much more unquestionable authority than hath been hitherto offered by any of them. And, secondly, It will, by the help of the table of the seven first emperors above-mentioned, enable us to trace that monarchy back to its very foundation, and settle the beginning of it upon a surer footing than any hitherto attempted. For if *Noah* or *Fo-bi* reigned there 115 years, and his six immediate successors 480, and if the solstice happened in the sixty-seventh year of *Yau's* reign, all which make up 662 years, it will bring back the first year of that founder's reign to that of the flood 235, and 2114 years before the birth of Christ; to all which may be added, that as he is recorded to have lived 350 years after the flood, if he separated himself, as it is probable he did, from his rebellious offspring, about the time of their defection and conspiracy in the plain of *Shinaar*, which happened, as near as can be conjectured, about the seventieth or eightieth year after, or a few years before the building of the tower of *Babel*, it will follow, that he spent very near 200 years in his migration from that place to the *Chinese* territories, and settling his colony there, before he became their monarch, and laid the foundation of that empire. So that the whole chronology of *Noah*, and his descendants, from the flood to the year of the solstice, or sixty-seventh of *Yau's* reign, may be clearly stated; as follows:

	Year of the flood.	Christ.
f 1. <i>Noah</i> , called by the <i>Chinese</i> , <i>Fo-bi</i> , justly offended at the impiety of his rebel-offspring, separated himself from them a little before the building of the tower of <i>Babel</i> ; and, steering his course eastwards, at the head of a select number of adherents, after 200 years peregrination, settled himself, and them, in one of the northern provinces of <i>China</i> — — — — —	235	2114
Here, having settled his colony, and established among them the religion, laws, and government, and imparted to them all the branches of learning which he had received from his antediluvian ancestors ^b , he died, in the 115th year of his reign, and 950th of his life ^c , and was succeeded by	350	1999
2. <i>Shin-nong</i> , alias <i>Xin-nung</i> , who greatly improved those arts and sciences left behind by <i>Noah</i> ; and, after a reign of 140 years, left the crown to ^d — — — — —	490	1589

^a Compare GENES. xi. 3. & seq. and art. IV. p. 323, & seq.

^b Ibid. art. VIII. p. 337, & seq.

^c Conf. GEN. ix. 38. & MARTINI, ubi sup. l. i. sub. *Fo-bi*, DU HALDE, & al.

^d Id. ibid. sub *Shin-nong*.

a vertical sun, and almost as mountainous and woody, could escape the like disaster? it hath been already answered, in the antient *Jewish* history, that it might easily do so by the friendly interposition of thick heavy clouds, loaded with rain and hail, brought thither by the same Divine Providence which conducted the whole miraculous transaction^m; and accordingly we read, that such vast showers of the latter fell upon the *Canaanitish* army, as annoyed them more than the weapons of their enemiesⁿ.

There remains now only that we endeavour, according to our promise, to account for the difference between the sacred and *Chinese* historian with respect to the duration of the solstice in question; the former affirming it to have lasted no longer than one natural day, or 24 hours, over and above the time that had elapsed from sun rising to the mid-day, when it began; and the latter having lengthened it to 10 whole days. But, first, it will be here readily granted, that the great consternation which the *Chinese* were in might make the time appear much longer than it really was, especially as they had then no other way of measuring the day than by the course of that luminary. They might likewise compute its duration from the growth of some favourite plants or flowers, without considering that an extraordinary 24 hours sun might easily accelerate it into a tenfold proportion of a natural day. But, not to insist on that, it is well known that all nations in those remote times were wont to divide the day into equal portions, which they commonly called watches, or by equivalent names, consisting, with some, of two; with others, of three, or more hours. It is therefore very probable that the original records mentioned only ten watches; and that, in process of time (either through the carelessness of the transcribers, or the accidental erasure of a stroke or dot in the character or hieroglyphic which distinguished a watch from a day; or, which may be as likely as the other two, through a natural affectation, no less common to the *Chinese* than to the rest of the world, of magnifying the wonder), these 10 watches came to be changed into so many days. Thus far, then, any of those three ways will naturally enough account for the difference above-mentioned; but nothing can do so for such a supernatural phenomenon being thus circumstantially recorded in the *Chinese* annals, and under a reign so exactly coinciding with that of *Josbna*, according to the most authentic *Hebrew* chronology, unless we will allow it to be the same solstice that is mentioned in both records.

d By this time we may flatter ourselves that the notion of *Noah's* settling in *China*, and founding a monarchy there, will appear to every candid reader so far from *absurd, monstrous, and contrary to the reason and nature of things*, as some writers have thought fit to style it, that it may be fairly allowed to be consistent both with that and our Scripture account and chronology, how much soever it may clash against the septuagint, and some pretended calculations of eclipses of the *Chinese* missionaries; both which have been justly rejected by the most judicious writers of this century^o.

One objection, however, we must endeavour to clear up, before we close this section, as it has been so strenuously urged against our hypothesis; it is taken from the following words of *Moses*: *These* (that is, the descendants of *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, and their descendants) *are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations; and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood*^p. From which it is concluded, that if the earth, certainly *China*, must have been peopled by some of those descendants, and not by *Noah* himself, much less by any new offspring he may have had since the deluge, of which *Moses* doth not make the least mention. The misfortune is, that those critics make no scruple to take the words *the earth*, or *the whole earth*, either in the most extensive, or in a more restrained signification, as best suits with their purpose. *Noah* might beget a new offspring after the flood, and with it people the empire of *China*; and that in no ways clash with the words of *Moses* above-quoted, who, by *the earth*, might intend no more than those families of whose various settlements he was then giving an account, without concerning himself farther about those who migrated towards *China*, the peopling of which, if he knew any thing of it, was quite foreign to his design. However, the reader may call to mind, by what hath been formerly said on that head, that this objection doth not at all concern our hypothesis, which only supposes *Noah* to have separated himself from the rest of his descendants at the land of *Shinaar*, the place of their conspiracy, and to have led with him as many as he could dissuade from joining with them in it. Children he probably had after the flood, as hath been already observed, but those might be but few in comparison of those who followed him into the east; so that *Moses's* words, *the earth*, may be still taken here in the largest sense, without glancing the least contradiction on our hypothesis, seeing *China* will be found to have been as effectually peopled by the descendents of *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, as any other part of the globe.

^m See Jewish Hist. vol. i. p. 560, & seq. & Notes (I) and (M).

^o See MAIGROT, COUPLET, FOURM. FOUQUET, COSTARD, & al. sup. citat. See before, p. 491, 510, & seq.

^p GENES. X. ult.

ⁿ Ib. Vid. & JOSH. X. 11.

How Moses
could know the
length of
Noah's life.

If it should be asked, how *Moses* came in this case to know so exactly how long *Noah* lived after the flood? the most obvious answer is, That he might do so, as he did many other particulars relating to the creation, the antediluvian world, the deluge, &c. by immediate inspiration; it not being at all beneath the dignity of that sacred historian to take notice, that, the Divine Providence having determined to shorten the life of man, the patriarch *Noah* was the only one of all the postdiluvians who attained to the longevity of his antediluvian ancestors.

HOWEVER, setting aside inspiration, it is not at all improbable that he might learn that remarkable particular from the *Midianites*, among whom he had lived forty years, and the daughter of one of whose princes, or priests, he had married¹. Some of those sons of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, who were sent by him into the east², might by this time have advanced far enough towards *China* to have settled some commerce with it, by the help of those great caravans that were then much in vogue in all those eastern parts; and by that means have been informed of many curious things relating to that empire, among which none could better deserve their notice and observation than the name and extraordinary long life of its celebrated founder.

The impossibility of rectifying the Chinese chronology from Yau to Christ.

WE have now quite gone through all the topics we had to offer in favour of the hypothesis of *Noah* being the same with the *Chinese Fo-bi*, and the founder of that noble empire; and hope that by this time we have at least raised it to a greater degree of probability than it hath hitherto attained, as well as fixed its chronology upon a firmer basis than any yet attempted; by which means a way may be farther opened for greater improvements, and more curious discoveries. It were to be wished that the fixing the beginning of their monarchy, and of the reign of *Yau*, upon so authentic and unquestionable a fact as the miraculous solstice above-mentioned, and backing it with the authority of the *Hebrew* and antient *Chinese* chronology, could prove of still farther service to us in rectifying the remainder of that long period, from the reign of *Yau* to the birth of Christ. But that, we fear, will hardly ever be found practicable, till we can have recourse to more authentic records, if any such be still extant, than those which have been as yet transmitted to us by the *Chinese* missionaries, and on which the length of the dynasties and reigns manifestly appears to have been designedly stretched out beyond all due bounds in favour of the septuagint, and in order to fill up the extravagant excess of 900 years, which that chronology allows to this period above our *Hebrew* one; so that, upon the whole, our readers must be content to receive the list of the subsequent reigns from *Yau* to Christ on the same foot, in point of length, as those missionaries have been pleased to transmit it to us, and with the difference and disagreement which are still found between their several accounts of them.

Chinese cycles, how computed, and when invented.

THE *Chinese* reckon not their long periods by centuries, as we and other nations do, but by *Kya-sees*, or cycles of sixty years; the invention of which is attributed to one of their great mathematicians named *Ta-nau*, who was one of the chief ministers to the celebrated emperor *Whang-ti*. They style these cycles *Lo-she-wha-kya*, that is, the construction of sixty conversions[†], or years (O). Nevertheless several learned moderns are of opinion, that this method of computing by cycles is of a much more recent date, though they own it to be next to impossible to ascertain the time of its invention: be that as it will, one of them rightly observes³, that there is some difference among the *Chinese* annalists about the commencement of that computation; some beginning it from the first year of *Whang-ti's* reign⁴, agreeably to a *Chinese* treatise written on that subject; and others at the eighth year of it⁵. *Du Halde* differs still more from them, who begins his first cycle at the first year of the reign of *Yau*, by which he hath retrenched no less than five cycles and forty years from the *Chinese* chronology, and introduced thereby a double confusion into it; viz. first, by lessening the number of cycles; and, secondly, by dating his first from the first year of that monarch's reign, which falls on the 41st of the sixth cycle of the other chronologers; but as he plainly owns that he hath taken all that trouble merely to reconcile his own chronology to

The first cycle differently fixed in theirs and other annals.

¹ Vide EXOD. ii. 23, & seq. ACTS vii. 30.

Præfat. in Hist. Sinic. DU HALDE sub Whan-ti, & al. sup. citat.

& seq.

² MARTINI sub Hoang-ti. COUPLET, & al. ubi sup. Du Halde Engl. edit. p. 134.

³ GENES. xxv. 2, & seq.

[†] See COUPLET

⁴ FOURMONT, ubi supra, p. 405.

⁵ Missions Étrangères ap.

(O) These cycles consist, on one side, of ten, and, on the other of twelve characters, importing the names of certain animals, and serve both for numbers and signs. The first ten are styled roots, and the others branches; so that every year is marked with one of each sort; and the whole is so contrived, that the same two signs never come together again till the sexagenary is out (4).

Ta-nau, the author of it, was one of the chief ministers of *Whang-ti*, and was appointed by that monarch to find out this sexagenary cycle, whilst the rest had likewise their respective provinces allotted to them, of which a fuller account will be given under that prince's reign (5).

(4) De'Loc, vid. Noel's Observ. Mathem. & Physic. p. 59. Martini, ubi sup. sub Hoang-ti, Du Halde, & al.
(5) Martini, Du Halde, &c. ibid.

- a that of the septuagint^a, we shall leave him to go on alone in his new track, in order to avoid leading our readers into the like perplexity; and follow that more plain and beaten one which *Martini*, and his predecessors, have trodden before; and in the subsequent chronology, and list of monarchs, begin the *Chinese* cycle at the first year of the emperor *Wang-ti*. In the like manner we shall set down in the margin the respective years of the cycle, in which any remarkable transaction happened, and in the same order as they have done. We shall, however, think ourselves obliged to dispense with adding to them the years of the flood; since their being calculated according to the septuagint, and not our *Hebrew* chronology, and consequently of no authority to us, would rather introduce a new confusion, without any possible use or benefit. As for those which follow the Christian æra, down to the end of their history, b they being more consistent with it, and to be depended upon, we think they ought by no means to be omitted, and shall take care to set them down regularly as they come.

^a Du HALDE, *ibid.* sub *Yau*, p. 143.

The reigns of the Chinese monarchs, from the foundation of their first dynasty, down to the birth of Christ.

- c HAVING endeavoured, in the foregoing section, to fix the foundation of the *Chinese* monarchy upon a better and surer foundation than any hitherto extant^a; and given an account, in our Antient History, of the reigns of *Fo-bi*, and his eight immediate successors^b, down to the beginning of their first dynasty, we shall readily excuse ourselves from repeating any thing that hath been said on that subject, except only what will be of farther use towards the fixing of that so much controverted epocha upon the same basis; and, for this, we need only remind our readers, that, as we endeavoured to trace the foregoing period upwards, from the preternatural solstice which is recorded in the *Chinese* annals to have happened some time in the reign of *Yau*; but which we endeavoured to fix, on the authority of the *Hebrew* chronology, to the 67th of that monarch's; so we may, with the same ease and clearness, d fix the latter by the years that elapsed between the phænomenon above-mentioned, which was before Christ 1451^c, as follows:

Yau reigned in all 90 years (A), and therefore lived 23 years after the solstice, and died *anno* _____

His successor *Shun* reigned 50 years after *Yau* (B), and died *anno* _____ 1408

The first dynasty, called *Hya*, was founded in the year immediately following the death of *Shun*, or _____ 1358

1357

- According to this computation, the beginning of this dynasty will be found to come short of the *Chinese* by no less than 850 years, according to *Du Halde*, who places it *anno* e 2207 before Christ, and to carry it earlier by 936 years than *Monf. Fourmont*, who brings it down to the year 441, and consequently to be a kind of medium between those two extremes, and, as such, to be likewise more agreeable to the general opinion of the learned, who think the latter places his as much too low as the former do theirs too high. It will likewise have this farther advantage over them both, or indeed any other hitherto attempted, that it is founded on a more certain basis, the authority of the *Hebrew* chronology; whereas that of the *Chinese* is stretched beyond its due bounds, either out of affectation of a superior antiquity, or to bring it up to the standard of the septuagint; and the other is as unreasonably curtailed, upon no better ground than some uncertain conjectures, and a few vague and precarious parallels drawn from profane history; and all this not improbably from mere opposition to the Jesuitical writers, against whom some late *French* authors have been sanguine enough to say, that those six dynasties which preceded the Christian æra might be reduced to a much smaller number of years^d, that is, that six dynasties, containing the reigns of 111 monarchs, might be comprehended within a shorter space than 441 years; for so many the

^a See p. 674.

^b See before, *Introd.* p. 504, & seq.

^c See before, *Introd.* p. 511, & seq.

^d See the chronology of our Bibles on Josh. x.

(A) This is according to *Martini* (1), whom, for the reasons above-mentioned, we have chosen to follow, and who places his death on the 20th year of the 8th cycle (2), that is, according to the *Chinese* chronology, in the year before Christ 2258.

Du Halde, who hath introduced a new, or rather confused the old, order of the *Chinese* chronology, gives

Yau 100 years reign (3), which, if right, will only bring the foundation of this first dynasty ten years later, that is, in the year before Christ 1357.

(B) Both *Martini* and *Du Halde* allow him a reign of 50 years, that is, 33 by himself, and 17 with his worthy colleague *Yu*, whom he also appointed his successor (4).

(1) *Hist. Sin.* sub *Yau*.

(2) *Id. ib.* sub *Xun*.

(3) *Engl. edit.* vol. i. p. 143, & seq.

(4) *Martini*.

tin. ubi sup. sub *Xun*. *Du Halde*, *ibid.* p. 145. See also before, *Introd.* p. 508, & seq.

Chinese records affirm to have belonged to those six dynasties, as the reader may see by the table we shall subjoin of them.

In the mean time, leaving these opponents to dispute that point among themselves, we may, we hope, safely appeal to every impartial reader, whether our calculations do not, by this time, appear the most rational, as well as the best founded. All we shall farther observe in its favour, from what hath been urged in the last section, is, that the period between *Fo-bi* and *Yau*, which, we are told, is given up by the *Chinese* historians, as well as by the Jesuits, as fabulous, or, at the best, as uncertain and indefensible, doth, by his surprising conformity to the length of the lives of the postdiluvian patriarchs mentioned by *Moses*, and coetaneous with it, bid fairest for being the most genuine and uncorrupt, and the most to be depended upon, of any that follow it, down to the birth of Christ: so that whatever alterations were afterwards made in the *Chinese* chronology, or, in other words, whatever number of years have been since added to the duration of the first six dynasties, in order to stretch them out to 2207 years, they must of course have been foisted into that period; whilst that which preceded it, from *Yau* upwards to *Fo-bi*, being given up as uncertain, if not fabulous, had the good fortune to escape their amendments. But as it is impossible to know or guess, until some more authentic annals can be produced, what addition of years hath been made to each of those six first dynasties, in order to stretch them to the length we find them in; so neither will it be expected that we should attempt any other emendation to the following tables according to *Du Halde*, than the fixing the year of the first dynasty according to the calculation we have given above: neither shall we attempt to alter the length of any of their reigns, which would be no less presumptuous than impossible, whatever other learned persons may venture to do, and large scope they may give to themselves in so dark and remote a province, of which those of *Monf. Fourmont* may serve for a taste to our readers; and whose tables we shall subjoin, opposite to those of the *Chinese* and Jesuits, out of *Du Halde*. As to the dynasties which follow the Christian æra, the reader will find less dissonance about them; and both joined together are as follows (C):

A table of the twenty-two Chinese dynasties, or imperial families, that have possessed the throne successively.

Dynasties.	Empe- rors.	Beginning of each Dynasty. Years bef. Christ.	Duration, according to Du Halde.	Duration, according to Four- mont.	Began accord- ing to our hy- pothesis.
I. <i>Hya</i> - - -	17	2207	458	441	1357.
II. <i>Shang</i> , or <i>Ing</i>	28	1766	644	664	
III. <i>Cbew</i> - - -	35	1122	873	874	
IV. <i>Tsin</i> - - -	4	248	43	42	
V. <i>Han</i> - - -	25	206	426	425	
		Aft. Chr.			
VI. <i>Hew-ban</i> - -	2	220	44	45	
VII. <i>Tsin</i> - - -	15	265	155	155	
VIII. <i>Song</i> - - -	8	420	59	56	
IX. <i>Tsi</i> - - -	5	479	23	23	
X. <i>Lyang</i> - - -	4	502	55	55	
XI. <i>Chin</i> - - -	4	557	33	- - -	
XII. <i>Swi</i> - - -	3	- - -	29	37	
XIII. <i>Tang</i> - - -	20	618	289	289	
XIV. <i>Hew-lyang</i>	2	907	16	16	
XV. <i>Hew-tang</i> - -	4	923	13	13	
XVI. <i>Hew-tsin</i> - -	2	936	11	11	
XVII. <i>Hew-ban</i> - -	2	947	4	4	
XVIII. <i>Hew-cbew</i> - -	3	951	9	9	
XIX. <i>Song</i> - - -	18	960	319	320	
XX. <i>Ywen</i> - - -	9	1280	89	88	
XXI. <i>Ming</i> - - -	16	1268	276	277	
XXII. <i>Tsing</i> - -	3	1645	92	- - -	

The

(C) As we have had occasion to mention, in a former volume, some modern, and, for the most part, short-lived dynasties of the same name with those antient ones, as *Hya*, *Han*, and which we are going to give in the following list, tho' not founded till some thousand

years after them, that is, till the total dissolution of that of *Ywen*, or *Mungl*, in the year of Christ 1280; it will not be improper, in order to prevent all misapprehensions from the likeness of their names, to apprise our readers, that the founders of these modern ones meant
no

The first dynasty (D), called Hya, consisting of 17 emperors, and 458 years.

a **T**HIS dynasty begins, according to the *Chinese* annalists, on the 11th year of the 9th cycle, and with the reign of the emperor Yu, surnamed Ta, or the Great, who, as we have seen in their antient history, was preferred to the throne by Shun, their ninth monarch from Fo-bi, on account of great merit, before any of his own family^k; on which account one of his sons attempted to raise a revolt against him, but without success, he being abandoned by the grandees and the common people. His singular merit not only kept him firm on the throne, but made that, as well as the high-priesthood, which had been before united to the crown, to become both hereditary in his family; since which time it was made death by the law for any but the emperor to offer sacrifice.

I.
Dynasty Hya.
Cycle 9.
Year before
Chr. 2207.
Yu-ta I. em-
peror.
The crown
made heredi-
tary in his
family.

b Yu-ta was a very just and mild prince, always open to the advice of his ministers; and devised a most extraordinary way of giving all his subjects a free access to his person, whether to obtain justice or favour from him, or prefer a complaint against any of his officers (E); and is reported to have risen often from his table, or left his bath, or other amusements, to hear the grievances of his people. The book *Shu-king* mentions several of his noble instructions to princes, and other wise sayings. It was under his reign that I-tse invented the *Chinese* wine made of rice, elsewhere described^l; which the emperor no sooner had tasted, than he foretold the mischiefs which that pernicious liquor would cause not only to the empire, but likewise to his family; in both which he proved but too true a prophet: though, to prevent either as much as possible, he caused a law to be enacted, expressly forbidding the making and drinking of that liquor, under the severest penalties. But, as the art of making it could not be banished with its author, it was not long before the liquor became in vogue, and is still one of the greatest delicacies at the tables of the *Chinese*, as we have elsewhere shewn^m.

His noble cha-
racter.

Rice wine in-
vented and
forbid.

c Yu-ta was a great master of astronomy, astrology, and agriculture; and wrote an excellent treatise on the latter, in which he taught his subjects how to improve their own lands, by manuring, raising, and levelling them, and particularly by opening a course to the waters, to make them flow from the grounds which had too much, or lay under them, into those that wanted them. He reigned seventeen years with Shun, who had raised him to the throne, and ten by himself, and died greatly regretted by all his subjectsⁿ.

Death.

^k See before, Introd. p. 509.
& (W).

^l See before, p. 637, & 668.

^m See before, p. 637, & seq.

ⁿ MARTINI, COUPLET, NOEL, DU HALDE, & al.

no more by it than to dignify these their respective new dynasties by the name or title of some of the most considerable among the antient ones: and accordingly one styled his own the dynasty of Han (5); another his by that of Hya (6), &c. and got them enrolled under those names in the *Chinese* annals, tho' they were all obliged to give place to that of Ming; so that, in fact, there have been no more dynasties, properly so called, than the 22 which follow.

(D) The *Chinese* word *Chau*, which our writers translate *dynasty*, doth not properly signify either that, or a race, family, or succession, according to M. Fourmont, but rather a certain number of years; the whole time which any race possessed the dominion being called the *Chau* of such a race, as *Hya Chau*, or the *Chau* of the *Hya*, that is, the whole space during which the *Hya* reigned; and so of the rest (18).

We beg leave likewise to remind the reader, that what the *Chinese* annalists style the ninth, is by Du Halde styled only the third, he having struck out the six preceding ones, from the third emperor *W'bang-ti*, or, as Martini and others write him, *Hoangti*, down to that of *Yau*, or *Yu*, where he begins his own, contrary to all his brothers (19).

(E) We are told, that he caused a bell, a drum, and three tables, one of iron, a second of lead, and the third of stone, to be fastened to the gates of his palace, on which was an order fixed, that all those who wanted to speak to him, should strike on the instruments, or tables, according to the nature of their business. The bell was for civil affairs; the drum for matters relating to the laws, or religion; the leaden table for those that

concerned the government, or ministry; the stone one was to denote a complaint against the injustice of any magistrate; and the iron one was to express some very severe treatment; and he is accordingly reported to have left his dinner twice, and his bath three times, in one day, to go and redress the people's grievances, at the first sound of those instruments (20).

However, with relation to his ministers who came to advise him, Martini adds a story which is more to the glory of his empress, than his own: for, being once so far exasperated at the boldness of one of them, as to resolve to cut him off, that amiable princess, having timely notice of it, came immediately to him, in a more sumptuous dress, and greater cheerfulness in her looks, than usual; and, being asked the occasion of it, gave him this noble answer: "You and I have a great reason to congratulate each other on your having such wise and faithful ministers, who, instead of misguiding you by their flattery, dare speak the truth without fear. It is the greatest happiness of a prince, to have those about him from whom he may learn the truth, which is but too often suppressed by the very fear of offending." This speech had the desired effect; the emperor's resentment was so effectually disarmed, that his ear from that time was equally opened either to advice or reproof. The reader may see, in the authors above-quoted, many other instances of his wisdom and prudence, but especially of his extraordinary tenderness and compassion, particularly whenever he saw any of his subjects dragged to any severe punishment, which we have no room to relate (21).

(5) Vol. v. p. 68.
tom. ii. p. 396. Du Halde, Engl. vol. i. p. 136, (C).
sub Yuus, p. 47. Couplet, Noel, & al. sub eod.

(21) Martini, sub Yu, p. 52.

(18) Fourmont *Reflét. critiq. sur l'hist. des anc. peupl.*

(19) Conf. Du Halde sub Yau & Yu, cum Martini

(20) Martini, Couplet, Du Halde, & al. in Yu.

II.
Ti-ki.
Year of the
9th cycle, 21.
Bef. Chr.
2197.

II. TI-KI, his worthy son, and inheritor of his virtues, succeeded him, to the great joy of all his subjects; but found the beginning of his reign unhappily disturbed by one of his tributary princes, who raised a war against him, with a design of making himself independent. *Ti-ki* put himself at the head of his army; and, by the assistance of six other tributary princes, soon quelled the revolt. But his subjects did not long enjoy the happiness they had begun to taste under his wise and mild government, before he was snatched from them in the ninth year of his reign; and was succeeded by his son. He left five worthy brothers, on whom he had bestowed as many governments in some of the provinces of the empire, which his son raised afterwards into principalities, that they might live in a manner suitable to their birth^a.

III.
Tay-kang.
Year of the 9th
cycle, 30.
Bef. Chr.
2188.

III. TAY-KANG, on his mounting the throne, instead of following the steps of his predecessors, left the care of the state to some of his favourites, whilst he gave himself up to hunting, to wine and women, and other unworthy pleasures. He spent whole days in pursuing of wild beasts, and let his numerous train of men, dogs, and horses, destroy the plains and harvest of his subjects, for which they made loud and heavy complaints; but, finding them all ineffectual, they were driven into such resentment and despair, that they revolted against him, whilst he was ranging the woods after his sport. The person to whom they applied was a nobleman named *I*, or *Ys*, who had then the command and love of the whole army; and who, being moved by their cries and misery, resolved to dethrone and banish him, which he easily compassed by the help of the rest of the nobility, who all unanimously joined with him, and set his youngest brother *Chung-kang* upon the throne, after he had reigned twenty-nine years^b (F).

IV.
Chung-kang.
Year of the 9th
cycle, 59.
Bef. Chr.
2159.

IV. CHUNG-KANG, though raised to the empire by universal consent of the nobles and people, refused to take the title of emperor during his brother's life; so that the years which elapsed between the deposition and death of the latter are not reckoned to the reign of the former. This conduct was universally admired, though that prince was not without some fear that *I*, or *Ys*, whose power and credit had so easily dethroned his brother, might one day make use of it against himself. To secure himself, therefore, against his intrigues, without appearing guilty of ingratitude, he not only seemed to place the greatest confidence in him, but protested that he could not be without the counsel of so wise and faithful a minister, and having him constantly near his own person. *I*, who made no doubt of shortly getting an absolute ascendant over him, and ingrossing the whole government into his hands, easily gave into the snare; and resigned the command of the army, as incompatible with his new post; and *Chung-kang* gave it to *Chew*, a faithful and experienced officer.

A famous
eclipse.

I, FINDING himself over-reached, and rather suspected than beloved by that prince, resolved to revenge himself by the total destruction of the imperial family; but, as that could not be done whilst so faithful and able a man as *Chew* was at the head of the army, he tried in vain all means either of rendering him suspected, or of destroying him by some other way. At length he had recourse to a new stratagem; which was, to gain the grandees over to him by his profuse generosity, whilst he artfully strove to secure himself of the favour and confidence of his son and successor, till he could effect his ruin without hazard. In the meantime the exiled *Tay-kang* died, and *Chung-kang* took upon him the title of emperor; but was soon after taken off by a sudden death, and left the throne to his son *Ti-syang*, after he had held it twenty-nine years^c. It was in some part of his reign, tho' authors are not agreed about the year, that the so much famed eclipse happened, of which we have had occasion to speak more than once^d, and concerning which the *Chinese* records affirm, that *Hi* and *Ho*, who presided over the tribunal of the mathematics, were put to death for having neglected to foretel and insert it in the ephemeris of that year (G), which was then a capital crime.

^a MARTINI, COUPLET, NOEL, DU HALDE, & al. before, Introd. p. 491, & 510. See also before, p. 593, (B).

^b *Ibid.*

^c *Ibid.*

^d See

(F) *Tay-kang* did but too truly verify his grandfather *Yu-ta's* prediction of the dreadful mischiefs which rice-wine would bring on his empire and family; for it was now become so much in vogue, that it had let in an inundation of other vices. His mother and five brethren were obliged to accompany him in his exile; and *Martini* adds, that the *Xu-king*, or *Shu-king*, hath recorded in deep elegiac verses the doleful complaints, and severe reproaches, which these five made to that unhappy prince, a sketch of which he hath given us at the end of his reign (22).

(G) This eclipse (which is said by the *Chinese* astronomers to have happened in conjunction with the con-

stellation *Fung*, a bright star on the south side of the lucid one at the head of *Scorpio*) is affirmed by the missionaries to have been verified by fresh astronomical calculations, and is much insisted on to prove the early skill of the *Chinese* in that branch of astronomy. We shall not repeat what we have said in a former section against that vain pretence (1); but only observe farther, that some of the *Chinese* historians suspect them to have suffered death not for neglect of foretelling it, but for being carousing with some of the friends of the traitor *I* when it happened, and probably for raising some sort of predictions from it in his favour (2).

(22) *Martini*, in *Yu*, p. 56, & seq. *Halde*, & al. *sup. citat.*

(1) See before, p. 593, & seq.

(2) *Conf. Martini*, *Du*

- a V. TI-SYANG, alias *Syangus*, succeeded his father; but, instead of following his wife measures, and guarding himself against the intrigues of the traitor *I*, he made him his chief confident, and soon after transferred the command of the army from the faithful *Chew* to him; and, by that fatal step, put it again in his power to execute his long-projected design against the imperial family. His new post gained him a vast number of creatures, and his liberality the love of the army; insomuch that the infatuated emperor, who could now no longer be blind to his treacherous designs, was forced to flee for refuge to the courts of two of his tributary princes and relations. *I* tried all the means he could invent to disculpate himself; complained to him, by the most submissive letters, of his being falsely traduced by his enemies; and begged of him to return to his own metropolis, and he would soon convince him that he had not a more faithful or zealous subject in his empire. He went so far as to accuse several of the emperor's most faithful friends of sundry crimes, and to have them either banished, or put to death, and filled their posts with his own creatures.
- b He succeeded so well, that he looked upon himself as already on the throne, when his base treachery was punished in kind by one of his own creatures and confidents, whom he had raised from one post to another, and at length to the command of the army. *Han-tso*, that was the villain's name, an artful and ambitious man, saw plainly enough that it would be easy for him to mount the throne himself, by cutting off both his benefactor and sovereign; and, as the soldiery were intirely devoted to him, he made no scruple to order a number of them to assassinate *I* as he was hunting; which was done accordingly; and afterwards gave out, that it was done by the emperor's orders, and as a just punishment for his treason. His next step was, to send for *Kyau*, the eldest son of *I*, an active and violent youth, and to persuade him to revenge his father's death; to accomplish which, he furnished him with a body of troops, and advised him to march immediately at the head of them against the emperor; who, not having time to raise a sufficient army, was easily defeated by him. *Kyau* killed the emperor, and the two tributary princes, with his own hands; and *Han-tso*, to make sure of the crown, destroyed soon after the whole imperial family, excepting the empress, who, being then pregnant, escaped with much difficulty into the mountainous parts. Thus fell the unfortunate *Ti-syang*, after a reign of twenty-seven years; and the usurper, being now in possession of the empire, rewarded the son of *I* with a considerable territory, which he created into a principality.
- c HAN-TSO, alias *Xao-kang*, mounted the throne, and held it forty years, but was at length deprived of it and his life by the true heir of the imperial family; for the queen, who, as we hinted above, fled to the mountains, took refuge among the shepherds, and was there delivered of a son, whom she named *Shau-kang*, and brought him up unknown to any one; so that he was grown up to years of maturity, before *Han-tso* heard of it: but being afterwards informed, that the usurper was making a strict search after him, he retired from thence, and went and hired himself as a domestic at the court of one of the tributary princes, where he passed for a shepherd's son. It was not long, however, before his extraordinary air and behaviour gave that prince reason to think him much higher born than he pretended; and, having questioned him about it one day in the kindest manner, was by him informed of the whole mystery of his birth, family, and concealment; upon which he tenderly embraced him, and proposed him his protection and best services; and, as an earnest of it, gave him his daughter in marriage, with part of his principality for a portion. *Shau-kang*, having now a better opportunity of displaying his parts and merit, easily convinced him that he was worthy of the throne; and he, on the other hand, lost no time to acquaint all the nobles and ministers, who were in the interest of the late emperor, with the discovery, and with the excellent character of the young prince. By that time the tyrant was become so hateful to all the people, that they joyfully sided with their lawful prince; who, having raised an army, attacked, and took him prisoner, and put him to a shameful death.
- d VI. SHAU-KANG ascended the throne of his ancestors with universal acclamations; and, immediately after his coronation, ordered his forces to pursue the accomplices of the late treason. *Kiau* stood in his own defence, but, his little army being easily cut off, he was taken prisoner, and beheaded, and as many of the rebels as could be caught were likewise put to death; by which means the tranquillity of the empire was again happily restored, and the laws resumed their antient vigour. *Shau-kang* took all proper measures to reform all the abuses which had crept in during the late usurpation; and had the pleasure to see his orders readily obeyed, and his people happy and easy under his wise government. His reputation drew several ambassies from foreign princes, and his reign proved as glorious as peaceable. He died in the twenty-second year of his reign, and was succeeded on the next year by his son,

* Vide MARTIN. DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat. sub *Ti-syang*.

- VII. **TI-SHU**, alias *Cbus*; in whose reign nothing extraordinary happened, except some a few revolts on the sea-coasts, which were almost as soon quelled as raised. The empire in every other respect enjoyed a profound peace during his reign, which lasted seventeen years.
- VIII. **TI-WHAY**, alias *Hoay* or *Hoajus*, succeeded his father; and was in such high esteem, and his empire in such a flourishing condition, that foreign princes sought his friendship far and near (H), and several of them put themselves under his protection. But the long peace he enjoyed made him become effeminate; and such a slave to his pleasures, that he spent the remainder of his reign close shut up in his palace among his women and eunuchs, without ever shewing himself to the people. All that time his favourites governed with such an arbitrary sway, that the subjects had no possible means to prefer, as usual, either request or complaint to him; and this oppression continued till the end of his reign, which had lasted b twenty-six years, when he died, and was succeeded by his son,
- IX. **TI-MANG**, alias *Mangus*; whose reign proved much the same as the former, except that he was not quite so immersed in pleasure, though equally indolent. He is recorded for no one remarkable thing, except his removing his court towards the *Yellow River*, and visiting some maritime places. He reigned eighteen years, and was succeeded by his son,
- X. **TI-SYE**, alias *Is*; who was so famed for his love of justice, and singular care to preserve his subjects in peace and wealth, that several of the petty sovereigns of the neighbouring nations became his tributaries, and came in person to pay their homage to him. *Ti-sye* not only granted these his protection, but rewarded their fidelity with titles and dignities, which they were not a little ambitious of; and sometimes with presents, much more than equivalent to the tribute they paid him^c. He reigned sixteen years, and left his crown to his son.
- XI. **TI-PU-KYANG** reigned fifty-nine years; during which long space it is surprising the *Chinese* annals have not found something worth recording, except some factions which reigned among the princes of the blood about the succession, which he however obtained after his father's death. This silence is attributed to the great tranquillity which his subjects enjoyed during his reign; but he did not take the same care to secure the crown to his son *Kong-kia*, whom he had nominated his successor; so that he was obliged to give way to the superior power of his uncle,
- XII. **TI-KYONG**, or *Kung*, who wrested it from him; and, after an usurpation of twenty- d one years, left it to his son,
- XIII. **TI-KIN**, who held it likewise from the right heir twenty-one years more; but became so contemptible to the people by his debaucheries, that he could not secure it to his son; so that, after his death, it was restored to *Kong-kia*, whom his father had deprived of it.
- XIV. **KONG-KIA**, alias *Cung-kia*, instead of learning wisdom by his forty-two years of adversity and misfortunes, no sooner saw himself on the throne, than he abandoned himself to his pleasures, and became one of the lewdest and most effeminate princes that ever reigned. None but the worst sycophants and flatterers could get access to him, or have any share in the government; by which means he became so odious to the people, and so contemptible to his vassal princes, that they refused to pay him either tribute or homage, whilst e his debaucheries and extravagancies had put it out of his power to oblige them to it. Neither did he take one step towards it, or rousing himself from his effeminate indolence; but, after a shameful reign of thirty-one years, left the crown to a son who inherited all his vices, as well as his throne^f. About four years before his death was the famed *Ching-tang*, who afterwards became the founder of the second dynasty^g.
- XV. **TI-KAU**, or *Cau*, copied after his father, tho' the throne had begun for some time to totter in his family; and, making his palace the scene of his most infamous pleasures, shortened his days, and left the crown to *Ti-fa* his son, after a short reign of eleven years.
- XVI. **TI-FA**, or *Faw*, is not recorded either for any virtues or vices during the nineteen years of his reign, nor for any thing but the homage which was paid to him by the tributary princes on his accession to the throne; and his being the unhappy parent of *Kya*, the most wicked of men, and the last of the dynasty of *Hya*.
- XVII. **KYA**, alias *Kiew*, though said to have had some good qualities, yet proved such a monster of wickedness and cruelty, that his memory is as much hated to this day as that of *Nero* was among the *Romans*. His empress, still more wicked and barbarous than he, had such an absolute ascendant over him, that she made him commit the most enormous excesses

^c MARTINI, COUPLET, NOEL, DU HALDE, & al. sub Kong-kia.

^d Ibid. ibid.

^e DU HALDE, ubi sup.

(H) Some of those ambassadors are said to have come to *China* by sea, and from several of the adjacent islands, tho' they do not name them; from which it appears, at least, that the art of navigation was then known. But that the *Japanese* islanders were of that

number, as some *Europeans* have supposed, is by no means probable, on several accounts, which we shall have a more proper occasion to mention in their history.

a of cruelty and debauchery to please her (1). He became at length so odious to his subjects of all ranks, that they were on the point of dethroning him, when one of his chief ministers, who had still some remains of tenderness for his person, undertook to represent to him, in the most serious and respectful manner, the imminent danger which his licentiousness and tyranny exposed him to; and was executed for it in his presence. His fury did not abate the zeal of the rest; some of them ventured even to present a severe memorial to him, in which they scrupled not to upbraid him with his murders, cruelty, and other scandalous vices; which so exasperated him, that he resolved to put the authors of it to death.

Among them, the great *Ching-tang*, lately mentioned, a tributary prince, of the race of *Whang-ti*, a wise and worthy person, having ventured to join his remonstrance to theirs, was for it cast into prison; where he had not lain long, before he was unanimously chosen by all the states to succeed him, and obliged to declare war against the tyrant; in doing which, he however took care to disclaim all title to the crown, and to declare that he only took up arms to bring him to reason, and a sense of his duty. His army was soon completed, every prince assisting him with troops; whilst *Kya* found such a general defection among his subjects, that he could raise but a handful of men. Neither succeeded he better in his application to the *Tartars*, whom he endeavoured to gain by the fairest promises; so greatly was he abhorred by them, that they plainly told him they would never take up arms in favour of so wicked a prince. *Kya*, seeing himself thus abandoned on all sides, had recourse to dissimulation and intreaties; and only begged of *Chang-tang*, that he would spare his life: which had so great an effect on that noble prince, that he not only granted it to him, but restored him the crown; and, quitting the command of the army, retired to his own little state. For this unexampled moderation he was greatly admired by all but the ungrateful *Kya*, who no sooner saw himself resettled on the throne, than he returned to his former vices; and, to complete all, raised an army, and marched against him as a rebel and a traitor. *Ching-tang* had by that time put himself in a good posture of defence; but, when both armies came to engage, he saw, with pleasure, all the imperial forces come over to him, and lay their arms at his feet, proclaiming him their emperor, and deliverer. *Kya* had now no other resource but flight; but was pursued, till he got quite out of the boundaries of the *Chinese* empire; and there ended his days, after an ignominious exile of three, and a reign of fifty-two, years^{*}; and with him ended the first dynasty.

The second dynasty, called *Shang* (K); comprehending twenty-eight emperors, in the space of 644 years.

I. **C**HING-TANG was proclaimed emperor, with the loudest acclamations of the whole empire, as soon as *Kya* was got beyond the boundaries of it. The great proofs he had already given of his wisdom, moderation, and singular merit, made him be received through every place he passed, as a deliverer and saviour sent from heaven; and he was almost the only person who thought himself unfit for so important a trust; insomuch, that he assembled his ministers and grandees no less than three times, in order to resign the crown, which, he told them, any other would more worthily wear than himself; adding, that he thought himself sufficiently rewarded, in having so happily delivered his country from tyranny; and that he preferred the small state which heaven had allotted to him, to an empire, of which he was

* MARTINI, DU HALDE, & al. *sup. citat.*

(1) This monster of a woman, whom the *Chinese* annalists call *Pi-bia* (3), not only put that infatuated monarch upon committing the greatest extortions on the subjects, to supply her unmeasurable extravagance in building, furniture, &c. but prevailed on him to have a large spot of ground digged up in the form of a lake, and to be filled with wine; 3000 men were sent thither every day, who were obliged to kneel upon all fours round the borders of it, and to lap the wine like so many dogs, till they were drunk; after which they were ordered to reel to a neighbouring wood, where they found oxen, deer, hogs, and other beasts, ready dressed, and hanging on the trees, and there assuaged their hunger, as they had done their thirst before; and this used to be one of her mildest diversions.

Another, and more scandalous by far, with which she used to delight herself with him, was in a private apartment of the palace, where they kept a number of the finest young persons of both sexes, fetched far and

near, and bought at a vast price, to shew all manner of naked and lewd postures, and play the most shameful tricks with each other. But the most inhuman of all was the butcheries she caused to be made of those brave ministers who dared to prefer a complaint or remonstrance, or even shew a dislike, against any of their detestable practices (4); so that, upon the whole, it may be justly said, that this first dynasty owed its extinction to a woman; the emperor being confessed to have had several good qualities, which might have made him a good prince, if he had not been so unhappily yoked to, and governed by, that monster of lewdness and cruelty.

(K) This was the name he gave to the imperial family, from which the whole dynasty took it, it being that by which the little state was called, in which he formerly had governed, in quality of a king, or tributary prince (5).

(3) *Vid. Martini sub Kieuo. Vide Du Halde, sub Ching-tang.*

(4) *Martini sub Kieuo, & al. ubi sup.*

(5) *Vide Martini, ubi sup.*

not the lawful heir, and did not think himself able to govern. The sequel proved how sincere he was, and above all artifice, in what he thus freely declared to them: for, when his grantees came to represent to him, that *he was raised to it by the particular direction, which, being touched with the miseries of the people, had made choice of him for their deliverer* (which, they told him, was manifest from the unanimous concurrence of all the states, and the universal joy of all the subjects, which plainly shewed, that they would have no other sovereign but him); Ching-tang, overcome by their pressing instances to accept of the government, made no delay to apply himself to the business of it, in such manner as should fully answer, if not exceed, the high expectations they had conceived of him.

He began, accordingly, with the choice of some faithful and able ministers; among whom was *I-jin*, or *I-yn*, a person of known virtue and wisdom, whom he placed at the head both of the council and army, by whose help and advice, he soon wrought a reformation through the empire. He repealed all the cruel laws of his predecessor, and enacted others, in lieu of them, full of wisdom and equity. The army, which had been formerly used to plunder, was brought under the strictest discipline; so that order and tranquillity were again restored through every province. In his reign were found some rich gold mines in the mountains that divide the provinces of *Xan-si* and *Pe-cheli*; the benefit of which he freely granted to the inhabitants, without any tax or profit to himself. He caused to be engraven on all the vessels which were for the use of the palace, the most excellent maxims of morality, that both himself and his officers might have continually before their eyes those principles by which they ought to square their conduct. In a word, he was so highly esteemed by all the neighbouring princes, that many of them readily became tributaries, and submitted themselves to his empire: and as for the people, they filled the air every-where with their praises of him, and prayers for him, and justly looked upon him as their great benefactor, as a tender father, and the author of all their happiness (L). And when he died, which was in the thirteenth year of his reign, the whole empire went into mourning, and every one lamented for him, as for the loss of a parent. His eldest son *Tay-ting* dying before him, he left the crown to his grandson, named

II.
Tay-kyä.
Year of the
16th cycle, 45.
Bef. Chr.
1753.
Unpromising
beginning.

II. TAY-KYA, or *Tai-kiaw*, who, instead of treading in his grandfather's steps, began his reign in such a manner, as gave reason to fear he would soon become despised and odious to his subjects. To prevent which, *I-in*, the wise and faithful minister of the late emperor, after several fruitless admonitions, thought fit to make use of his authority, which was still very great; and having in vain represented to the young monarch the abuse he made of the power, which heaven intrusted him with, chiefly for the good of his people, made use of such a stratagem to reclaim him, as needed all his great reputation and credit to support and justify him in it.

*I-in's noble
stratagem to
reclaim him*

*proves suc-
cessful.*

He caused a house to be built near the tomb of the late emperor, and shut up the young monarch in it, that he might have time to reflect on his former ill conduct, and form his future one by the example, and near the ashes, of his excellent grandfather; and, at the same time, he declared himself guardian, both of the prince and empire. He kept him there three whole years, closely confined; by which time, the young monarch, now no longer blinded by the splendor of his fortune, had made such serious reflections on his past ill conduct, and on his want of those virtues that were requisite for the well-governing of so great an empire, as quite convinced those who were about him, that he was now a new man, and would steer a quite opposite course. Whereupon *I-in* went himself to him, and conducted him out of his confinement; and having placed him on the throne, proclaimed

(L) This excellent prince gave a signal proof of his fatherly tenderness, in the time of an universal drought, which lasted seven years, without one drop of rain, and had caused a grievous famine among his subjects; when attributing that calamity to his own faults, he devoted himself a victim for the welfare of the people. He first observed a rigorous fast; then laying aside the imperial ornaments, cut off his hair and nails, both which were then worn very long, he marched out barefoot, in the guise of a criminal, and, lifting up his hands to heaven, intreated the Supreme Being to spare his subjects, and let the whole weight of his wrath fall on him alone. This prayer he repeated six times, with the same fervency; and, at the end of it, the sky became covered with clouds, which poured down a plentiful and general rain, and restored the earth to its usual fruitfulness and plenty thro' the whole empire (6).

This famine is supposed, by some of the missionaries,

to be the same which is mentioned in *Genesis* (7); but besides the improbability that such a calamity should spread itself so far over the earth, as to have reached from *Egypt* to *China*, the *Chinese* famine, according to them, falls about the year before Christ 1760, and that of *Egypt* in 1708, according to the *Hebrew* chronology; and the same will appear still more antedated, if the reign of *Yau*, their eighth monarch, be brought down so low as the time of *Joshua*, as we have lately hinted (8), and will appear to be more synchronical with that which happened in *David's* time (9); for though this last continued but three years in *Palestine*, yet the *Jewish* doctors affirm, that it lasted seven years in other parts, which they infer from the words of the prophet *Gad* to *David* (10); but we see no reason to suppose, that a drought or famine must be felt through so vast a tract of land, as lieth between the *Mediterranean* and the eastern or *Chinese* sea.

(6) *Martini, Couplet, Du Halde, &c al. sup. citat. sub Ching-tang.*
before, p. 374.

(9) 1 Sam. xxi. pass.

(10) *Confir chap. xxiv. 13. & 1 Chron. xxi. 12.*

(7) *Chap. xli. pass.*

(8) See

a him emperor a second time. The people, charmed with his behaviour, especially to that great minister, whom, instead of signs of resentment, he loaded with commendations, and tokens of the highest gratitude and confidence, did joyfully acknowledge their emperor, and bestowed the highest encomiums on him, and his now greatest favourite and confident. From that time *Tay-kyä* followed his advice in every thing, and governed with such singular prudence, that the tributary princes, who had begun to revolt, gladly returned to their duty; and all the orders of the state were perfectly submissive to him, whilst he lived. He reigned thirty-three years, and was succeeded by *Wo-ting*, another grandson of *Ching-tang*. Tay-kyä's death.

III. *WO-TING*, the worthy grandson of the founder of this dynasty, was, like his predecessor, intirely governed by the wise counsels of the faithful *I in*; and being deprived of him III.
Wo ting.
Year of the
17th cycle, 18.
Before Chr.
1720. by death, on the eighth year of his reign, honoured his memory with a sumptuous funeral, worthy of the imperial majesty, and the vast esteem he had for so valuable a minister. His loss was, however, recompensed by his son *I-pu*, who inherited all his father's virtues and great qualities, for which he was deservedly advanced to the same honours, and merited the favour and confidence of several of his successors. *Wo-ting* reigned twenty-nine years, and was succeeded by his brother *Tay keng*; concerning whom, history hath left us nothing, but the years of their reigns.

IV. *TAY-KENG* began his reign in the forty-seventh year of the cycle, and reigned very peaceably twenty-five years. IV.
Tay-keng.

V. *SYAU-KYA*, or *Sia-kiaw*, his brother, succeeded him; and, after a peaceable reign of seventeen years, was succeeded by his brother, V.
Syau-kyä.

VI. *YONG-KI*, or *Jun-giew*, a third son of *Vo-ting*, but not by the same mother. In his reign some of the tributary princes, refusing to assist, according to custom, at the assembly which the emperors held from time to time, gave him some uneasiness. He reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his brother *Tay-vu*. VI.
Yong-ki.

VII. *TAY-VU*, upon his accession to the crown, is reported to have been terrified by some accident which happened in the palace; viz. a mulberry-tree was covered with leaves and fruit in seven days, and in three more withered and died; and some wheat, sown in the ground, grew up into full ears in about the same time; which that prince looked upon as the forerunner of some revolution. But upon his consulting *I-pu*, the wise son of *I-in*, about it, VII.
Tay-vu.
Year of the
18th cycle, 41.
Before Chr.
1641. was answered, that virtue was out of the reach of omens; and that, if he governed his people well, nothing could endanger his peace and happiness. *Tay-vu* made the best use of this wise lesson, and applied himself so closely to the administration of justice, that he began to give audience early in the morning, and never stirred till he had heard all the parties who applied to him. His assiduity, and love of justice, made him adored by the people, and he looked upon as equal to any of his predecessors; so that his orders were all punctually obeyed, and the tributary princes never absented themselves from the great assemblies convoked by him. Among others of his wise laws, there is one still in force to this day, that in every town a certain number of old people should be maintained out of the public treasury. He reigned seventy-five years in peace, and died in the province of *Ho-nan*, whither he had removed his court.

VIII. *CHONG-TING*, or *Chung-ting*, the son of *Tay-vu*, succeeded him; but was obliged to remove his court from the province of *Xan-si* into that of *Ho-nan*, and afterwards into that of *Pe-che-li*, on account of the frequent inundations of the *Whang-bo*, or *Yellow River*. His reign at first was peaceable; but was since disturbed by some of the inhabitants on the south side of the river *Tang-tse-kyang*, who went in bands, and plundered the neighbouring provinces; against whom he sent a powerful army, which cut those banditti in pieces, and put an effectual stop to their inroads for the future. By that means peace was again restored in his empire; but he did not long enjoy it, before he was snatched away by sudden death, after having reigned thirteen years: and was succeeded by his brother, VIII.
Chong-ting.
Year of the
19th cycle, 55.
Before Chr.
1562.

IX. *VAY-JIN*, or *Vaigni*, who reigned fifteen years, and was highly beloved by his subjects. In his reign are said to have begun the wars between the brother and children of the deceased emperor, which lasted near 200 years, but history mentions no particulars about them. He was succeeded by his brother, IX.
Vay-jin.
Year of the
20th cycle, 9.

X. *HO-TAN KYA*, who was again obliged to remove his court to some higher grounds in the province of *Ho-nan*, on account of the frequent inundations of the *Yellow River*. There is nothing recorded of him, except that he reigned nine years, and left the crown to his worthy son and successor. X.
Ho-tan-kyä.
Year of the
20th cycle, 24.

XI. *Tsu-YE* enjoyed a happy and peaceful reign, thro' the wise counsels of one of his *Ko-laus*, or ministers, called *Yen*, whom, in gratitude, he raised to a principality; an honour till then never bestowed, except on the sons or nephews of emperors. However, he still retained him near his person, that he might consult him on all emergencies; nor was he suffered to govern his little state in person till after that monarch's death, which happened in the nineteenth year of his reign, when he was succeeded by his son, XI.
Tsu-ye.
Year of the
20th cycle, 33.
Before Chr.
1525.

- XII. **Tsu-sin**, or *Zu-zin*, against whom the brethren of the late emperor raised such powerful cabals among the grandees, that they well-nigh excluded him from the succession, on pretence that they were of fitter age for government than he. Happily for him, the authority of the *Kolau Yen* was still great enough to put an end to the contest; but it did not destroy the seeds of ambition which then reigned among those princes, but only suppressed them for a time. We shall see them ripen in some of the subsequent reigns, when several of those princes frequently usurped the crown from their nephews. *Tsu-sin* reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his brother,
- XIII. **Vo-kyā**, who wrested the crown from his nephew *Tsu-ting*, who was not in a condition to resist him, and enjoyed it more quietly than he deserved. His design was, to have left it to his son; but his measures were disconcerted by the lawful heir, who ascended the throne immediately after the death of the usurper, twenty-five years after he had taken it from him.
- XIV. **Tsu-ting**, or *Zu-ting*, so well concealed his resentment against his uncle all the time he held the crown from him, that he even insinuated himself into his favour and confidence; and so wisely concerted his measures, that, upon his death, he ascended the throne without doing the least violence to his son, except excluding him. He governed with the same moderation and prudence the whole time of his reign; and, at his death, gave a signal instance of his impartial love for his subjects, in leaving the choice of a successor to his ministers, in case they judged that his son had not virtue and merit to govern them. He died in the thirty-second year of his reign; and was succeeded by his nephew *Nan-keng*, the son of *Vo-kyā*, who had, for some jealousy or misdemeanour, been sent into exile.
- XV. **Nan-keng**, though chosen by the majority of the court-ministers, yet there was still a number of those of the provinces who preferred the son of the late emperor, and made a powerful party in his favour. The contest was hot and bloody on both sides; but *Nan-keng*, proving too strong for his rival, kept possession of the crown whilst he lived, but was succeeded by his nephew, the son of *Tsu-ting*, after he had reigned twenty-five years.
- XVI. **Yang-kyā** had but a short and troublesome reign, the feuds still reigning between the two parties, and many of the tributary princes having withdrawn their obedience, and being upon the point of making themselves independent, which would have endangered the ruin of the monarchy. But the emperor died in the seventh year of his reign, and his brother *Pwang-keng* seized on the crown, in prejudice of his son.
- XVII. **Pwang-keng**, though an usurper, soon altered, by his wisdom and valour, the whole face of affairs, and restored the empire from its tottering condition. His application herein was indefatigable; he made the great *Ching-tang* the model of his conduct, and revived sundry of his wise and salutary laws, which had been in some measure abolished by the negligence of his predecessors; and made it a constant rule not to intrust any of the important posts, either of the court or empire, to any but men of the greatest merit for wisdom and virtue: for though he did not disown, that his ambition of reigning had made him seize on the crown in wrong of his nephew, yet he took such care that his example should not influence others to the like treason, that he severely punished every action that had the least tendency to it in others. This soon brought all the tributary princes again to their allegiance, and established a perfect tranquillity thro' all the empire. To prevent its being again disturbed by the ambition of the brothers, in prejudice to their nephews, which had for so many reigns been the cause of such fatal contests and bloodshed, he enacted a law to secure the crown to the latter, though himself had no issue, but was succeeded by a brother. He commonly resided in the province of *Shan-si*, and died in the twenty-eighth year of his reign.
- XVIII. **Syau-sin**, alias *Siao-sin*, a stranger to his brother's application and merit, had like to have endangered the empire again by his indolence and love of pleasure, which made him leave the care of the government to his vilest flatterers; and his excesses and effeminate life had well-nigh destroyed the peace and good order which his predecessor had taken so much care to establish in the empire, had not his death put an end to them. He reigned twenty-one years, and was succeeded by his son,
- XIX. **Syau-ye**, or *Siao-ye*. This prince had had such a noble education, that the grandees, under whom he was brought up, did not doubt but that he would have proved an excellent emperor: but, as soon as he saw himself at the head of so great an empire, he easily forgot all the wise instructions he had imbibed, and followed the pernicious steps of his father; and, though he reigned twenty-one years, would have been recorded for nothing but his vices, had not he given birth to a son who became, and is still esteemed, one of the greatest monarchs that *China* ever had.
- XX. **Vu-ting** was yet young when he ascended the throne, and committed the care of the government to his prime minister, whilst he paid the triennial mourning to his father, which he did in a house near his monument, in which he shut himself up closely, and all that time was imploring heaven to bless him with such virtues as were suitable to his station.

That

- a That time being expired, he returned to his palace; and saw soon after, in a dream, a man presented to him by heaven to be his prime minister; whose features, shape, &c. were so strongly impressed on his mind, that he drew an exact portrait of him, and caused the man to be sought for accordingly. Upon a proper search, they found a man who exactly answered *Fu-ywe*, an obscure mason, named *Fu-ywe*, who was then at work at a village; and brought him to court. Here they asked him a great variety of questions concerning government, the virtues proper for a sovereign, the reciprocal duties of princes and their subjects, the different charges of the empire, &c.; to all which he gave such just, wise, and excellent answers, as charmed the whole court. At length the emperor addressed himself to him in words to this effect: I now plainly see, *Fu-ywe*, that you are the person whom heaven hath appointed to assist me with your wise instructions, and I wholly commit myself to your direction; henceforth I look upon you as my father and guide; do you consider me as your pupil and disciple, and such a one as earnestly aspires after the highest degrees of wisdom and virtue, and will be ever ready to follow your wise counsels. Look upon me as an unpolished glass, to which you are still to give a greater lustre; as a man in a storm at sea, whose pilot you are to be; and as a barren soil, on whom you are to bestow the best manure: let me never want your salutary admonitions and reproofs; neither flatter me, nor spare my faults; that so, by your assistance, and that of my ministers, I may acquire the virtues of my grandfather *Ching-tang*, and restore, in these unhappy times, the peace, order, and happiness, of his government.
- b *HERE Fu-ywe*, prostrating himself, as is usual, before the emperor, freely represented to him how much easier it was to know what was right, than to pursue it; and to procure good advice, than to be governed by it; but added, that where those two go hand in hand, a prince needed not to doubt of his being well beloved and obeyed by his subjects. He gave him accordingly a noble set of instructions, the best part of which are still extant in the *Shu-king*; and *Vu-ting* proved such a strict observer of them, that he became an excellent pattern for good princes; and his reputation, which spread itself among the most distant nations, induced several to submit themselves to him. He reigned quietly and happily fifty-nine years, and was succeeded by his son.
- c **XXI.** *Tsu-keng* had a peaceable but short reign of seven years, and was succeeded by his brother. **XXI.** *Tsu-keng*.
- d **XXII.** *Tsu-kya*, a stranger to his father's virtues, became so odious to the people by his pride and debauchery, that he caused very dangerous commotions in several parts of the empire, and such as seemed to threaten no less than the extinction of this dynasty. He reigned thirty-three or thirty-four years; and was succeeded by his son. **XXII.** *Tsu-kya*. Year of the 24th cycle, 6.
- e **XXIII.** *Lin-sin*, who proved no less a slave to his lusts; and, to prevent all interruption of them, forbade his ministers to trouble him with any affairs of the empire, by which he shortened his days; and, after a reign of six years, left the crown to his brother. **XXIII.** *Lin-sin*.
- f **XXIV.** *King-ting*, of whom nothing is recorded, but that he reigned twenty-one years, and died about nine years after the birth of *Vu-wang*, who became the founder of the third dynasty. **XXIV.** *King-ting*.
- g **XXV.** *Vu-ye*, his son, succeeded him; and proved worse, and more impious, than any of his predecessors; and, having cast from him all fear of heaven, to deal in magical experiments, in which he found himself likewise disappointed, is supposed to have brought down the dreadful vengeance which fell on him, by his impieties and blasphemies against it; and was killed by thunder, as he was hunting, in the fourth year of his reign. About this time some of the eastern islands began to be inhabited by colonies sent thither from *China*, among which are reckoned those of *Japan*, of which we shall speak more fully in the sequel. **XXV.** *Vu-ye*, Year of the 25th cycle, 60. Bef. Chr. 1198. Eastern islands colonized.
- h **XXVI.** *Tay-ting*, the son of *Vu-ye*, began his reign by declaring war against a tributary prince, whose little state, called *Yen*, is in the province of *Pe-che-li*; and *Pe-king*, the now metropolis of the empire, was one of the cities belonging to it. He reigned but three years, and left the war to be finished by his son and successor. **XXVI.** *Tay-ting*.
- i **XXVII.** *Ti-ye*, upon his accession, sent one of his generals, named *Ki-lie*, against that revolted prince; whom he subdued, together with his whole state, and reduced to the condition of a private man. The emperor was so well pleased with that conquest, that he erected that province into a principality, and gave it to his general, and made it hereditary to his family. *Ti-ye* reigned thirty-seven years; and had three sons at his death, two by a wife of the second order, and the youngest by his empress; but as this was then young, and of no promising talents, his father was inclined to nominate the elder of the other two for his successor; but was opposed by the grandees, as being against their laws. They found afterwards cause enough to repent of their choice; the youngest, named *Chew*, proving a cruel tyrant, whereas the eldest had all the good qualities requisite for a sovereign. **XXVII.** *Ti-ye*. Year of the 26th cycle, 7. Bef. Chr. 1191.
- j **XXVIII.** *Chew*, justly infamous for his pride, luxury, debauchery, cruelty, and tyranny, had married a lady named *Tay-kya*, the most beautiful, but at the same time the most wicked and barbarous, woman in all the empire; by whom he was so intirely governed, that any minister, **XXVIII.** *Chew*. His cruel reign Year of the 26th cycle, 44.

minister, who dared oppose, or refuse to conform to, her capricious and tyrannic humour, a
Horrid execu- was immediately driven out of the palace, or perhaps condemned to death. She had more-
tions. over persuaded that infatuated monarch, that he must never expect to keep his subjects in a
 due subjection, unless he made himself dreaded by them; pursuant to which notion, she invent-
 ed a new kind of torture, of which we have given an account in a former section*, and took
 an inhuman delight in seeing the unhappy objects of her dislike put to that terrible and excru-
 ciating death. Her husband was no less given to cruelty and revenge, whenever any thing
 opposed his brutish will (M): and these executions were so frequent and terrible, that none of
 his ministers dared to advise or controul him. The noble *Ven-wang* was the only one who had
 courage enough to oppose his inhumanities; but though he was still respected by the tyrant,
 as well as by the people, for his extraordinary merit, and on that account met with a milder
 treatment, yet was he sent to prison by him, as a punishment for his rashness, as it was called,
 but in effect to put a stop to all future remonstrances from him. Upon the news of his impris-
 onment, the principal subjects of his little state assembled themselves; and found means to
 regain his liberty, by presenting *Chew* with a most beautiful damsel; whose charms so capti-
 vated him, that she easily obtained his release. *Ven-wang* had all the virtues, learning, and
Ven-wang's good qualities, that could recommend him to the *Chinese* nation; and the admirable way with
high character. which he governed his own little territory had gained him such reputation, that forty tributary
 princes chose him for their sovereign, as the only person who could put an effectual end to the
 evils that then reigned through the empire. But he died soon after, leaving his little principa-
His retirement. lity and riches to his second son, whom he preferred to his eldest, because he refused to enter
 into his views of dethroning the emperor. This prince discovered, on this occasion, a peculiar
 greatness of soul; and, without either complaining, or saying any thing that might cast a dis-
 honour on his father's memory, retired beyond the river *Tang-tse-kyang*, near the borders of
Se-chwen, and there founded the two kingdoms of *Twe* and *Hu*.
Invited to In the mean time *Chew* and his wife becoming daily more odious and intolerable by their
the crown. tyranny and horrid butcheries, the princes and grandees intreated *Vu-wang* to put himself at
 the head of an army, and give the tyrant battle, promising to assist him with what forces he
 wanted. Both he and *Chew* made all possible haste to raise a powerful army, and the former
 met the latter with a much more numerous one; but, as soon as the signal was given, the
 greatest part of them went over to *Vu-wang*. *Chew*, seeing himself thus abandoned, fled in
 despair to his capital; and, entering into his apartment, set fire to it; and, though all the
 pains were taken to prevent its spreading, it burnt with such fury, that half of the palace was
 reduced to ashes before it could be extinguished. This was the dreadful fate of the unhappy
Chew, in the thirty-third year of his reign, and with him the second dynasty. The successful
Vu-wang entered the palace like a conqueror; where the first object that presented itself to
Found a new him was the empress *Ta-kyä*, whom he slew at one blow with his own sword. He was imme-
dynasty. diately after acknowledged and proclaimed emperor by the princes and grandees, to the great
 joy of all the people, and became the founder of the third dynasty†.

*The third dynasty, called Chew, or Cheva, containing the reigns of thirty-five emperors,
 within the space of eight hundred and seventy five years.*

Third dynasty. *Vu-vang.* *Tear of the* *27th cycle, 16.* *Ref. Chr.* *1122.* **V**U-VANG, or *Fau*, began his reign in the 16th year of the twenty-seventh sexage-
 nary, or twenty-first, according to *Du Halde's* new computation, and before Christ
 1122; and, after the usual sacrifices offered to heaven, upon his inauguration, at the metro-
 polis of the province of *Shen-si*, where he had removed the imperial seat, applied himself in
 the re-establishment of the antient laws and customs which had been in a great measure abo-
 lished, and restoring the *Chinese* government to its pristine order and tranquillity, by the wisest
 and most salutary regulations (N). These gained him such great reputation both at home and
 abroad,

* See before, p. 590, not. (L).

† See the lists of tho, p. 494. and 678.

(M) One instance of this he shewed towards a young lady of singular beauty, who had been presented to him by her father, in order to insinuate himself into that vicious monarch's favour; but she, being no less virtuous than beautiful, resisted his passion with such an heroic courage, that, in a fit of rage, he slew her with his own hands; and, cutting her body into small pieces, caused it to be served at her father's table. At the same time another minister, justly shocked at that unheard of barbarity, could not forbear expressing his abhorrence of it to the tyrant, who caused him to be put to death (11).

(N) He began, 1st, with an inquiry into, and redressing, all the acts of injustice which had been committed in the preceding reign.

2. He set many persons of merit at liberty, who had been imprisoned.

3. He sent for *Kit-fu*, the uncle of the tyrant, who had narrowly escaped death, by feigning himself mad, for having dared to reprove him, and consulted him upon all emergencies, as he was a great astronomer, politician, and noble patriot; and the instructions he gave him are still extant in the *Shu king*. He afterwards rewarded him with the kingdom of *Korea*, which he bestowed

(11) *Martini, Du Halde, &c. al. sup. citat.*

abroad, that many foreign princes, who had withdrawn their homage from *Che-w*, readily came to pay their homage and tribute to him, and put themselves under his protection; and as to his subjects, they had such an affection for him, that, upon his being attacked with a dangerous distemper in the second year of his reign, they expressed every-where the deepest concern for him. Among the rest, *Che-w-kong*, his prime minister, having caused sacrifices to be offered in the palace for his recovery, lifted up his hands on a sudden towards heaven, and prayed with a loud voice, that his own life might be accepted in lieu of the emperor's; and that so dear a blessing might be preserved to his realm, till he had fixed it upon a firm foundation, freely offering his own life at the same time to save that of his prince. His prayer, the history informs us, went not unheard; the emperor found himself much better by the very next day, and in a little time was quite recovered. The whole court and kingdom greatly applauded the action of the prime minister; and *Vu-wang* was so affected with it, that he inserted it with his own hands in the secret records which are kept in the palace in coffer of gold; and the memory of it proved, in process of time, of singular benefit to the empire, as we shall see in the sequel. He reigned only seven years; but with such fatherly tenderness, and with such indefatigable application to the public welfare, that he had quite restored the empire to its pristine tranquillity and grandeur; and was succeeded by his son *Ching-vang*.

II. *CHING-VANG* being too young to take upon him the reins of government, his uncle *Che-w-kong*, then prime minister, and a prince of known probity and wisdom, took upon him the care of the realm, and of his education; the latter of which he intrusted to the most proper persons, whilst he administered the public affairs with such prudence and disinterestedness, that all the tributary princes readily acknowledged his merit, and paid him tribute and homage, as to the faithful guardian of the young monarch.

His singular uprightness did not however free him from suspicion, and from being misrepresented to him as having some view of seizing on the crown, by the number of creatures he promoted; which obliged him to retire from court, to the great regret of all who knew his merit and integrity. The young monarch betrayed at first a kind of pleasure on his being freed from his uncle's tuition; but soon found, by his inexperience and ill success, that he was no-way equal to the burden; so that, to extricate himself from these difficulties, he sent for the secret records mentioned under the last reign, and there found it recorded how *Che-w-kong* had freely offered his own life to heaven, to save that of his father; upon which, quite ashamed at his unjust suspicion of him, he went in person to his retreat, and, with tears, intreated him to resume his former post, and assist him with his salutary counsels. *Che-w-kong*, softened by his behaviour, consented to his request: and, from that time, gave him daily fresh proofs of his fidelity to him, and zeal for the public welfare. The young monarch's reputation spread to such a degree, by his adhering to the instructions of his uncle, that the king of *Cochin-China* sent him ambassadors, with rich presents, to congratulate him on his having a subject of so extraordinary merit as *Che-w-kong*; who were received with the greatest marks of esteem and friendship, and sent home laden with tokens of his generosity (O). That great minister died, highly admired both at home and abroad, in the 100th year of his age, and the 20th of *Ching-vang*'s reign; and that prince, to shew his gratitude to him, caused him to be buried near his own father's tomb, and with the same funeral pomp as was usually performed to emperors. He outlived him seventeen years, and governed with great moderation and applause; and, some time before his death, forbade the use of wine, at a solemn assembly of the states; alleging, that *that liquor, being the gift of heaven, ought only to be used at those sacrifices which are offered up to it; otherwise it proves the cause of almost all the evils which happen upon the earth*. He reigned thirty-seven years, and left the crown to his son.

flowed upon him and his posterity, without obliging them to any other homage than their coming to court at every new reign, to desire the new monarch's consent and protection.

4. He restored several illustrious families, which had been in some measure degraded from their nobility, and gave the descendants of the old emperor little sovereignties, to enable them to support their rank. One prince, of the family of *Shin-nong*, was settled in the province of *Shen-si*; another, of the family of *Whang-ti*, was settled in a territory in that of *Ho-nan*, called the kingdom of *Tsu*; to a third, of the family of *Yau*, he assigned a district in the neighbourhood of *Pe-king*, named the kingdom of *Su*; and to a fourth, who was of the race of *Shun*, he gave some lands in the province of *Ho-nan*, under the title of the principality of *Chin*.

To these he added fifteen other principalities, which he gave to as many of his own relations; not foreseeing

that so many sovereignties, though dependent on the crown, would prove in time the source of unhappy wars. He was no less generous to his ministers, some of whom he raised to estates not much inferior to the foregoing, and others he raised to the highest dignities in the empire (12).

(O) We are told, that, at their audience of leave, *Che-w-kong* presented them with an instrument, which on one side pointed to the north, and on the other to the south, that they might steer better in their way home, than they had done in coming to *China*. This instrument was called *Chi-nan*, which name the *Chinese* give to the sea-compass; whence some conclude that the prime minister was the inventor of it. We have already shewn in their ancient history (13), that that invention is ascribed to their third monarch *Whang-ti*; but with as little probability, there being great reason to think that it is of much later date*.

(12) *Martini, Du Halde, & al. sup. citat. in Vu-wang.*
* *Vid. sup. p. 595. (E).*

(13) *See before Introd. p. 505, & seq.*

III.
Kang-vang.
Year of the
27th cycle, 60.
Bef. Chr.
1078.

III. KANG-VANG, finding the empire in a profound tranquillity, made it his chief study to govern his people with mildness, and to make them happy. It was one of his favourite maxims, that *the joy of a prince depended on that which reigned among his subjects; and that he ought not to take any pleasure when they were in distress*. He took especial delight in promoting agriculture, the care of which he committed to one of his ministers, named *Chau-kong*; whilst himself would sit under a willow-tree, to decide the disputes that arose among the husbandmen. In his reign, so great a regard is said to have been had to promises, that prisoners were let out every morning to till the land, and regularly came back to their prison at night, according to their parole. He reigned twenty-six years, and was succeeded by his son,

IV.
Chau-vang.
Year of the
28th cycle, 26.
Bef. Chr.
1302.

IV. CHAU-VANG, alias *Chaus*, who was so excessively fond of hunting, that he neglected every thing else; insomuch that the damage which the subjects suffered, by his horses and dogs, and the vast train of huntsmen that always attended him, and often destroyed their whole crop, was become insupportable. No kind of remonstrances had been wanting to obtain a redress; but all proved ineffectual; and he, at length, became so odious to them, that, in a kind of despair, they resolved to put an end, at once, both to his sports and to his life, by such a stratagem as should not easily be discovered. They had often observed, that he used, on his return from hunting, to cross a large river which runs through the province of *Xen-si*, and to have his barges waiting to waft him over to the city of *Hang-chew*; upon which, they prepared one that was so built, as to fall into pieces as soon as it was got about half way over. The emperor entered it, according to custom, with some of his grandees; and had scarce reached the middle of the river, when the planks fell asunder at once, and the vessel and passengers went down to the bottom. Thus perished that unhappy prince, in the fifty-first year of his reign (P), and was succeeded by his son.

Drowned by
a stratagem.

V.
Mo-vang.
Year of the
29th cycle, 17.
Bef. Chr.
1001.

V. MO-VANG, or *Mous*, was a prince of such excellent qualities, as soon gained him the love of his subjects, and made them wink at one remarkable failing he had, viz. an extravagant fondness for horses (Q). His success against some of his barbarian subjects on the southern part, who had revolted, and who were defeated by his troops under the command of his general *Kau-fu*, encouraged him to turn his victorious arms against the *Tartars*. This project was in vain opposed by his son-in-law, who represented to him the unreasonable injustice and ill consequences of it; for that prince went on with it, and advanced with a powerful army against them, as far as the borders of *Tartary*; whilst the *Tartars*, who were apprised of his march, retired as far back as the heart of their country, with their tents and cattle; so that *Mo-vang*, finding no enemies to fight with, was forced to come back, after having fatigued and impaired his army with long and difficult marches; which made him take up a full resolution never to undertake any thing of that kind without his approbation. He reigned fifty-five years, and was succeeded by his son.

VI.
Kong-vang.
Year of the
30th cycle, 12.
Bef. Chr.
946.

His cruelty and
remorse.

VI. KONG-VANG began his reign with such an unheard of cruelty, as would have eternally blasted his fame, if repentance had not made such a change in his mind, that he became one of the mildest and justest princes. It had been his custom frequently to walk by the side of a lake in the country of *Mye*, where at these times multitudes of beautiful maidens used to make their appearance. He singled out three of the most agreeable to his taste, and fell in love with them; but they, apprehending the danger, no longer appeared on that walk among the rest. Upon which, the enraged monarch, imagining that the country-people had conveyed them away, to prevent their falling a sacrifice to his passion, ordered them all to be massacred. However, the remorse he felt for his excess of passion, and the justice and mildness of the remainder of his reign, easily obliterated his crime, and he has been ranked among some of their best monarchs ever since. He reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his son.

VII.
Ye-vang.
Year of the
30th cycle, 24.

VII. YE-VANG, alias *Is*, did nothing, during a reign of twenty-five years, worth being recorded; and his name had long ago been buried in oblivion, had not his follies afforded matter of ridicule to some of the satyrists of that age, and rendered him despicable to posterity. His want of merit gave his brother an opportunity of seizing the crown from his children, and placing it on his own head.

(P) The *Chinese* annals mention several portents which seemed to foretell that monarch's fatal end; such as, an extraordinary overflow of a deep well belonging to the palace; and a much brighter and longer appearance of the moon above the horizon, and its darting a long fiery ray like the tail of a comet, as far as the sign *Leo* (but the moon's place is not mentioned); and some other such strange phenomena.

However, we are told, that in this monarch's reign was born the *Indian* philosopher *Fo*, mentioned in a former section (14), the founder of the Bonzaic and idolatrous sect which was afterwards introduced into *China*,

together with his doctrine of the soul's transmigration, about 65 years after Christ (15).

(Q) His great foible was, to make a magnificent appearance before his subjects, and to ramble from one part of the empire to the other with a vast retinue of men on horseback, and spared no pains nor cost to have the finest horses brought to him far and near. However, he took care to cover these frequent and pompous excursions with the specious pretence of fatherly tenderness for his subjects, and under the name of visiting his most distant provinces (16).

(14) See before, p. 561, & seq. (15) *Vid. Noel. Compté, Martini, Du Halde, & al. sub Chau.*

(16) *Vid.*

a VIII. HYAU-VANG, *Ygau-wang*, or *Hiaus*, though an usurper, had address enough to keep himself on the throne, and gain the affections of the people. He was, however, so extremely fond of fine horses, that he raised an obscure fellow, named *Fi-shu*, to the dignity of master of the horse, merely for his superior skill in breeding, breaking, and managing, them; and, being one day highly delighted with his dexterity in riding, he bestowed on him a principality in the province of *Sben-si*; which is the more worth observing, because one of his descendants became afterwards the founder of the next dynasty, and destroyed the whole family to which he owed his advancement. He reigned fifteen years, and was succeeded by his son (R). VIII.
Hyau-wang.
Year of the
30th cycle, 49.
Bef. Chr.
921.

b IX. I-VANG, alias *Is*, was a prince of so little sense, address, or capacity, that he hardly knew how to speak to his ministers, or give an answer to their questions; and could not be prevailed upon either to give audience to foreign ambassadors, or receive the usual homage of his tributary princes. He reigned fifteen years, and was succeeded by his son. IX.
I-wang.
Year of the
31st cycle, 4.

c X. LI-VANG, or *Liew*, proved such a proud, cruel, and extravagant prince, that he soon reduced his subjects to the lowest misery by his continual exactions, which he as lavishly spent; insomuch that nothing was heard but complaints and lamentations among the people, and threatening manifestoes among the grandees. These only increasing his rage and jealousy, he caused strict search to be made after the authors of them; and at the same time forbade the people, under pain of death, to converse, or even whisper, to each other; so that nothing was seen in his metropolis but men shunning each other, and walking in mournful silence with their eyes fixed to the ground. At length one of his most faithful ministers, named *Chau-kong*, took the liberty to tell him, that he was not placed on the throne to make his subjects miserable; that it was much easier to stop an impetuous torrent, than to restrain their tongues, which only increased the violence of their resentment; and that the silence he had imposed upon them seemed to forebode something more dreadful and dangerous than the liberty they had of complaining. X.
Li-wang.
Year of the
31st cycle, 20.
His cruelties
and extortions.
Faith against
speaking.

d THIS tyrannic edict lasted three full years, when the people, driven at length into despair, rushed like a sudden torrent into his palace, and murdered all the imperial family, except the tyrant, who had but just time to escape their fury by flight; and his youngest son, whom the faithful *Chau-kong* had secretly conveyed to his own house. It was not long, however, before the enraged multitude were apprised of it, who on a sudden besieged the house, and with stern menaces demanded the prince of him. *Chau-kong*, seeing them so resolute that his authority could not restrain them from forcing their way in, after a severe conflict between nature and loyalty, delivered up his son to them instead of him, whom they inhumanly butchered before his face. He tried afterwards all possible means to reconcile them to their fugitive prince, and to re-establish him on the throne; but never could persuade them to it, so that it continued vacant for some years, whilst *Li-wang* was forced to live an obscure and miserable life, after he had reigned thirty-eight years, and wandered in exile about thirteen more. His family
massacred.
Chau-kong's
surprising
loyalty.
Li-wang's banishment and death.

e XI. SWEN-WANG, or *Si-ven*, at length succeeded his father by the interest of his generous preserver, who was then at the head of affairs; and took care to inform the people by what means the right heir to the crown had been saved from the common slaughter, and how worthy he was of the crown for which heaven seemed to have miraculously preserved him, so they at length consented to it; and, as he was still too young to govern, *Chau-kong*, and another equally worthy minister, were appointed his governors; and these two so faithfully acquitted themselves of their important trust, that the young prince, who was no less observant of their instructions, gave them sufficient proofs of his being every way worthy of holding the reins of the empire by that time he came of age; insomuch that he is celebrated in history as the restorer of the happy times when the great *Yu* and *Ching-tang* filled the Chinese throne. XI.
Swen-wang.
Year of the
32d cycle, 11.
Bef. Chr.
827.

f ONE of his first cares was, to recall all the wise and good men and philosophers, who had, during the late reign, retired into the mountainous and desert parts, to be more at leisure for study, and, by his mildness and generosity, to fix them near his person. By these means he became so highly admired for his virtues and mild government, that the tributary princes took a singular delight to pay him their homage, and to learn from him how to rule their respective little states, and all the members of the state were by degrees brought to their antient order and subordination. He likewise quelled some of the southern nations, who are divided from China by the river *Yang-tse-kyang*, and had taken the advantage of the late troubles to plunder several of the Chinese provinces, and forced them to submit to the laws and customs of the empire. He reigned forty-six years, and was succeeded by his son. Recalls the
philosophers.
Restores the
empire to its
grandeur.

XII. YEW-WANG, alias *Jew*, or *Jeus*, instead of those good qualities for which his father was so justly admired, indulged himself in several vices, which not only rendered him contemptible, XII.
Yew-wang.

(R) In his reign there fell such prodigious large hail-stones, that they killed both men and beasts, and did considerable damage; it was likewise accompanied with such unusual and violent cold, that the rivers were frozen by it (17).

*Year of the
32d cycle, 57.
His fatal love
for a concu-
bine.*

but odious to his subjects, and brought on a series of great troubles, which ended in his ruin. A splenetic concubine named *Pautse*, or *Paofua*, with whom he was most passionately in love, seems to have laid the foundation of all his misfortunes, for whose worthless sake he put away his empress, and disinherited his lawful heir, who both went and took refuge at the court of his uncle, who had a small principality in the province of *Shen-si*. Many other things that infatuated monarch condescended to do, to divert her spleen, which, though not equally unjust, were no less ridiculous and unworthy of him; but one, in particular, which cost him his life and crown.

*Method of di-
verting her.*

HE was then at war with the western *Tartars*; and had given express orders, that whenever the soldiers saw the fires lighted, they should immediately arm themselves, and attend his person; and, to divert his mistress, ordered that signal, which ought never to be used but in case of necessity, to be frequently used, without any other occasion than to set her a laughing at the hurry she saw the soldiers in, and the surprise and dislike they shewed at being so often falsely alarmed. Whilst he entertained her with this odd and dangerous diversion, he had sent positive orders to his brother to bring him back his son, who had taken sanctuary with him; and that prince refusing to obey, unless the young prince was declared lawful heir to the empire, *Yew-wang* declared war against him; and he, not being in a condition to oppose his forces, went and joined the *Tartars*, and in the night-time attacked the imperial camp. The fires were immediately lighted, to give the signal to the soldiers; but they had been so often deceived by it, that they looked upon it as the old game begun afresh, to give new diversion to his concubine; so that the *Tartars* easily forced the camp, and made themselves masters of the field. The emperor lost his life, after he had reigned eleven years; and was succeeded by his son.

*C. As him his
life and em-
pire.*

XIII.
Ping-wang.
*Year of the
33d cycle, 8.*

*China invaded
by the Tar-
tars.*

*Several inde-
pendent king-
doms founded,
and a lasting
war among
them.*

XIII. PING-WANG, though heir to the crown, was not in a condition to put a stop to the confusion that then reigned, nor to the ravages which the *Tartars* committed where-ever they came; but, instead of defending his own dominions, removed his residence farther off from the province of *Shen-si* to that of *Ho-nan*; which plainly appeared to be done more to secure his own person, than his empire, against his victorious enemy; and this laid the foundation for new troubles: for, tho' the tributary princes joined their forces against the enemy, and actually drove them back, and recovered the territories they had made themselves masters of, yet the kings of *Tsin* and *Wey*, who were in the confederacy, and had signalized themselves against those invaders, made no scruple to claim an absolute possession of those territories, by way of conquest; and refused to pay homage to the emperor, under pretence that he had lent them no assistance. Their example was followed by several other tributary princes, particularly by the kings of *Tsi*, *Tsu*, and *Tsin*, who became the founders of three considerable kingdoms; the first in the southern part of the province of *Shang-tong*, the second in those of *Hu-quang* and *Kyang-si*, and the third in that of *Shen-si*. These three looking upon themselves as independent, followed only the dictates of their ambition; and, by mutual wars, sought only to enlarge their territories, and plunder those of their neighbours. The emperor tried in vain to interpose his authority, and to oblige them to live at peace. They despised his orders; and still went on with their wars, which were not at an end in the time of the great *Confucius*, whose history begins here.

PING-WANG reigned fifty-one years, and was succeeded by his brother's son.

XIV.
Whan-wang
*Year of the
33d cycle, 59.*

XIV. WHAN-WANG, alias *Von*, ascending the throne at this difficult juncture, tried in vain, at first by gentle means, and afterwards by force of arms, to reduce the tributary princes to their obedience. His army having been defeated, and himself wounded, he was forced to content himself with preserving those provinces which were still subject to him. He reigned twenty-three years, and was succeeded by his son.

XV.
Chwang-
wang,
*Year of the
34th cycle, 22.*

XV. CHWANG-WANG, alias *Chuang*, was raised to the throne, contrary not only to the will of his father, who had named *Kew*, the son of one of his concubines, for his successor, but to the good liking of several of his ministers(S). *Kew* had still a strong party on his side, and with them formed a plot of assassinating him; which, though not discovered till three years after, was, nevertheless, discomfited, by the vigilance of the grandee mentioned in the last note; who having sent for the chief conspirator, under pretence of consulting him, caused him to be privately stabbed. However, though his death, and *Kew's* flight, which immediately followed, secured the crown to *Chwang-wang*, yet the revolted princes continued

(S) This was done at the representation of one of the grandees, of great authority at court; who justly observed to them the ill consequences which such an injustice to the lawful heir might bring on the empire at that juncture, and which must of necessity end in a civil war: to which he added further, that such a preference of the son of a concubine to the lawful son and heir, could not fail of giving a fatal blow to the imperial authority,

which was in too tottering a condition, and rather wanted to be more strongly propped, than to be endangered by such a deadly shock. The rest of the grandees, and ministers, readily agreed to his wholesome advice; and that faithful minister kept such a watchful eye over the rebel *Kew*, that he discovered and defeated his plot against the emperor, before it could be put in execution (18).

(18) *Vide Noel, Couplet, Martini. Du Hsiao. & al. Sub Chuang.*

a still dependent from him; and that of *Tsi*, being chiefly governed by his prime minister, had interest enough at the imperial court to engage the majority of the ministers to alter the succession in favour of *Li-vang*, his near relation, after the emperor's death, which happened some years after. *Chang-wang* reigned fifteen years, and was accordingly succeeded by him, in prejudice to that emperor's nephew, to whom the right belonged.

XVI. *LI-VANG*, from a tributary prince, being raised to the imperial crown, by the interest of *Won-kung*, the king of *Tsi*, above-mentioned, did easily exclude all the relations of the late emperor from it: for that tributary prince was, by that time, become so powerful, that he had enlarged his territories, at the cost of his neighbours on both sides, and to the no small prejudice of the royal authority, which was, in some measure, eclipsed by his overgrown power. He at length grew to such a height, as to assume to himself the title of *Pa*, that is, chief of all the other princes, and was acknowledged as such by the greater part of them. This title, however, which others likewise assumed, was at length abolished, after it had lasted about 100 years. As to *Li-vang*, he was forced to be passive, not daring to disoblige the king of *Tsi*, to whom he owed the crown; and, after a short reign of five years, left it to his son.

XVII. *WHEY-WANG*, alias *Hoey*, reigned very peaceably the first six years; but was, at length, attacked by the *Tartars*, who inhabit the north part of *Shan-si*; against whom he sent an army, under the command of the king of *Tsi*. This prince came upon them while they were besieging the city of *Tay-tong-fu*, forced their camp, and put them to the rout, rather by a superstitious panic, which had seized them, than any superiority, either of strength or ground. However, this victory, and the trust which the emperor reposed in him, gave him such an ascendant, that he wanted nothing but the imperial title; and his ambition was such, that he would have made no scruple to have dethroned him, had he not had cause to apprehend, that the other princes, who were his equals, would have opposed his design. *Whey-wang* reigned twenty-five years, and was succeeded by his son.

XVIII. *SYANG-WANG*, even from his younger years, had entertained no small jealousy of the overgrown power, and unmeasurable ambition, of the king of *Tsi*, but as he knew him to be too strong for him, he resolved to suppress him by craftiness, rather than by open force. *Won-kung* gave him soon after a fair opportunity for it; for having convoked, by the assistance of the prime minister, all the little sovereigns that were dependent on the imperial crown, which none but the emperor had a right to do, and designing, by that means, to make them acknowledge him as such, *Syang-wang* sent immediately his imperial letter to the assembly, by the hands of a skilful ambassador; who came accordingly, and laid it, as is usual on those occasions, on a table magnificently adorned; upon which, all the other princes paid their homage to it, which is the same as if the emperor had been there in person. *Won-kung* was the only one that hesitated about it, and was on the point of refusing, had not his prime minister reminded him of the danger, and of the jealousy which his refusal would create among the other princes. He was therefore obliged to comply, and to put off his design to a better opportunity; but his public, though forced, submission, had such an influence over the rest, that it confirmed them in their submission to the emperor, and helped to restore the government to its antient form.

SYANG-WANG had not long enjoyed the fruit of his stratagem, when his peace was disturbed by his son *Sbo-tay*, who, upon some disgust, left the court, and went to that of the king of *Tsi*. About the same time, one of his tributaries openly revolted, in the province of *Shen-si*. But the emperor was soon rid of both fears, by the defeat of the latter, and by the death of the ambitious *Won-kung*, who died of old age, and left his kingdom, in a distracted condition, between his five contending sons. Soon after that, having dismissed his *Tartarian* empress, whom he had married for politic views, brought on a fresh war from that quarter; in which the *Tartar* invited his fugitive son *Sbo-tay* to join, promising to get him declared emperor; which he readily consented to. The emperor was thereupon forced to fly, and wander about, begging the assistance of his tributaries, whilst his rebellious son had entered his capital, and taken the imperial title upon him. *Syang-wang* having obtained a sufficient succour, divided his army, and, with one part, recovered his metropolis, and caused *Sbo-tay* to be put to death, and, with the other, drove the *Tartars* out of his dominions, and restored the peace of his empire, which lasted twenty-two years. He died in the thirty-third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son.

XIX. *KING-WANG*, alias *Hiang*, was a prince endowed with all the good qualities that could make his subjects happy, who thought they never could say enough in praise of his moderation and fatherly tenderness. But a sudden death snatched him from them, after a short reign of six years, to the great grief of the whole empire. He was succeeded by his son,

XX. *QUANG-WANG*, whose reign was equally short, mild, and undisturbed, the son and successor of *Won-kung*, in the kingdom of *Tsi*, being become so odious to his subjects, that

he was not in a condition to attempt any thing against him (T). *Quang-wang*, after a six a years yeign, left the crown to his brother.

XXI.

Ting-wang.
Year of the
35th cycle, 52.

XXI. TING-WANG, upon his mounting the throne, made it his chief care to keep war at a distance, and to cause the laws to be put in execution. In his reign was born *Lau-kyun*, founder of the *Epicurean* sect, falsely called the sect of the immortals, and of which we have spoken in a former section*. *Ting-wang* reigned twenty-one years; and is recorded chiefly for the great tranquility he preserved the empire in during his reign. He was succeeded by his son.

XXII.

Kyen vang.
Year of the
36th cycle, 13.

XXII. KYEN-VANG, alias *Kien*, as heir of his virtues, preserved the empire in its grandeur and tranquility. In his reign started up two other odd sects, which made a great noise at first, but were soon after confuted, and quelled (U). He reigned fourteen years, b and was succeeded by his son.

XXIII.

Ling-vang.
Year of the
36th cycle, 27.
A strange contest between
two brothers.

XXIII. LING-VANG is recorded to have been born with hair on his head, and a beard on his chin; but is much more famed for the wisdom and prudence with which he governed his people; insomuch, that he still preserved the imperial authority in its full lustre, though most of the tributary princes were warring against one another. In the eleventh year of his reign, the death of *Xeun-Cung*, king of *U*, occasioned one of the most remarkable contests, between his two sons, that is to be met with in history. The eldest, to whom the crown belonged, was very pressing to have his brother accept of it, and the younger as strenuously refused it. At length, the elder constrained him to it, by force, placing him on the throne, putting the royal ornaments on him, and saluting him king of *U*. But the ceremony was scarce over, before the new king privately abandoned the palace, and went and hid himself in a desert; so that the elder was obliged to resume it, whilst his brother kept himself concealed, in the habit and occupation of a rustic, or plough-boy. About ten years after, or in the twenty-first year of the same reign, was born the so much celebrated *Chinese* philosopher *Kong-fu-tse*, or *Confucius*, of whom we have given an account, in a former section†. As for *Ling-vang*, he reigned peaceably twenty-seven years, and left the crown to his son.

Confucius
born.

XXIV.

Keng-vang.
Year of the
37th cycle, 54.

XXIV. KENG-VANG, alias *King*, is justly blamed for his indolence and inattention to the affairs of the empire, at a time when the king of *U*, charmed with the government of his predecessors, was on the point of having submitted to him and his laws. So that, instead of sending his intended embassy to him, he dispatched it to the king of *Lu*, a prince of the family of *Chew*, and a strict observer of the laws of this dynasty. Several other princes thought it also high time to restore that peace and order in their respective states, which the civil wars among them had almost destroyed. The king of *Ching*, in particular, who reigned in the province of *Shen-fi*, shewed them a noble example; who, by the help and advice of his prime minister, reformed the abuses which had crept into his court, revived the antient laws, and made such a wise distribution of the lands, as pleased both rich and poor (X).

New regulations among the
little princes.

* See before, p. 558, & (E).

† See before, p. 559, & (F).

(T) This tyrant, whose name was *Lyn-chung*, was become so hateful, for his cruelties, and want of application to government, that another prince, his kinsman, took the liberty to reprove him for it; at which he was so enraged, that he sent soon after a desperate ruffian to assassinate him in his own palace. The fellow came accordingly, early in the morning, pretending to have some business of importance with him from the king of *Tsi*; and being admitted into his presence, found him seated on his throne, receiving petitions from his subjects, and dispensing justice among them, with such affable greatness, as struck him at once with horror at the thoughts of staining his hands with the blood of so excellent a prince, and not daring to return to *Lyn-chung*, without performing his errand, slew himself at the door of the palace (19).

It will not be amiss to observe further, that when we distinguish between the empire and the tributary princes depending on it, the former must not be understood in that vast extent, as it has been since; for, even at this time, it is neither all yet inhabited, nor much less all subject to one prince. It is likely that it contained, at most, only two or three provinces, besides that of *Shen-fi*, which was the first inhabited, whilst the remainder was still either uncultivated, or, at most, governed by princes of their own, who paid neither homage nor tribute to the emperors, till several centuries after.

(U) The two philosophers who broached them were called *Yang* and *Me*; the former of whom taught, That all men were to be loved alike, strangers as well as kindred; the other maintained, That every man ought to mind himself, and his own affairs, without concerning himself about any body else, or even the emperor himself.

In this reign we likewise find the first mention of the kingdom of *U*, and of a smart war waged by the king of it, and some neighbouring princes, on account of a beautiful young damsel; which war, being foreign to our present subject, the reader may read in *Martini* (20).

(X) His regulations were chiefly contained under the four following heads; viz. 1. That the lands should be divided into nine equal parts, whereof one should be his domain, and cultivated at the public charge. 2. That all people indifferently should be permitted to fish in lakes, ponds, and rivers. 3. That the magistrates should have a particular care of all widows, orphans, and old men and women who had no children, and assist them in their necessities. 4. That the son or wife should not be punished for the crime of a parent or husband; and some others of equal wisdom, though of less moment (21).

(19) Vide Noel, Couplet, Martini, Du Halde, & al. sub *Quang*.
(21) Martini, sub *King*, Du Halde, Keng-wang, & al. sup. cit.

(20) Sub *Kien*, p. 135, & seq.

^a KENG-VANG reigned twenty-five years, and was succeeded by his son *Meng-vang*, who reigned but a few months. During which, he had a son born, on whose account a deadly contest arose between two powerful parties; that of the court and ministers declaring for the infant prince; whilst the governors of the provinces, objecting against his tender years, and the uncertainty of his life, had proclaimed *King-vang*, his father's brother. Both parties proceeded to arms; but the last proving the stronger, and having made themselves masters of the capital, set him upon the throne, and confirmed him emperor. *Meng-vang. reigns but few months. A contest about the succession.*

XXV. KING-VANG's reign is not recorded for any particular action of his; whence it is supposed to have been a peaceable one. *Confucius*, who flourished at this time; in the kingdom of *Lu*, ends that long 200 years war of the tributary princes much about the same time. XXV. King-vang. Year of the 38th cycle, 19.

^b During the same reign, two very illustrious royal families received their finishing stroke, and total extinction; viz. that of *Tsan*, which had no less than twenty-five kings, within the space 636 years; and, about eight or ten years after, that of *Chin*, together with its kingdom, after it had continued 645 years, under twenty-four princes: the former was destroyed by the king of *Sung*; and the latter by that of *Tsu*. *King-vang* died in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son.

XXVI. YWEN-VANG proved so wise and mild a prince, that, had he lived long enough, he would probably have raised the imperial authority to its pristine glory. Of all the tributary princes, the king of *Su* was the only one who still refused to pay him the usual homage of coming to the grand assembly, for which he was proscribed, and declared a rebel; which is the first instance we meet with of that kind of punishment. *Ywen-vang* was likewise very successful in war, gained several battles, and subdued almost the whole province of *Lu*. About the same time, the kingdom of *U*, which had subsisted 650 years, under twenty petty kings, was subverted by the king of *Ywe*. *Ywen-vang* reigned but seven years, and was succeeded by his son. XXVI. Ywen vang. Year of the 38th cycle, 3.

XXVII. CHING-TING-VANG was surnamed the *Chaste*, on account of his living in celibacy after the death of his empress, and shewing an eminent example of continency to his subjects. He maintained the empire in the same peace and grandeur in which he found it. And in his reign the king of *Tsu* put a final end to the principality of *Tsay*, which had stood 676 years, under twenty-five princes. *Ching-ting* reigned twenty-eight years, and left three sons at his death, all of age, the eldest of whom, named *Nyan*, succeeded him; but was murdered by his brother *Su*, in the third month of his reign. *Su* reigned only five months, and was likewise assassinated by the youngest, who mounted the throne, without any opposition. XXVII. Ching-ting-vang. Year of the 38th cycle, 10.

XXVIII. KAU-VANG, though he pretended to have only punished one parricide by another, was yet greatly hated for that action; insomuch, that several tributary princes withdrew their allegiance from him. He was, however, a mild and good prince, and gave some eminent proofs of his paternal love for his subjects (Y). He reigned fifteen years, and was succeeded by his son. XXVIII. Kau-vang. Year of the 38th cycle, 38.

XXXIX. GHEY-LYE-VANG, alias *Ghei-bew*, began his reign about the beginning of the civil wars between the tributary princes, which lasted near 300 years, which epocha is from thence styled, by the *Chinese*, the *years of war*, or, *warlike ages*, when every petty sovereign strove to make himself independent, and lord it over his rivals, and the imperial dignity was brought so low, that these monarchs saw their authority trampled under foot, the provinces taken from them by degrees, whilst they hardly retained the bare name of sovereigns. The kingdom of *Tsin* was divided between four princes, who had conquered it, one of whom, famed for his battles, had formed the design of swallowing up the other three. He was prevented indeed by death; but his son, equally ambitious and unquiet, picked a quarrel with the kings of *Han* and *Gay*, and forced them to yield some territories to him. He next tried to do the same by the king of *Chan*, another neighbour; but was defeated, and slain by him, together with his whole family, and his head cut off, and made a drinking-cup of. The king of *Lu* made likewise war against that of *Tsi*, took some considerable places from him, and obliged him to sue for a peace. As for *Ghey-lye-vang*, we hear nothing of him, but that he reigned twenty-four years, and left the crown to his son. XXXIX. Ghey lye-vang. Year of the 38th cycle, 53.

XXX. NGAN-VANG's reign is recorded for nothing but for the wars which reigned between the petty kings, particularly those of *Tsin* and *Ghey*, in which the latter was the most successful; but *U-ki*, the general who had gained him several victories, being envied by his courtiers, withdrew himself privately to the former, and turned the scales against his old master, and became very great at this second court. Being here likewise envied by the grandees, he resolved to reform the government by limiting their authority, and lodging the

(Y) It will not be amiss to observe to our readers, that *Martini*, and some other *Chinese* annalists, reckon the reigns of the two slain princes among the rest, and so make this of *Kau-vang* to be the thirtieth of this dynasty.

naity, which, in due course, is but the twenty-eighth, since both reigns not exceeding eight months, ought rather to be included with the first of the following one.

power solely in the king. He had already, by his valour and merit, rendered him so powerful, and brought his kingdom into such a flourishing condition, that he was become formidable to all his neighbours; but his ministers so highly resented the blow which his brave general had given to their overgrown sway, that they caused him to be privately murdered in his own house. *Ngan-vang* reigned twenty-six years, and was succeeded by his son.

XXXI. *LYE-VANG*'s reign was not more remarkable than his father's, except for the birth of the great philosopher *Meng-tse*, commonly called *Mencius*, the most celebrated one, next to *Confucius*, that ever *China* produced. In other respects, the imperial authority still went on to its decline, insomuch that the king of *Tsi* was the only one who paid him homage. The year in which he came to the crown was likewise remarkable for the extinction of the *Ching* dynasty, after it had lasted 432 years, under 23 princes, the last of whom was subdued and slain by the king of *Han*. *Lye-vang* reigned seven years, and died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother.

XXXII. *HYEN-VANG*, though he enjoyed a long reign, yet had little more than the title of emperor; the princes not only refusing him the usual homage, but threatening him with war if he opposed their designs. The *Chinese* records take notice of the nine celebrated brazen vessels which *Yu*, the founder of the first dynasty, caused to be made, representing the nine provinces of the empire; and which whoever was in possession of, was sure of the empire. These vessels are affirmed to have shaken of themselves in the reign of *Ghey-Lye Vang*, the 29th monarch of this dynasty, which was then looked upon as a presage of the evils which ensued. And now in this reign the contending kings began to strive who should get the possession of them; but the emperor, to defeat their design, caused them to be thrown into a deep lake, from which it was impossible to get them out. In his reign we first hear of chariots of war being used by the *Chinese*. He reigned forty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son.

XXXIII. *SHIN-TSIN-VANG*, alias *Xi-cin*, had a fair opportunity of recovering the lost dignity of the empire, had not his sloth and cowardice hindered him from making the best advantage of the wars which raged among other princes. Not so did the king of *Tsin*, who raised himself by them to such height of power, that he kept the others in subjection to him; and had almost engrossed the whole imperial authority, though he had not the title of emperor. He defeated the confederate forces of the kings of *Tsu*, *Chau*, *Han*, *Ghey*, and *Yen*; and would have deprived them of their kingdoms, had not a more important concern called him elsewhere; viz. two independent princes in the western part of *Se-chwen*, who were at war, and each imploring his assistance. The hopes of joining two such principalities to his own kingdom easily prevailed upon him to engage in the quarrel; the upshot of which was, that he defeated and killed the one, and seized upon his territory; and obliged the other, whom he had assisted, to pay him homage, and an annual tribute. Soon after this, the king of *Ghey*, one of the five confederates, put himself under his protection, and became tributary to him; by which means that prince could more easily enter into and subdue the territories of the other four. All this while the emperor continued an idle spectator; and, after a short reign of six years, left the crown to his son.

XXXIV. *NGAN-VANG*, alias *Sous*, found the imperial authority reduced to so low an ebb, that though he wanted neither courage nor prudence to act as became his dignity, yet had not power sufficient to undertake any thing which might give the least umbrage to his rival the king of *Tsin*. This last, who aimed at no less than the imperial dignity, promoted underhand the wars between the other princes; and, as they all applied to him for help, he readily assisted them with forces to destroy one another, and lessen their number and strength: by which means the kingdom of *Song*, which had subsisted 381 years, under 32 princes, was destroyed by the kings of *Tsi* and *Tsu*; and the principality of *Lu*, which had been governed by 34 sovereigns, was subdued by the king of *Tsu*.

HAVING thus far opened the way to the imperial diadem, *Chau-syang* began to discover his designs, by offering a public sacrifice to the lord of heaven, with the same ceremonies as the emperors alone were allowed to use: neither was there any prince powerful or courageous enough to controul him in it, except the king of *Tsi*; but his army was so small, that *Chau-syang* with ease defeated him; immediately after which, he sent part of his forces to dethrone the emperor. The unfortunate monarch, who had but few forces to oppose him, was likewise defeated at the first attack, and forced, in order to save his life, to submit himself to the conqueror's mercy, to own him for his sovereign, and to yield him the few cities which remained in his hands. He retired immediately after into the province of *Shan-si*, and died there a year after, in the 59th year of his reign; upon which, several princes hastened to go and pay their homage to *Chau-syang*. On the other hand, there were not wanting

† MARTINI, DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat. See before, p. 573, & seq.

a others who still adhered to the family of *Chew*, and raised a grandson of the brother of *Kau-vang* to the throne.

XXXV. *CHEW-KYUN*, immediately upon his accession, sent to demand what assistance he could get, to make head against the usurper, and particularly from the kings of *Tsi*, *Tsu*, and *Gbey*, but they were too fearful of disobliging the new emperor to send him any; so that, seeing himself abandoned, and without hopes of maintaining himself on the throne, he chose to relinquish it, and end his life in a private state, after a troublesome reign of seven, or, according to others, nine years. *Chau-syang* did not long enjoy his new dignity, but died even before his rival had abdicated it. His son *Hyau-veng-vang* died also in the same year; but left the crown to his son *Chwang-syang-vang*, who, put an end to the third, and became the founder of the fourth, dynasty.

The fourth dynasty, called Tsin, or Cin, consisting of only four emperors within the space of forty-three years.

c **C**HWANG-SYANG-VANG began his reign with making an inroad into the kingdom of *Gbey*; in which he was so successful, and won so many battles, that those of *Han*, *Tsu*, *Hyen*, *Chau*, and *Tsin*, being afraid of being stripped likewise of their dominions, formed a confederacy against him; and, with an army of 200,000 men, gave him a total overthrow, and obliged him to quit his new conquests. The emperor died soon after, in the third year of his reign, and left the crown to his adopted son *Shi-wang-ti*, who is affirmed by the Chinese historians to have been born twelve months after his conception^a.

II. *SHI-WHANG-TI*, alias *Ching*, owed his good fortune, on his coming to the crown, to the ambition and jealousy which began to reign among the above-mentioned princes, which made them break off a confederacy which might otherwise have defeated all his measures; whereas the mutual wars which they waged gave him a fair opportunity of subduing them one after another, extirpating all the males of their families and tribes (Z), re-uniting all those principalities under him, and reducing them from thenceforth into so many dependent states of his empire. To these he added soon after so many other new conquests, that he divided the whole into 36 provinces (A); and having observed, in visiting his empire, that the northern ones of *Shen-si*, *Shan-si*, and *Pe-che-li*, were much exposed to the incursions of the *Tartars*, he first sent a formidable army against these invaders; and, having driven them far enough beyond his frontiers, set about his projected scheme of securing them for the future by the famed wall which we have elsewhere described^b. But as neither this stupendous work, which of itself would have been sufficient to eternize his fame, nor his great successes and conquests, could satisfy his ambitious mind, unless he could obliterate the glorious deeds of all his predecessors, and stand as it were alone in the Chinese annals a fit object of admiration and praise; he published a decree, expressly commanding all his subjects upon pain of death, to burn all the records of the kings, and all the writings of *Confucius*, *Mencius*, &c. which transmitted the virtues and actions of those illustrious emperors, excepting only such as treated of physic and architecture.

This decree, the baseness of which he endeavoured to conceal under divers specious pretences (B), was executed with the utmost strictness by the governors of the provinces; and

^a MARTINI, DU HALDE, & al. sup. citat.

^b See before, p. 640, & seq. & not. (B).

(Z) His revenge displayed itself still more against the king of *Tsi*, whom he caused to be shut up in a park planted with nothing but pine-trees; and allowed him such a small pittance, as quite drove him into despair; so that he refused it, and starved himself. On the other hand, the king of *Han*, by a timely submission, and surrender of himself, troops, and dominions, not only avoided the fate of the rest, but became a great favourite of that monarch, and ended his days at his court, with all the marks of distinction that belong to his rank (22).

(A) The Chinese pretend, that about this time the islands of *Japan* and *Bengal* were discovered and colonized by them. The account they give has too much the air of a fable to be depended upon; we shall therefore postpone the further disquisition about it till we come to speak of those islands in the sequel.

(B) One of his pretences was, that those books, though useful when the empire was divided among va-

rious sovereigns, in order to have the subjects all governed by the same laws; yet, as it was now under one monarch, the same spirit ought to govern and animate the whole. Besides, added he, those sciences, to which such vast numbers of men apply themselves, serve rather to encourage sloth and idleness, to the neglect of agriculture, which is the fountain of happiness to the people. He charged moreover those antient books with containing in them the seeds of rebellion and sedition, and those who studied them as men ever ready to promote it; inasmuch as if a wise prince's commands were not exactly agreeable to those antient laws, as it must frequently happen, since they must necessarily vary according to the several occasions and emergencies for which they were given, those learned men took the liberty rashly to condemn his conduct, and, with their seditious reflections, kindled a spirit of disobedience and rebellion (23).

(22) Martini & Du Halde sub *Ching xi*, & Du Halde sub *Shi-wang ti*.

(23) Idem, *ibid.*

many persons of virtue and learning were put to death for concealing those valuable records ; a though it is not improbable, that, in so vast an empire, some few copies might be still privately preserved, and come to light after the death of that tyrannic prince, whose memory has been odious to all posterity ever since. But as to what relates to the recovery of those antient records, we shall refer our reader to what hath been already said on that head^c ; from which it will easily appear, that the regret which the *Chinese* to this day express for that loss can only relate to some of the inferior, but not at all to those of the classic and canonic kind^d.

New regulates
the govern-
ment.
Provision for
the younger
sons.

SHI-WANG-TI, after a war which had lasted near 25 years, settled such a profound peace in his empire, that he had leisure enough to new-model that government, by abrogating and mending some laws, and enacting others, as he thought fit : and, as he had several children, b some of his ministers advised him to erect new principalities for the maintenance of the younger sort ; but he, putting them in mind of the great troubles they had caused in former dynasties, chose rather to build them palaces in several cities, where they should be maintained according to their rank at the emperor's charge, but without any authority over the people ; which method hath been followed almost ever since, except that in the latter reigns they have been obliged to reside in the metropolis, and to follow the court. As he could not endure to be idle, he resolved upon making a new progress through the eastern provinces of the empire, and took his second son with him : but he fell sick upon the road, and, finding himself near his end, wrote a letter to his eldest son, whom he declared his successor. This, together with the seals of the empire, he delivered up to his second son, charging him to bear c them to his brother ; and died soon after, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign.

Death.

III.
Eul-shi.
Year of the
42d cycle, 32.

III. EUL-SHI, alias *Ul-xi*, instead of obeying his father's command, resolved to place the crown upon his own head ; and having with some difficulty, engaged the prime minister *Li-tse*, then in great authority, to his side, easily got the suffrages of the rest by his means. The eldest son raised some forces against him, in order to maintain his right ; but, finding that most of the provinces had declared for *Eul-shi*, was forced to submit ; and, the step he had taken being deemed treasonable, was ordered to kill himself. This perfidy and parricide met with the reward they deserved ; and that infatuated prince, taking a *Ko-lau* for his prime minister and confidant, who was a private enemy to the whole imperial family, was by him d persuaded to discard all his best friends, under pretence that they presumed to condemn his too great love of pleasure, and filling their places with his own creatures. A general discontent soon followed through the empire, occasioned by the exactions of the governors and ministers ; and one of the generals, who had been sent to quell some provinces, proved the very first who caused a revolt in favour of the son of the elder brother. About this time appeared the famed *Lieu-pang*, who, from a private soldier, was become captain of a company of Banditti ; and was a bold, courageous man, eloquent and active, and an enemy to the emperor's luxury. He had been saluted emperor by a great physiognomist, who, as a pledge of the certainty of his prediction, gave him his daughter, one of the greatest beauties in the whole empire, in marriage. It was not long before *Lieu-pang* was applied to by one e of the governors for assistance against the revolted general, who designed to seize on the kingdom of *Tsin* for himself, and was going to besiege one of the cities of it. The very name of *Lieu-pang* was by that time become so dreaded, that he easily made that general retire ; but the treacherous governor, seeing himself rid of him, shut up the gates against his deliverer. Presently after there happened a sedition in the city ; of which *Lieu-pang* having got notice by an arrow shot into the camp, scaled the walls, and took it ; and, the governor being killed in the action, the inhabitants declared for him, and he entered the place in triumph ; and, from a captain of vagabonds, became general of an army, and master of a rich booty, and began now to cherish the hopes of his advancement to the empire.

A revolt.

Lieu-pang
promised the
empire.

His success.

Made general.
Sent against
the emperor.

The emperor
murdered by
his prime mi-
nister.

ALL this while the perfidious *Ko-lau* kept the emperor drowned in pleasure, whilst he pursued his own destructive measures, and indulged his creatures in all kind of rapine, which f were grown to such a height, that several provinces revolted before he had reigned two years, and chose their own sovereigns, particularly the kingdoms of *Tsi*, *Yen*, *Chau*, *Ghey*, and *Tsu*, which had been destroyed by *Shi-wang-ti*, rose up anew ; and the king of *Tsu*, having chosen *Lieu-pang* for his general, sent him with two others, and with each a powerful army, against the emperor, with a promise of giving the kingdom of *Tsin* to any of the three that should seize on the metropolis, and drive the tyrant out of it. *Eul-shi* sent a powerful army against them, which was defeated by one of them named *Hyang-hya* ; and the rest, not being able to obtain a reinforcement from the *Ko-lau*, went over to the conqueror. The *Ko-lau*, fearing this defection might discover his treachery, found no surer way of avoiding the due punishment of it, than by causing the unfortunate emperor to be assassinated by a ruffian, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and third of his reign ; and, to conceal his having a hand in it, placed *Ing-wang*, the grand nephew of the deceased emperor, on the throne.

^c See before, p. 512, Not (D). & 670.

^d DU HAUTE Introd. in Annal.

- a IV. **ING-WANG**, alial *Ing*, had not enjoyed the crown three days, before he discovered the *Ko-lau* to be the murderer of the emperor; but, as he dared not to act openly against such a powerful minister, he feigned himself to be sick, and sent for him, and ordered him to be stabbed as he entered the apartment; soon after which, his whole kindred, to the third generation, underwent the same fate; by which the empire was delivered from a rapacious monster, and his adherents. This did not deter *Lieu-pang* from pursuing his design, and marching against him. *Ing-wang*, on the other hand, raised an army, and strengthened it with a good number of veterans which he drew out of several of his garrisons. But *Lieu-pang* found means to alienate them, by sending a vast number of troops among them, under the notion of deserters; and, as soon as he found the imperial army ready to revolt in his favour, came suddenly upon, and easily defeated it. The emperor, finding himself thus abandoned, threw himself at his feet, and delivered up to him the seals, and other insignia of the imperial dignity, after he had reigned only forty-five days; and *Lieu-pang* entered the city in triumph, which he delivered up to be plundered by his troops; but with an express order, that they should not use any of the inhabitants ill. After that, he marched strait to the palace, where he found an immense treasure; and caused himself soon after to be proclaimed emperor, and became the founder of a new dynasty.

IV.
Ing-wang.
Year of the
42d cycle, 35.

Dethroned by
Lieu-pang.

The fifth dynasty, called Han, containing 25 emperors within the space of 426 years.

Fifth dynasty.

- c I. **LIEU-PANG** at first took only the title of king of *Tsin*, the capital of which he had lately taken, and exchanged his own name for that of *Kau-tsu*. But he had a rival who caused him much trouble, viz. the general *Hyang-byu*, lately mentioned, a man of an haughty and brutish nature, who, notwithstanding his pretended reconciliation to him, set the city and imperial palace on fire, committed many dreadful outrages on the tombs and bodies of the deceased kings of *Tsin*; and with his own hand murdered the dethroned emperor, under pretence that *Lieu-pang* had shewed him too much respect. He committed many other bloody murders and outrages, which, as they rendered him odious to all the foldiers, so they served as a foil to set off the justice, moderation, and clemency of *Lieu-pang*.

I.

Lieu pang;
since Kau-tse.
Year of the
42d cycle, 35.
Bef. Chr. 206.

Hyang opposes
him, and com-
mits many out-
rages.

- d **HYANG-HYU** resolved next to murder the king of *Tsu*, to whom he owed his advancement, and to make a bold push for the empire; and marched towards the city of *Kyew-kyang*, in the province of *Kyang-si*, where that prince then resided; who, suspecting nothing of his treacherous design, came out to meet him, and was assassinated upon the spot. *Lieu-pang*, grieved at the murder of his noble benefactor, ordered the most magnificent obsequies to be performed to him; and, from that time, became a sworn enemy to *Hyang-byu*. These two had many a bloody contest for the imperial diadem; in one of which *Lieu-pang* having totally defeated him, the traitor slew himself, to avoid falling into his hands. This put an end to the war; and the states of the empire, being convoked, declared *Lieu-pang* emperor under the name of *Kau-tsu*. He kept his court at first in the province of *Shen-si*, but removed it afterwards to that of *Ho-nan*, where it continued the space of ninety-six years, under twelve emperors. He reigned twelve years; and, in his last sickness, nominated his son *Whey-ti* his successor, and appointed him a set of ministers in whom he might confide.

Lieu-pang
declared em-
peror.

His death.

II.

Whey-ti
Year of the
42d cycle, 47.
Bef. Chr. 194.

- f II. **WHEY-TI**, alies *Hoey*, was a prince who had many good qualities, but they were all unfortunately swallowed up, partly by his excessive love of women, and partly by his too great complaisance to his ambitious mother, whom he intrusted with the sole care of the empire, and who became odious to the whole nation for her cruelties towards those she did not like, and whom she commonly caused to be dispatched by poison. She went so far as to attempt to poison the king of *Tsi*, who was the emperor's elder brother, and was come to visit him in his sickness; but was happily prevented by the emperor, who snatched the cup out of his hand. *Whey-ti* reigned but seven years, and died oppressed with the many infirmities which his loose life had brought upon him. *Lyeu-hew*, his mother, fearing lest one of his brothers should be set on the throne, gave out that she had a child (which was a boy she had bought of a country-woman), and declared him emperor, and herself his guardian; and, to avoid being discovered, caused the mother to be strangled.

- g **LYU-HEW**, alias *Liu-heva* (C), was no longer suffered to bear the imperial title than it suited with the tyrannic views of his pretended mother, that is, about eight years; at the end of which she caused him to be murdered, and by that means discovered the secret artifice which her ambition had prompted her to. She had, by that time, raised a great many of her relations, from the lowest rank, to the highest dignities in the empire, and some

Lyu hew,
Year of the
42d cycle, 54.
Bef. Chr. 187.

(C) It must be observed here, that the Chinese annals neither place him nor the empress among the mo-

narchs belonging to this dynasty, but account that epoch as an usurpation of eight years.

of them to the sovereignty of provinces, for which they were to pay her homage; and all of them had behaved so insolently in their high stations, that the nobles had combined together to reduce them to their pristine obscurity, when that wicked princess was taken away by a sudden death, and delivered the nation both from her tyranny, and from that of her creatures, who were all massacred throughout the empire. The states immediately proceeded to the election of a new emperor; and raised *Ven-ti*, the second son of *Kau-tsu*, who was then sovereign of a small state, to that dignity.

Death of the
empress.

III.
Ven-ti chosen
emperor.
Year of the
43d cycle, 2.
Bef. Chr. 179.

III. VEN-TI proved so wise and virtuous a prince, that he quickly recovered the splendor of the imperial dignity, and restored peace and wealth throughout the realm. His frugality was such, that he forbade all utensils of gold and silver to be used in his palace, and the wearing of silks to his wives. He likewise remitted the duty upon salt, and one half of the other ordinary taxes; and ordered all the old people in every city to be maintained at his own expence. He ordered the copper money, which was no-where coined but in the metropolis, to the great disadvantage of the subjects, especially of those who lived at a distance from it, to be every-where struck; and prescribed the form of it, as we have elsewhere described it^c.

His excellent
reign.

His next care was, to restore and encourage agriculture, which had been in some measure ruined during the late wars, and vouchsafed to cultivate the earth with his own hand, by which he also in some measure ennobled that profession. He revived the silk manufacture in his own palace, and obliged his empress and wives to set an example to other ladies of his realm. He was no less an encourager of learning; and permitted the books, which had been saved from the common destruction, to be sought out, and made public. In his reign the making of paper with ground bamboes, and Chinese ink and pencils, such as have been in use ever since, and have been formerly described[†], were found out; and the Tartars, who had taken the advantage of the late distractions to make several inroads into the empire, were stoutly repulsed, and driven at a great distance from his frontiers. He became at length so famed for his wisdom, virtue, and good government, that the most distant nations sought his friendship; and several provinces, particularly those of *Quang-tong* and *Quang-shi*, voluntarily submitted themselves to his laws, and paid him homage and tribute. He died in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign, and was succeeded by his son (D).

Death.

IV.
King-ti.
Year of the
43d cycle, 25.
Bef. Chr. 156.

IV. KING-TI, alias *Hiao-king*, was no less remarkable for the mildness of his reign than his father; and one of his first acts was, to mollify the severity of the punishments which were then inflicted on certain criminals. However, as agriculture was so well restored by this time, he revived the taxes which his father had reduced to one half; alleging, that the treasury ought to be put in a condition to support the expences of the state. An unhappy accident, which happened soon after, had like to have been attended with fatal consequences to him: His eldest son having, as was then usual, given a feast to a number of young princes, amongst whom was one who was his great favourite, they carried their debauch so high, that it came to a quarrel, in which the emperor's son stabbed his favourite to death; upon which the father of the deceased swore he would be revenged on the imperial family; and engaged six tributary princes in his quarrel, who actually joined forces with him. It was on this occasion that the emperor sent the general *A-fu*, mention in the last note, with a powerful army against them, who had the address to draw them into a province where they could scarcely get any provision; whilst himself was well fortified in his camp, and had plenty of all things. When the confederates found that they must either fight or be famished, they agreed to attack his camp on all sides at once. They were, however, stoutly repulsed, and fell into a disorderly flight; but were pursued with such terrible slaughter, that the six princes were either slain by the imperial soldiers, or killed themselves, to avoid falling into their hands. *King-ti* reigned seventeen years, and was succeeded by his son.

V.
Vu-ti.
Year of the
43d cycle, 42.
Bef. Chr. 140.
His great moderation.

V. VU-TI, alias *Hi-a-ow*, was endowed with most excellent qualities, but naturally warlike, as his last name expresses it; and, to indulge that inclination, sent for all the wise philosophers, to consult with them about the conquest of some neighbouring country: but was greatly surprised to find them all against it, and to prefer peace before the most just war, which sooner or later proves fatal to a state. He did however yield to their advice; and

^c See before, p. 608, & (R).

[†] Ibid. p. 605, & seq.

(D) The only fault this excellent prince is accused of, is, his having been weak enough to give credit to an impostor, who presented him with a costly liquor, the drinking of which he affirmed would render him immortal. However, when he found himself dying, he is recorded to have expressed himself thus to his son: "Should my death be followed by any war, as there is but too much reason to fear, be sure you take the

" general *A-fu* into your council, and commit every thing to his care: make no doubt of his long-tryed fidelity; and, as for his martial skill, I can only assure you, that he has not his equal in the whole Chinese empire." This advice proved of excellent use to the young prince, who might otherwise have lost his life and crown, as we shall see in the sequel.

a gave himself wholly to the cares of his government, which he only relieved at proper times by hunting; but even here, considering that his parks took up too much ground, and were a loss to the people, he contracted them into a narrower compass. He made several whole-some laws and regulations; and ordained, among other things, that, when a prince died, his estate should be equally divided among his children; and that, when any died without lawful heirs, their sovereignties should revert to the crown.

He was a great encourager of learning, and of the republishing those books that had escaped the public ruin, which he caused to be taught in the schools, together with the morals of *Confucius* and *Mencius*. His greatest foible was, his fondness for some impostors, who ^{Foible for im-} promised him immortality by the drinking of a certain liquor of their own making; and by ^{postors.} whom he had been persuaded to build a palace all of the most fragrant woods; and in the midst of it a brazen tower, in which he and they spent much time and pains in preparing that precious panacea. He was likewise inclined to listen too much to some pretended magicians, who promised to perform wonders before him (E), and for which he was justly rallied by the wiser sort. The *Tartars* having roused his martial genius by some fresh inroads, he ^{Conquests.} gained four signal victories over them, and drove them beyond the wall. From thence he carried his successful arms into the kingdoms of *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Camboya*, and *Bengal*, and divided his conquests among his generals, and other officers, who had helped to subdue them*. He built several cities there, and gave two of his generals the title of kings, who, by contracting in time the manners and inclinations of the *Tartars*, became the greatest enemies to their native country. A little before his death he nominated one of his sons by a concubine, ^{Death.} then but eight years old, to succeed him; and gave him for a guardian one of his ministers, in whom he placed an entire confidence; and, to prevent his empress raising any troubles in favour of her son, condemned her to death on some pretence or other, and only gave her the choice of it. *Vu-ti* reigned fifty-four years, and was succeeded by his son above-mentioned.

VI. CHAU-TI, alias *Hiao-chan*, though so very young, gave the greatest marks of a most excellent disposition; he was very observing of his wife guardian's instructions, and no less liberal to those who faithfully served the state. A dearth happening in his reign, he not only remitted the usual taxes of grain, but assisted his indigent subjects with corn for their subsistence. ^{VI. Chau-ti. Year of the 44th cycle, 36. Before Christ, 86.} He next concluded an honourable peace with the *Tartars*; but died soon after, to the great regret of his people, in the thirteenth year of his reign; and, leaving no issue, was succeeded by his uncle *Hyau-ti*, with the consent of the whole nation. However, he, proving a very debauched prince, without either affection for his subjects, or regard for his most faithful counsellors, was soon after deposed by them, stripped of all ensigns of the imperial dignity, and sent to the little sovereignty whence they had called him to the empire, after a short reign of seven months. The states chose in his stead,

VII. SWEN-TI, alias *Si ven*, the grandson of the emperor *Vu-ti*, who had been educated in a prison with the empress his mother, to which she had been confined on an unjust suspicion of destroying the princes and princesses of the blood by witchcraft. Here his misfortunes enabled ^{VII. Swen-ti. Year of the 44th cycle, 48. Before Christ, 74.} him to learn many excellent lessons from her, which made him worthy of the empire; and his keeper took such particular care of him, that, upon his accession to the throne, he rewarded him with a principality. He was mild and compassionate, easy of access, and assiduous to the affairs of state. He revived the office of censors, which had been suppressed by his predecessors; caused exact information to be brought to him of the behaviour of his ministers; gave frequent audience to his subjects, especially to the widows and orphans; and encouraged more particularly memorials being presented to him, because they gave him more leisure to examine ^{His mild government. Makes some wholesome regulations.}

* See before, pass.

(E) With relation to the first sort of those impostors, we are told, that one of them having set some of that liquor before him in a cup, one of his ministers, who had tried in vain to cure him of his credulity, took it up, and drank it; upon which the emperor in a violent passion, threatened to put him to death; to which he replied, with a smile, *How can you put me to death, if this liquor hath made me immortal; and, if it hath not, how can such a poor theft deserve it?* This answer disarmed his resentment, but did not cure him of his foible.

As to the magicians, of whom he was no less fond, one of them having promised to shew him a favourite concubine, whom he affirmed to have passed, after her death, into the world of the moon, where she enjoyed the effects of the immortalizing liquor, caused a tower to be built, into which he pretended he would cause her

to descend by his art, as often as the emperor pleased. The experiment was tried, and that monarch assisted at the conjuring ceremony; but, the immortal lady proving deaf to the call, the magician was forced to have recourse to the following stratagem: Having caused a piece of white silk (whereon he had written the reasons why the concubine could not descend to him) to be swallowed up by a cow, he told the emperor, in a pretended surprize, and fearful tone, that that beast was pregnant with some strange wonder, and desired that she might be cut open. It was done accordingly, and the piece of silk found in her maw; but the handwriting proving to be that of the conjurer, he was put to death. This story, we are told, hath served for a subject of several comedies (24).

(24) *Martini & al. in Hiaoum. Du Haldé in Vu-ti.*

the case than by an audience. He reduced the multitude of laws to a certain number of articles; and abrogated the rest, as tending only to perplex matters, and perpetuate suits.

Diffuaded from a war.

In his reign the *Indian* princes, whom his grandfather had subdued, shook off the yoke; and he was preparing to march against them, but was dissuaded from it by his ministers, who reminded him, that the blood of his subjects ought to be dearer to him than any conquests; and that those, who refused the blessing of his wise government, were unworthy of it. There happened in his time some dreadful earthquakes, which rent whole mountains asunder, filled up vallies, and spread an universal terror through that whole superstitious nation, which looked upon them as forerunners of greater evils. Some time after a *Tartarian* king sent an embassy to *Swen-ti*, which was at first suspected of some sinister views; but upon its appearing, by the rich furs they brought with them, and the homage they came to pay him, that the intent of their coming was only to promote a mutual commerce, they were graciously received, and treated as envoys of an ally. *Swen-ti* reigned twenty-five years, and was succeeded by his son.

VIII.

Ywen-ti.

Year of the

45th cycle, 13.

Before Chr. 48.

Singular frugality.

Bad choice of ministers.

Baseness to the Tartars.

VIII. YWEN-TI, alias *Iuen*, is justly celebrated for his love of learning and learned men; for his tender regard for his subjects; and, above all, for his singular frugality, which made him discard a great number of superfluous domestics, with respect to furniture, diet, stables, equipage, &c. according to a favourite maxim he seldom lost sight of, That he, who could be contented with a little, would want nothing. He was however unhappy in the indiscrete choice he made of his ministers, whom he raised chiefly for their politeness and eloquence, without any other regard to their wisdom or experience; by which means his court was filled with factious sycophants, who drew him into all their measures, and got him by degrees to turn all the men of virtue and merit out of his service. He was guilty of another and grosser piece of injustice with regard to the troops which guarded the great wall, who beheaded the *Tartarian* princes whom they took prisoners as they were hunting on the mountains; for, instead of punishing their commander for his treachery (the former peace with that nation still subsisting), he rewarded him for it. This had like to have brought on a new war; the successor of one of those princes being then levying a numerous army, and making a powerful confederacy, against him; to ward off which, he was obliged to give him a princess of the imperial family in marriage, with a very rich dower. This storm was scarcely over, when he perceived that a more dangerous war was ready to break out, within the empire, among the numerous parties formed by the ministers, the apprehension of which is supposed to have hastened his death. He reigned sixteen years, and died in the forty-third year of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

Death.

IX.

Ching ti.

Year of the

45th cycle, 29.

Before Christ,

32.

IX. CHING-TI, a slave to wine and women, and to all other infamous pleasures, was wholly governed by his mother, who conferred the most important posts in the empire on her own relations. He afterwards fell so passionately in love with an actress, that he turned his lawful wife out of his palace, to make room for her; and then declared her empress, giving her father a principality, to conceal the meanness of her birth. Several of his ministers, having represented to him the discredit of such a shameful alliance, were all put to death. Many other brutal crimes he was guilty of; and many more he would have committed, had not a sudden death (F) put an end to his odious reign in the twenty-sixth year of it. He left no issue; but was succeeded by his nephew.

X.

Hyau-ngay.

Year of the

45th cycle, 52.

Before Christ,

16.

Dies the year in which Christ was born.

X. HYAU-NGAY-TI, alias *Ngay*, though but eighteen years old, gave great hopes of a mild and happy reign by his early care in reforming the state, displacing all the wicked ministers of his predecessor, and filling their places with men of known virtue and probity. In his reign *Tan-gu*, king of the *Tartars*, came in person to pay homage to him, and to confirm the peace which either he or his predecessor had made with the emperor *Swen-ti*. He was received in a magnificent manner, and a firm peace renewed between the two nations. The emperor died the very year after; which was that, according to the *Chinese* annalists^a, in which the Saviour of the world was born; and was succeeded by a prince descended from *Ywen-ti*, the eighth monarch of this dynasty.

XI.

Hyau-ping-ti.

XI. HYAU-PING-TI was but nine years old when he came to the crown; and his grandmother imprudently put him under the guardianship of *Vang-mang*, whom she made a *Ko-lau*; a man of such unbounded ambition and artfulness, that he made no scruple to commit the most

^a Vid. NOEL, COMPLET, MARTINI, DU HALDE, & al. sub Nagan & Hyau-ngan. See also before, p. 665. & seq.

(F) He is suspected to have been poisoned by the orders of his wicked mother, who had hitherto led him into most of his enormities; for he was in perfect health the night before, and had cut himself out a deal of business to be done early next day; but, on the morning,

fell down dead as he was dressing himself; and, what confirmed this suspicion, was, that one of her relations, supposed to have administered the draught to him, being like to be tried for it, killed himself, to prevent all future discovery (25).

a enormous cruelties to attain to the imperial dignity. He began with discarding his associates, and other persons of virtue and merit; then erected several principalities, which he bestowed on his own creatures; and at length caused some poison to be mixed with the emperor's food, which in a few days brought him to the last extremity. All this while the traitorous villain pretended to be under the deepest concern for him; offered sacrifices for his recovery, filled the air with the bitterest cries, and even devoted his own life for that of his prince, by which means his treason went unsuspected; especially as he did, after his death, place the crown on a young prince descended from *Swen-ti*, the seventh emperor of this dynasty.

THE
FIRST
YEAR OF
CHRIST.
Poisoned by
Vang mang.

b XII. ZHU-TSE-ING was then but two years old when the *Ko-lau* raised him to the throne, which he only suffered him to enjoy three years, that is, till he had sufficiently strengthened himself; after which, he deposed him, and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor.

XII.
Zhu-tse-ing.
After Christ,

VANG-MANG, having thus seized on the crown, gave his family the name of *Tsin*, which signifies *New*, as well as a new face to the empire, by the innovations he made in it. He divided it into nine provinces; and every province into districts, the government of which he gave to his own creatures: he likewise erected some principalities, to increase the number of his dependents. By these, and other such precautions, he thought his authority so firmly settled, that nothing could wrest it from him; when on a sudden he saw the empire all in a flame, and several armies marching against him, some commanded by the confederate lords, and others by the two brothers *Lyew-siew* and *Lyew-ing*, of the family of *Han*. These wars proved long and bloody, and attended at length with an almost universal famine, occasioned chiefly by the grasshoppers devouring the harvest; and this brought on fresh insurrections and robberies, which ended in the death of the usurper. His army was defeated, his palace forced, plundered, and burnt, his throat cut, his body mangled in pieces, and his head stuck on a pitchfork, and exposed to the view and diversion of the populace. Thus fell that base tyrant, after he had usurped the crown fourteen years. The victorious army, resolving to restore it to some worthy prince of the royal family, elected *Whay-yang-vang* to that dignity, who was a descendant of *King-ti*, the fourth monarch of this dynasty.

5.
Vang-mang,
an usurper.
After Christ,
8.

A bloody war
raised against
him.

His dreadful
end.

d XIII. WHAY-YANG-VANG, they soon perceived, had deceived their hopes, who proved an effeminate and debauched prince; which made them resolve to dethrone him, after he had reigned two years, and to elect another in his stead. They pitched at first upon *Wang-lang*, an impostor, who pretended to be the son of the late emperor *Ching-ti*, the ninth monarch of this dynasty; but, he being discovered and beheaded, they elected *Lyew-syew* emperor, who assumed the title of *Quang-vu-ti*, and was descended from the tenth son of *King-ti*, the fourth monarch of this dynasty.

XIII
Whay-yang-
vang.
After Christ,
22.

e XIV. QUANG-VU-TI, who had had but an homely education in the country, and had shared in the wants and labours of his fellow rustics, became thereby so sensible of the miseries of his subjects, that he proved a truly mild, affable, and compassionate prince; and, upon his passing through the country where he was born, sent for several of his countrymen, and admitted them to his table. He was no less a patron to learned men, whom he invited to his court, and raised to considerable employments. His reign, however, was disturbed with some powerful and stubborn factions, which took him up near twelve years in reducing, though, in the success he had against them, he used such singular moderation, as made him the more admired and loved by all. He removed his court from *Shen-si* to *Ho-nan*; and the Chinese records mention a total eclipse of the sun, in the last day of the seventh moon of the 46th, or, according to *Du Halde*, the fortieth, cycle, which they pretend to have happened sooner than it ought to have done, according to their calculations (G). *Quang-vu* died in the sixty-first year of his age, after he had reigned thirty-three years; and left ten sons behind him, one of whom succeeded him.

XIV.
Quang-vu-ti.
After Christ,
24.

A wonderful
eclipse.

f XV. MING-TI, famed for his clemency and wisdom, and for establishing an academy in his own palace, for the education of princes and young noblemen, into which strangers were likewise admitted, and would be often present at their exercises. He made choice of a lady for his empress, who was a pattern of discretion and modesty, and never wore any embroidered cloaths. He caused a bank ten leagues in length to be raised, to prevent the frequent inundations of the *Whang-ho* or *yellow river*, in which he employed 100,000 men.

XV.
Ming-ti.
After Christ,
57.

(G) If this wonderful eclipse was the same which happened at the crucifixion of Christ (26), the Chinese annalists should rather have said contrary to, than before, their calculation; for it happened in the full moon, or when she was in opposition to the sun, and so could not cause that total darkness; and this a Chinese astronomer could not but know to be contrary to nature.

It is therefore probable, either that some error hath crept into the Chinese annals, or that the translator might mistake the word, and render it *before*, instead of *contrary to*. As to the supernatural one at our Saviour's crucifixion, we shall refer our readers to what has been said of it in a former part of this work (27).

(26) Matt. xxvii. 45.

(27) See Univ. History, vol. iv. p. 240, (C).

It was on the second year of the forty-seventh cycle, and of Christ sixty-four, that he had a that dream we have mentioned in a former section^f, which induced him to send his ambassadors in search of the *Holy One that was in the west*, but who, instead of his doctrine, brought home the idol and worship of *Fo*, together with the doctrine of transmigration; and he is much blamed by the *Chinese* historians, for having admitted them into his dominions. He reigned eighteen years, and was succeeded by his son.

XVI.
Shang ti.
After Christ,
75.

XVI. SHANG-TI enjoyed a peaceable reign of thirteen years, which was chiefly owing to his wisdom, virtue, and tender regard for his subjects, whose taxes he lessened, and to his aversion to luxury and superfluous expence. He was often recommending to his nobles the economy of the ancients, and was himself a perfect pattern of it. He died in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

XVII.
Ho-ti.
After Christ,
88.

XVII. HO-TI was then but ten years old, and under the guardianship of his mother; but that did not hinder his fame and power from extending itself to very remote countries. He had a wife and valiant general, named *Pan-chau*, who obliged a great number of sovereigns to pay him homage, and seek his protection; and is affirmed to have advanced as far as *Judea*, which the *Chinese* call *Ta-tsin*, and to have spent much time in such long expeditions. *Ho-ti*, through jealousy, divorced his first empress, who died soon after of grief, and married the grand-daughter of one of his generals, who was a mirror of her sex, for her rare skill in all the *Chinese* learning, and much more still for her singular modesty; inasmuch, that when the usual compliments and presents came to be made to her, on her advancement, she would accept of nothing but a few pencils, and a fine sort of paper, newly invented. *Ho-ti* was one of the first who raised the eunuchs of his court to an exorbitant height of power, which hath proved since so fatal to the empire, by advancing them to the highest posts of it. He reigned seventeen years, and was succeeded by his son.

XVIII.
Shang-ti.
After Christ,
105.

XVIII. SHANG-TI, an infant in the cradle when his father died, lived scarcely a year; and was succeeded by a grandson of *Chang-ti*, the sixteenth monarch of this dynasty.

XIX.
Ngan-ti.
His mother's
excellent reign.

XIX. NGAN-TI being but thirteen years of age, his mother was appointed his guardian, and vested with the imperial dignity, which she preserved beyond the term prescribed by the laws, that she might do the more good to the people. It was then a time of great scarcity, and many of them must have perished, if she had not timely assisted them. She condescended to visit the poor, even as far as the prisons, to give them relief. Considering, in the next place, that an empire of such vast extent, as it now was, could not easily be preserved, she released a great number of conquered nations, and sovereign princes, from the usual homage and tribute, and reduced the *Chinese* dominions to narrower bounds (H). Her son married a lady, who, finding herself barren, took another woman's son as her own, to succeed to the crown; and, to prevent discovery, secretly poisoned his mother. *Ngan-ti* reigned nineteen years, and was succeeded by that son.

XX.
Shun-ti.
After Christ,
125.

XX. SHUN-TI, the son of *Ngan-ti*, by a concubine, signalized the first years of his reign by several victories over the barbarians; and deprived the late empress of the funeral obsequies, for having poisoned his mother. He made a law, in the fourth year of his reign, which excluded men from the magistracy, except they were forty years old, or had some extraordinary merit to supply the want of age. In the ninth year of the cycle, one *Ma-myen* formed a considerable army of vagabonds, who plundered the cities and country, and, flushed with success, made a bold push for the imperial dignity; but was defeated, and slain, before he could accomplish his design. The emperor died in the nineteenth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son.

XXI.
Chang-ti.

XXI. CHANG-TI, who ascended the throne in the second year of his age, died before it was expired, and was succeeded by

XXII.
Che-ti.
After Christ,
144.

XXII. CHE-TI, who, though but eight years old, gave some signal marks of an excellent disposition; but the empress, who was his guardian, had a brother named *Lyang-ki*, who, abusing her authority, paid little or no regard to the young emperor; and did one day behave before him with such pride and insolence, at a public assembly, that the prince could not forbear casting a threatening look at him, and whispering, but loud enough to be heard, *that is an arrogant person*. This saying cost him his life; and *Lyang-ki*, justly fearing his resentment,

^f See before, p. 561, & seq.

(H) About this time was taken, and executed, the famed pirate *Chang-pe-tu*, who had infested the *Chinese* seas five or six years. In this reign happened likewise some dreadful earthquakes; especially one, in the

eighth year of it, which extended over a great part of the country, where the earth opened itself, and made dreadful devastations (28).

(28) *Du Halde, sub Ngan ti*

a caused him to be poisoned, before he had reigned one whole year. He was succeeded by his brother. *Peifened.*

XXIII. WHAN-TI proved a weak prince, and a patron of the sect of *Lau-kyün*, formerly spoken of². Under him the magistracy became venal, and the eunuchs were his chief favourites; which made all the learned men retire from his palace; nor could all his fresh invitations bring them back. *Lyang-ki*, the murderer of the late emperor, and his wife, was raised to the highest honours, in which he behaved with such pride and insolence, that he even ventured into the palace with his sword by his side, contrary to the laws. He was; however, forgiven; upon his submission; but being become odious to all, and especially to the eunuchs, who now ingrossed the whole power, his house was so closely besieged with a troop of them, that, finding no way to escape them, he killed his wife and himself. In the twenty-eighth year of this cycle, there happened such a dreadful famine in several parts of the empire, that the people were obliged to feed on human flesh. The emperor died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and twenty-first of his reign. He left no issue, though he had a great many concubines, and was succeeded by a prince of the family of *Chang-ti*. XXIII.
Whan-ti.
After Christ;
167.

XXIV. LING-TI betrayed a still greater fondness for eunuchs, and raised them to a higher pitch of power, whilst he shewed no less an aversion against those who were able to give him better counsel. He was, moreover, a prince of insatiable avarice, sarcastical wit, and a four humorist (I). The only good thing recorded of him, is his causing the wise instructions of the antient emperors, contained in the five classical books, to be engraven on marble tables, and publicly exposed at the entrance of the academy. But the intolerable insolence of the eunuchs had rendered him so odious, great numbers of the nobility being put to death for endeavouring to suppress it, that, in a little time, several great armies appeared in the field, who styled themselves *yellow caps*, and were commanded by three brothers, who plundered several provinces; but were at length defeated and slain one after another. Some barbarian troops (so they call all strangers) made likewise several attempts on the frontiers; but were likewise defeated, as were also some remains of the *yellow caps*; about the fifth year of the following cycle, by an experienced general, who is reported never to have gone into a bed all the ten years that the wars lasted. *Ling-ti* died the year after, in the thirty-fourth of his age, and twenty-second of his reign, without naming his successor. XXIV.
Ling-ti.
After Christ,
189.

d XXV. HYEN-TI had an elder brother, named *Pyen-ti*, who mounted the throne after *Ling-ti*'s death; but, after a few months reign, resigned it to him; and is not therefore numbered among the other emperors. *Hyen-ti* was then but young, and his weakness and indolence, if not rather stupidity, proved the occasion of perpetual wars, both at home and abroad. *China* was divided first into three, and then into four parts, under as many sovereigns. The eastern part rebelled against *Tong-che*, general of the imperial army, who had murdered the emperor and his brother, burned the palace, and opened the imperial sepulchres, where he found an immense treasure, and then removed his court into the province of *Shen-si*. His crimes did not go long unpunished; he was murdered the year after, his body hung on a fork in the public market place, and all his riches confiscated. The *yellow caps* had likewise taken advantage of the reigning disorders, and were grown very numerous; but these were gradually cut off by *Tsau-sau*, who usurped the imperial authority. This last was stripped of it in the thirty-seventh year of the cycle, by his own son *Tsau-poi*, and banished into a small principality, which he gave him, where he died, fourteen years after, generally despised. *Hyen-ti* reigned thirty-one years; and with him ended the fifth dynasty. XXV.
Hyen-ti.
After Christ,
189.

The sixth dynasty, called Hew-han, that is, the latter family of Han, which had two *Sixth dynasty.* emperors within the space of forty-four years.

f I. CHAU-LYE-VANG, the first monarch of this dynasty, was before called *Lyew-pi*, and was descended from *King-ti*, the fourth emperor of the preceding one. He was very tall, and had an air of grandeur, which commanded respect. His valour corresponded to his aspect, and he preserved still an even temper, let things go well or ill. How he came to the imperial dignity we are not told. His reign lasted but three years, and he died in the I.
Chau-lye
vang.
After Christ,
220.

² See before, p. 564, & seq.

(I) Among other of his humorous whimsies, he is said to have established a fair in his own palace, for selling all sorts of curiosities, and to have taken a singular delight in seeing his concubines out-bid, wrangle, and abuse each other. Another diversion he took delight in, was in taking the air in his gardens, in a chariot drawn by asses; whence those creatures came to be preferred every-where to horses, in imitation of the court (29).

(29) *Du Halde, sub Ling-ti.*

sixty-third year of his age, after he had named his son *Hew-ti* his successor, and given him a and his prime minister some wholesome directions concerning their future conduct (K).

II.
Hew-ti.

II. HEW-TI'S reign proved a troublesome one, through the wars that raged among the other sovereigns, in which himself lost two famed generals, *Chang-si* and *Quang-yu*, the latter of whom is idolized as the *Chinese Mars*. *Ko-lyang* received likewise several defeats from the king of *Gbey*, though he always made a good retreat, at which he was most expert. That prince marched next with a prodigious army against the confederate kings of *Han* and *U*, with an intent to strip them of their territories; but, being come to the borders of the river *Yang-tse-kyang*, whose waves were then very rough and boisterous, he cried out, *Doubtless these are the bounds which heaven hath put to the ambition of mortals*; and immediately marched back. He was soon after defeated, by his own rebellious general *Song-chau*, who flushed with his many successes, as well as the great sway he had over the army, resolved to make his way to the imperial dignity. Upon which *Hew-ti's* son, seeing things in that desperate condition, went to his father: "There is," said he, "now no room to deliberate; and this moment must decide your fate, either to vanquish, or die with this sword in your hand, and your crown on your head." But the emperor wanting courage to give *Song-chau* battle, the young prince did so take it to heart, that, retiring into the hall of his ancestors, he first killed his wife, and then himself. Soon after this, the imperial army was cut in pieces, the palace plundered, and the cowardly emperor went and delivered himself into the hands of the conqueror, who gave him a small principality, in which he lived seven years an obscure and contemptible life, and died in the sixty-fifth year of his reign, and with him ended the sixth dynasty.

The imperial
army cut off.
Hew-ti's
cowardice and
death.

7th dynasty. Seventh dynasty, called *Tsin* (L), which had fifteen emperors within the space of 155 years.

I.
Shi-tsu-vu-ti.
After Chr.
264.

I. SHI-TSU-VU-TI was the son of the rebel *Song-chau*, which name he took upon his becoming the founder of this new dynasty. He kept his court in the province of *Ho-nan*; and was a magnanimous prince, had a quick apprehension, sound judgment, and was a professed enemy to all dissimulation. His reign was much disturbed by the warlike preparations of many petty princes who aspired to the imperial dignity; but the southern were often defeated by the northern ones, who, besides their being more hardy soldiers, were assisted by the *Tartars*, with whom they were in league. However, he subdued the latter, and then immediately marched into the southern provinces; and, having passed the river *Yang-tse-kyang* without any opposition, he besieged the metropolis of the kingdom of *U*, whose king, not being in a condition to oppose him, surrendered himself to him; and had a little state assigned to him, where he ended his days. He had scarcely reigned seven years before he found himself master of the whole empire, and out of danger of any enemy; and resolved thenceforth to enjoy the repose which his victories had procured him. He not only gave himself up to idleness and pleasure, but was indiscrete enough to disband his army, which roused up afresh the ambition of the petty sovereigns. He died in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and the fifty-fifth of his age, and left a numerous posterity, but was succeeded by his eldest son.

His conquests.

Ill conduct.

Death.

II.
Whey-ti.
After Chr.
289.
Ruined by an
ambitious
queen.

II. WHEY-TI'S want of genius and ability was in a great measure made up by the abilities of four of his ministers; so that the beginning of his reign proved pretty successful, but the ambition or jealousy of one of his wives, or second queens, who made him remove his empress from the court, poisoned her only son, and caused all the nobles that were of her party to be put to death, soon threw the court and empire into the utmost confusion. Several battles were fought, and a great deal of blood was shed on both sides, till at length this virago was slain in her turn, with all that sided with her, and the emperor forced to flee for his life.

Poisoned.

SEVERAL of the petty kings, taking the advantage of these disorders, took the field; particularly the king of *Tsi*, who had such success, that he was in a fair way of having seized the imperial crown, but was slain in the attempt. The king of *Han* did the same in his northern province, and met with the same fate. At last the emperor was poisoned, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign; and, leaving no issue behind him,

(K) He sent for them a little before his death, and addressing himself to his prime minister, named *Ko-lyang*, said to him: "If my son refuse to pay a due regard to your wise counsel, dethrone him, and reign in his stead." Then to his son he spake to this purport: "How light soever a fault may seem to you, beware of committing it; and how small soever a virtuous action may appear, neglect not to do it. Virtue alone deserves our attention and pursuit; I have had too little of it, to serve you for an example; but fol-

low the advice of *Ko-lyang*, and you will find in him a second father." Just before he died, he is reported to have expressed himself in words to this effect: "When a man hath attained to the age of fifty years, he hath no reason to complain of the shortness of his life; why should I then, who am so much past sixty (30)?" (L) Tho' the name of *Tsin* here seems to be the same with that of the fourth dynasty, yet we are told, they are differently written and pronounced, and have a quite different signification among the *Chinese* (31).

(30) Du Halde, sub *Chang-lye wang*.

(31) Du Halde, sub *Shi tsu vu-ti*.

a the grandees elected the twenty-fifth son of *Shi-tsu-vu-ti*, founder of this seventh dynasty, for his successor.

III. WHAY-TI was a prince of such endowments as promised a happy reign, but the ambition of the petty kings did not suffer him to enjoy it long enough. One of those reguli, named *Lyeu-ywen*, was upon the point of dethroning him, when he was prevented by a sudden death; but his son *Lyeu-tsung*, following his steps, got possession of the palace, and plundered it, slew both the emperor and his son, after he had made the former wait on him at table in the guise of a slave, in the thirtieth year of his age, and sixth of his reign. The grandees chose in his stead *Min-ti*, the grandson of the founder of this dynasty. III.
Whay-ti.
After Chr.
306.

b IV. MIN-TI was no less unfortunate than his predecessor, being dethroned in the third year of his reign, and banished into a small principality in the province of *Shen-si*, and in the next year being slain there by the king of *Han*. IV.
Min-ti.
After Chr.
312.

V. YWEN-TI, another grandson of the founder, was chosen in his stead; who proved a prince of singular moderation, frugality, and love for learned men. He removed his court from the west to the east, and fixed it in the city of *Nan-king*, whence his family hath been styled the eastern family of *Tsin*. He reigned six years; and then fell into a deep melancholy, which ended his days in the forty-sixth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son. V.
Ywen-ti.
After Chr.
316.

VI. MING-TI reigned only three years: nothing else is recorded of him, except that he left the crown to his son. VI.
Ming-ti.

c VII. CHING-TI was then but five years old, and his mother governed in his stead; but the imperial authority was too weak to curb the ambition of the petty princes, who warred against and destroyed each other, in order to make way to the empire. *Ching-ti* reigned seventeen years, and was succeeded by his brother. VII.
Ching-ti.
After Chr.
325.

VIII. KING-TI reigned but two years, and died in the forty-second year of his age; he left the crown to his eldest son, VIII.
King-ti.
342.

d IX. MO-TI, who was then but two years old, and under the guardianship of the empress, gave great tokens of an excellent prince. When of age to take the reins, he still followed the advice of his best ministers, and recovered several provinces. *Wan-ven*, one of his generals, marched against a northern petty prince of the family of *Han*, who had revolted, whose palace he burnt to the ground. There were several others in arms, all aiming at the imperial dignity, who, had *Mo-ti* lived longer, might have shared the same fate; but he died in the seventeenth year of his reign, and was succeeded by a son of *Ching-ti*, the seventh emperor of this dynasty. IX.
Mo-ti.
After Chr.
344.

X. NGAI-TI reigned four years, and died in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the second of the fifty-second cycle. The nobles chose his younger brother for his successor. X.
Ngai-ti.
351.

e XI. TI-YE's reign was not much longer than his brother's, altho' he outlived the loss of it fifteen years; *Wang-ven*, his general and prime minister, having dethroned him, after he had gained a victory in the north, confined him in a citadel, where he ended his days in the forty-third year of his age. He was succeeded by *Kyen-ven-ti*, the last of the children of *Twen-ti*, fifth emperor of this dynasty. XI.
Ti-ye.
After Chr.
365.

XII. KYEN-VEN-TI reigned only two years, and died in the fifty-third year of his age, and was succeeded by his son. XII.
Kyen-ven-ti.

f XIII. VU-TI was no sooner on the throne, than he saw his territories attacked by *Fu-kyen*, who reigned in the north; and, contrary to the opinion of all his ministers, came against him with a powerful army, and with a full design of stripping him of the imperial dignity. *Vu-ti*, as soon as he was informed of it, marched against him with a small but select body of troops; and, without giving him time to bring in all his forces, attacked his camp with such courage and resolution, that he totally defeated him; and his general, in a kind of despair and rage, seized on him in his flight, and led him to a temple, and there strangled him. *Vu-ti*'s success did not deter several other petty kings in the north from revolting, whom he might have easily quashed, had he made the best of his victory, and marched immediately against them, instead of returning to his court, as he did, and giving himself up to all manner of voluptuous sensualities. He died by the means of a second queen, whom, by way of raillery, he had called old woman, though but thirty years of age; which so stung her to the quick, that she was soon revenged of him, he being found stifled in his bed in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. He was succeeded by his son. XIII.
Vu-ti.
After Chr.
372.
His success against Fu-kyen.
Degenerates.
Murdered.

g XIV. NGAN-TI proved still more worthless and indolent, inasmuch that we meet with nothing during his reign but revolts and wars among the petty princes. A grandson of the king of *Tay*, the only remaining branch of the family, having stripped the king of *Yen* of his dominions, founded a monarchy which was governed by fourteen successive kings of his family. About the same time a mean fellow, named *Lyeu-hu*, who went selling of shoes about the country, turning soldier, became at last a general of a great army, and powerful enough to murder the emperor, and seize on the imperial dignity. *Ngan-ti* was killed in the twenty-second year of his reign, and succeeded by his brother; but his reign proved short;

short; and *Lyew-hu*, having dispatched him, seized on the throne, and became the founder of a new dynasty.

XV.
Kong-ti.
After Chr.
418.

XV. KONG-TI ascended the throne after his brother's death; but was himself stifled or strangled by the same assassin, in the second year of his reign, and was the last monarch of the dynasty of *Tsin*.

8th dynasty.

Eighth dynasty, called Song (M); consisting of eight emperors, within the space of fifty-nine years.

I.
Kau-tsu-
vu-ti.
After Chr.
420.

I. **L** YEW-HU, upon his mounting the throne, took the name *Kau-tsin-vu-ti*; and fixed his court at *Nan-king*, his native place. He had something inexpressibly noble and majestic in his person and deportment: and was a man of no less frugality than valour, which plainly appeared in his clothes, retinue, &c. He reigned but two years, and died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son *Shau-ti*.

II.
Shau-ti.
After Chr.
422.

II. SHAU-TI was then seventeen years old; but, being a weak trifling prince, *Tau-tau-tsi*, his prime minister, took the crown from him, and, soon after, his life, before he had reigned a year. *Shau-ti* was succeeded by *Ven-ti*, the third son of the founder of this dynasty.

III.
Ven-ti.
After Chr.
423.

III. VEN-TI was a prince much admired for his meekness, justice, and integrity; but too much bigotted to the Bonzas, whose chief protector he openly declared himself. After several wholesome regulations, by which he fixed himself on the throne, he declared war against the northern emperor (who was by that time grown so powerful, that he had already sixteen petty kings under his subjection), and gained many signal victories over him, by the valour and conduct of his prime minister *Tau-tau-tsi*; of whom growing afterwards jealous, he caused him to be put to death. The news of the loss of so brave a general soon inspired the northern princes to renew the war; and *Ven-ti*'s troops, deprived of so brave a leader, were defeated in several battles; one especially was fought in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, with such dreadful slaughter on both sides, that the fields were overflowed with Chinese blood. *Tay-vu-ti*, the northern emperor, who still remained superior to his rival, caused a general massacre to be made of all the Bonzas throughout his own dominions, burnt all their temples, and destroyed their idols. *Ven-ti* was soon after murdered by his eldest son, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and thirtieth of his reign: and the parricide served in the same kind by his next brother, who immediately revenged his father's death.

Success in the
north.

Treachery to
his general.
Dreadful de-
feats.

Murdered.

IV.
Vou-ti.
After Chr.
543.

IV. VOU-TI was esteemed a learned prince; but valued himself so much on his skill in managing a horse, and drawing a bow, that he made hunting his chief diversion; and, being naturally more rough than was suitable to his dignity, gave his tongue too great a liberty of breaking out into ill language to those about him. He died in the eleventh year of his reign, and thirty-fifth of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

V.
Fu-ti.
After Chr.
464.

V. FU-TI had hardly mounted the throne, before he discovered such a bloody disposition, and put so many innocent persons to death, that he was himself murdered in the first year of his reign, and succeeded by *Ming-ti*, the eleventh son of *Ven-ti*, the third monarch of this dynasty.

VI.
Ming-ti.
After Chr.
465.

VI. MING-TI, no less inhuman than his predecessors, began his reign with the murder of thirteen of his nephews of the imperial blood; and, as he had no child, introduced men among his wives, with a design to have a male child by some of them, and, having killed the mother, to make a present of the boy to the empress, who was barren. He raised *Syang-tau-ching*, a man of unmeasured ambition, to the highest dignity of the empire, who afterwards murdered two emperors, to make his way to the throne. *Ming ti* died in the eighth year of his reign, and thirty-fourth of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

VII.
Tsang-ngu-
vang.
After Chr.
473.

VII. TSANG-NGU-VANG shewed so much of his predecessor's bloody temper, that it served to colour the perfidiousness of the traitor *Syang-tau-ching*, who murdered him in the fifteenth year of his age, and fourth of his reign. He was succeeded by his brother,

VIII.
Shun-ti.
After Chr.
477.

VIII. SHUN-TI, who fell likewise a sacrifice to the ambition of the prime minister above-mentioned, by whom he was murdered in the second year of his reign, and fourteenth of his age; and with him ended the eighth dynasty of *Song*.

(M) This dynasty and the four following ones, which together go by the name of *U-tay*, are accounted small in comparison of the others, both with respect to the

small number of years, and of the emperors. All this time *China* was divided into two empires, the northern and southern, each of which had its proper monarchs.

The ninth dynasty, called Tsi, which had five emperors within the space of twenty-three years.

a I. **K**AU-TI, having made his way to the throne by the murder of the two foregoing emperors, removed the court to *Nan-king*, the metropolis of *Kyang-nan*; but did not long enjoy the fruits of his parricides. He was more remarkable for his learning than his military exploits; and used to say, that if he could but reign ten years, he would make gold as cheap as dirt. Being one day dressed in a habit set over with precious stones, he on a sudden ordered them to be beaten into powder, saying, they were only fit to inspire a man with luxury and avarice. He died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and fourth of his reign, and left the crown to his eldest son.

I.
Kau-ti.
After Chr.
479.

b II. **VU-TI** began his reign with enacting a law, that the Mandarins should not hold their places longer than three years; and reviving an old one, which forbade intermarriages between persons of the same name. In his reign appeared the impious philosopher *Fan-chin*, whose till then unheard-of and impious doctrine is still professed, though privately, by many of the *Chinese* Literati; though there then and since appeared some of the most learned pens to confute it (N). About the same time *Syau-ywen* was raised to the dignity of *Ko-lau*, a man of consummate politics and boundless ambition, who soon after made his way to the throne by the murder of the succeeding monarchs. *Vu-ti* died in the eleventh year of his reign, and forty-fifth of his age, and was succeeded by the brother of *Kau-ti*, founder of this dynasty.

II.
Vu-ti.
After Chr.
483.

c III. **MING-TI** had been intrusted by his brother with the education of his two younger sons; whom he accordingly raised to the throne, and cut them off one after another in the short space of four months, and seized the crown. At this time the northern empire enjoyed a profound peace; whose monarch was so addicted to study, that, whether in his chariot, chair, or on horseback, he always had a book in his hand. *Ming-ti* died in the fifth year of his reign, and fortieth of his age, and left the crown to his third son.

III.
Ming-ti.
After Chr.
494.

IV. **WHEN-LEW** proved so debauched and cruel a prince, was so averse to all good counsels, and so governed by his eunuchs, that the ambitious *Syang-ywen* could not have wished for a better pretence for his aiming at the crown. He accordingly joined with the king of *Lyang*, and forced into the imperial palace, burnt it to the ground, and built a more magnificent one; dethroned the emperor in the second year of his reign, and nineteenth of his age, and, for form sake, placed his brother *Ho-ti* on the throne.

IV.
When-lew.
After Chr.
499.

d V. **HO-TI** was not placed on the throne by the traitor to enjoy it long, but that he might have an opportunity of depriving him of both that and his life at once; which he did by that time he had reigned one year; and, seizing on the crown, became the founder of a new dynasty.

V.
Ho-ti.
After Chr.
501.

The tenth dynasty, called Lyang, consisting of four emperors within the space of fifty-five years.

e I. **S**YAU-YWEN, having obtained the imperial dignity by the blood of the two foregoing emperors, assumed the name of *Kau-tsu-vu-ti*. He was descended from the family of *Syau-bo*, and was endowed with excellent qualities, being active, vigilant, and dispatched all that passed through his hands with surprising readiness. He was learned, martial, austere, and frugal; but became at length so fond of the Bonzas, that he neglected the affairs of state, and became one of that order^a; and strictly forbade killing of oxen and sheep even for sacrifices, and appointed corn to be offered instead of those animals (O). In the fifteenth year of his reign he laid siege to the city of *Shew-yang*, in the province of *Shen-si*, which lasted ten years, and lost an infinite number of men both by the sword, famine, and pesti-

I.
Syau-ywen.
After Chr.
502.

Turns Bonza.

^a De his, vid. sup. p. 562, & seq.

(N) He taught, that all the events in the world were the effect of mere chance, that the soul dies with the body, and that the state of men after death is the same with that of brutes.

(O) *Syau-ywen*, tho' a tyrant and usurper, had governed the empire with such success and approbation near 26 years, when this mad fit came upon him of turning monk, had his head shaved, and wore a coarse garment, and lived upon herbs and rice, that the grandees of the empire in some measure forced him out of his retirement; but, though he returned to his palace, and resumed the government, yet he obstinately continued to live after the manner of the Bonzas; though,

according to the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, he dared not condemn any, even the greatest criminal, to death; which opened a door to licentiousness, and occasioned infinite murders and robberies.

At the same time the Bonzaic sect was in no less esteem in the northern parts. That empire had been a long time divided between two sovereigns, one of the eastern, the other of the western; but were at length united under the king of *Tsi* and *Chew*, when the empress of it, named *Hu*, built a monastery large enough to lodge a thousand Bonzas, and gave it the name of *Yeng-ching*, or perpetual peace.

lence. His prime minister, in a fit of discontent at being obliged to serve a tyrant and a usurper, starved himself to death; which when he heard, he cried out, *Do not I hold my crown of heaven? Am I beholden for it to my grandees? What occasion then had that unfortunate man to make away with himself?*

Seized by the
king of Ho-
nan.

His cruel
death.

TOWARDS the latter end of his reign *Hew-king*, king of *Ho-nan*, his vassal and tributary, revolted from him; and, having made himself master of *Nan-king*, seized upon him. The emperor appeared before his conqueror with such majestic intrepidity, that he was not able to look him in the face; but, in a kind of dread, cried out, *I could not have believed it so hard to resist a power which heaven has established*; so, not daring to imbrue his hands in his blood, condemned him to a more lingering death, by retrenching part of his sustenance every day. He called for a little honey just before his death, to put a bitter taste out of his mouth; and, being denied it, expired in the forty-eighth year of his reign, and eighty-sixth of his age, and was succeeded by his third son.

II.
Kyen-ven-ti.
550.
Death.

II. KYEN-VEN-TI had scarcely reigned two years, when *Hew-king* seized on him, and put him to death, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and assumed the imperial title; which he yet hardly enjoyed one year, when the seventh son of the founder mounted the throne.

III.
Ywen-ti.
After Chr.
552.

Burns his
famed library,
and put to
death.

III. YWEN-TI had then a *Ko-lau*, or prime minister, named *Cbin-pa-sien*, who was also sovereign of a small dominion, and who totally defeated the rebel *Hew-king's* army, and caused him to be beheaded. But this *Ko-lau* likewise revolted, and besieged *Nan-king*, where the emperor, a prince infatuated with the superstitious dreams of the Bonzas, kept his residence; but, being roused up by this rebellion, took a turn round the city-walls, and, seeing all was lost, broke his sword, and burnt his library, which consisted of 140,000 volumes, saying, *There was an end of all sciences and military art*. This done, he mounted his horse, and went and surrendered himself to the conqueror, who slew him in the third year of his reign, and forty-seventh of his age. He was succeeded by his ninth son.

IV.
King-ti.
After Chr.
555.

IV. KING-TI had not reigned two years, before he was likewise slain by the murderer of his father, in the sixteenth year of his age, and, with him, expired the tenth dynasty. In his reign, the emperor of that part of the north, called *Chaw*, caused all the temples and idols of the Bonzas to be destroyed.

11th dynasty. The eleventh dynasty, called Chin, consisting of five emperors in the space of thirty-three years.

I.
Kau-tsu-
vu-ti.
After Chr.
558.

I. THE rebel *Cbin-pa-sien*, being thus become the founder of a new dynasty, assumed the name of *Kau-tsu-vu-ti*; he was descended from *Cbin-shi*, a famed general under the family of *Han*, and was a lover of the sciences, but over-fond of the Bonzas. He reigned but three years, and died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and was succeeded by his brother *Ven-ti*.

II.
Ven-ti.
After Chr.
560.

II. VEN-TI, though he had lived privately till he came to the crown, yet shewed himself soon to be a prince of excellent qualities, and gained the love of his subjects. It was he who ordered the night-watches to be distinguished by the beat of a drum, which method hath been observed ever since: and, finding that his son had not sufficient capacity to reign after him, appointed his own brother, then king of *Ngan-chin*, to succeed him; but his prime minister, and other grandees, making a strong representation against it, he altered his intention. *Ven-ti* died in the seventh year of his reign, and fortieth of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

III.
Lyng-hay-
vang.
567.

III. LYNG-HAY-VANO had hardly reigned two years, before he was dethroned by his uncle, the king of *Ngan-chin*; and died soon after, in the nineteenth year of his age; upon which *Swen-ti*, nephew to the founder, seized on the crown.

IV.
Swen-ti.
After Chr.
569.

IV. SWEN-TI was a sweet and mild prince, a great lover of music, and an admirer of learned men. One of his vassal princes having, out of some selfish view, sent him some presents of great value, he, to check his ambition, ordered them to be burnt in his own presence. In his reign the northern emperor having raised *Lyang-kyang* to the dignity of *Ko-lau*, and given his daughter in marriage to his son, made him not long after sovereign of the principality of *Swi*, in which he became so powerful in a few years, that he was in a condition to subdue all *China*. *Swen-ti* died in the fourteenth year of his reign, and forty-second of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

V.
Chang-
ching-kong.
After Chr.
583.

V. CHANG-CHING-KONG soon gave himself up to all manner of excesses; upon which *Kyen* assumed the title of emperor, and, advancing southward with a numerous army, crossed the *Yang-tse-kyang* without opposition, and entered the metropolis of *Nan-king* in triumph. The emperor, to avoid falling into his hands, threw himself into a well; but was taken out alive, and dethroned in the seventh year of his reign. The conqueror became the founder of a new dynasty, and changed his name of *Yang-kyen* for that of *Kau-tse-vu-ti*.

The twelfth dynasty, called Swi, consisting of three emperors within the space of twenty-nine years. 12th dynasty.

- a I. **K**AU-TSU-VEN-TI seized on the crown in the forty-seventh year of the cycle ; and, seven years after, re-united the northern and southern empires, which had been divided near 300 years by *Tang-tse-kyang*, their constant boundary. He was descended from a noble family ; his solid penetrating judgment made amends for his want of learning, and his moderation and temperance gained him the love of his subjects. He reformed music and rhetoric of all that was soft and enervating ; and caused a certain portion of corn and rice to be levied on the subjects, for the support of the poor in time of famine. He was inexorable to the judges that suffered themselves to be corrupted : he had also made a law that punished the smallest larcenies with death ; but was afterwards persuaded to repeal it, as rather too severe ; and, by another, excluded merchants and mechanics from public employments. The preference which he gave to his eldest son, a prince of no merit, whom yet he designed for his successor, so exasperated his second son *Yang-ti*, that he murdered them both, and, by a double parricide, mounted the throne. *Kau-tsu-ven-ti* reigned fifteen years, and was slain in the sixty-fourth year of his age. I.
Kau-tsu-ven-ti.
After Chr.
590.
- b II. **Y**ANG-TI was much given to luxury ; and, having removed his court from the province of *Shen-si* to that of *Ho-nan*, spent much of his time with his wives and concubines, and in the diversions of hunting and music. He was however so much respected, that several petty princes put themselves under his protection, and caused the great *Chinese* wall to be newly repaired. He forbade his subjects to carry arms about them, which policy hath been in force ever since ; and commissioned a hundred of the most learned men to revise and reprint, after the manner of those days, all books treating of war, politics, physic, and agriculture. He likewise founded the degree of doctor, to qualify both the military and literary men for their respective employments. He attacked the *Koreans* both by sea and land ; and, though his first attempt proved abortive, yet in his next he obliged them, as vassals, to send ambassadors to implore his clemency. He was assassinated in his progress through the southern provinces, in the city of *Kyang-nan*, by a mean fellow, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and thirty-ninth of his age ; upon which *Li-ywen*, one of the petty kings, having got together an army of 120,000 men, placed the crown on the head of *Kong-ti*, grandson to the founder of this dynasty. II.
Yang-ti.
After Chr.
605.
- c III. **K**ONG-TI was crowned and dethroned in the same year by *Li-ywen* ; whose son, at the head of his father's army, entered the palace, and, having viewed the magnificence of it, fetched a deep sigh, and said, *No ; such a stately edifice must not be suffered to stand any longer, being good for nothing but to soften the spirit of a prince, and cherish his vicious inclinations ;* and ordered it to be immediately reduced to ashes : what became of the emperor, we are not told ; but *Li-ywen*, by dethroning him, put an end to this dynasty, and became the founder of a new one. III.
Kong-ti.
After Chr.
618.
- d

The thirteenth dynasty, called Tang, consisting of twenty emperors within the space of 289 years. 13th dynasty.

- e I. **L**I-YWEN, upon his mounting the throne, assumed the name of *Shin-yau-ti*, and began his reign with abating the rigour of the penal laws and public taxes ; but was too great a zealot for the sect of *Lau-kyun*¹, to whose honour he erected a temple. He had not reigned above two years before he had reduced all the rebels, and was become the peaceful possessor of this vast empire. He was the monarch who ordered the copper coin to be struck which we have elsewhere described^k ; and caused 100,000 idle Bonzas to marry, in order to beget a supply of soldiers for his army. He reigned nine years, at the end of which he abdicated the crown in favour of his second son ; and died nine years after, in the seventieth year of his age. I.
Shin-yau-ti.
After Chr.
619.
- f II. **T**AY-TSONG is by the *Chinese* esteemed one of their greatest monarchs, both for his wisdom, and kindness to those who either gave him good counsel, or told him of his faults. He was no less admired for his frugality, temperance, and love of learning (P). He was a severe II.
Tay-tsong.
After Chr.
628.

¹ De hoc, vid. sup. p. 564.

^k Vid. ibid. p. 622, & (R).

(P) As an instance of that, he caused an academy for all kinds of literature to be erected in his own palace, wherein were reckoned 8000 scholars, many of them sons of foreign princes, whom he provided with the best masters, and caused the best books to be brought

to it from all parts. He likewise caused another academy to be erected for military exercises, particularly archery, at which he often assisted ; and, being reminded by his ministers of the danger it might prove to his person, answered : *I look upon myself in my employment*

His excellent
reign.

severe enemy to corrupt judges, and all sorts of bribery; and, in a time of drought and scarcity, published an edict, ordering all his faults to be laid before him, that, by amending them, he might avert the anger of heaven. As to soothsayers, he always shewed a singular contempt for them; but when once, in the second year of his reign, he saw the fields covered with devouring locusts, he cried out with a deep sigh, *Alas! I had much rather you would devour my own bowels, than thus destroy the harvest and lives of my poor subjects.* On such times as these he would release the prisoners, and grant them a general pardon: though he was very cautious not to offend by too great an indulgence to them, lest, as he used to say, the impunity of the wicked should prove hurtful to the good subjects.

A Christian
ambassy.

In the eighth year of his reign came an ambassy to China, consisting of white men with fair hair and blue eyes, and whose dress, air, and manners, were altogether unknown to the Chinese, and met with a gracious reception at that court. These are supposed to have been those Christians of whom we have given an account in a former section^a, who left the noble monument of Christianity there mentioned, which was afterwards discovered *anno* 1625; and we find accordingly, that that monarch admitted it to be preached in his dominions in the 12th year of his reign, and even allotted a piece of ground in the imperial city for building a Christian church.

Grief for his
excellent em-
press,

In the tenth year of his reign he lost his empress, a princess of most excellent qualities (Q), by whose address he was reconciled to his prime minister, whom he had forbidden his presence for too frequently troubling him with his wife admonitions. The emperor grieved immoderately for her loss, and raised a much more magnificent monument for her than he had done for his own father; but, being checked for it by the faithful Ko-lau afterwards in the seventeenth year of this prince's reign, he caused a noble encomium of his own penning to be engraved on his tomb; after which, turning to his courtiers, he spake to this purport: *We have three sorts of mirrors, one for the ladies to dress themselves by; the second, the antient books treating of the rise, progress, and fall, of empires; and the last, wise men, by whose example we form our own conduct: this last I had in the person of my deceased Ko-lau, whom, to my misfortune, I have lost, without hopes of finding another like him.* About the latter end of his reign, the Koreans having revolted, he was upon the point of sending a formidable army to reduce them; but was prevented by death, which for a time put a stop to that expedition. He reigned twenty-three years, and died in the fifty-third of his age, leaving a set of the wisest and most excellent instructions to his son and successor.

and prime mi-
nister.

Death.

III.

Kau-tsong.
After Chr.
651.

Fatal fondness
for Vu-shi.

Her cruelty
and tyranny.

III. KAU-TSONG had reigned five years very peaceably, when he unhappily fell in love with Vu-shi, the young lady mentioned at the end of the last note; and, for her sake, repudiated his empress, and one of his queens, maugre all the remonstrances and opposition of his faithful ministers, and placed her on the throne. She soon discovered, however, that his love for the discarded princesses was far from being obliterated; and, in a fit of jealous rage, caused their hands and feet, and a few days after their heads, to be cut off. It was not long before the horror of her guilt threw her into a dreadful phrensy, in which she fancied herself pursued night and day by the ghosts of those two princesses, which obliged her to be ever shifting from place to place; the emperor, still more enamoured of her than ever, not only indulging her in it, but committing the care of the whole empire to her, and giving her the title of *Tyen-hew, or Queen of heaven.*

His death.

SHE was no sooner raised to this height of power, than she poisoned her eldest son, that the crown might thereby fall to her brother's children, and her family be settled on the throne; though she was disappointed of her aim: In the latter end of Kau-tsong's reign the Koreans returned to their obedience; and he, after having reigned thirty-four years, during above two thirds of which the Christian religion flourished in several parts of his empire, died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and appointed his eldest son to succeed him; but he was set aside by his tyrannic empress, to make room for a younger, whom she might govern more at her

^a Vide supra, p. 547, & seq. & (L), & 567.

pire as a father in his family; and I carry my subjects in my bosom as my children; what have I then to fear?

He was indeed so considerate in regard to them, that, having read in a physic-book written by the emperor Whang-ti (32), that a blow or bruise on the shoulders was apt to injure the vital parts, he made a law, still extant, that none should be bastinadoed on the back, but on the buttocks (33).

(Q) It is observed of that excellent lady, that, whilst she lived, not one of that vast number of officers which belong to the court was condemned to any severe punishment; which is a circumstance scarcely to be paralleled in the Chinese history. She wrote likewise a

book consisting of thirty chapters, on the due behaviour of women in their inner apartments; a piece highly admired, especially by the emperor, who styled it the rule that ought to be observed in all ages, but the sight of which made him the more sensible of his inexpressible loss.

In the eleventh year of his reign he admitted into his palace, probably to supply the place of the deceased empress, a young lady of singular beauty and wit, and about fourteen years of age; who, after his death, retired into a monastery of Bonzesses, whence she was fetched out by his son and successor, and placed on the throne, and became a great tyranness.

(32) *De hoc, vid. Introd. p. 505, & seq.*

(33) *Du Halde, sub Tay-tsang.*

will;

a will; for which reason that prince is by the *Chinese* looked upon as an usurper, and struck out of the list of the monarchs of this dynasty.

VU-HEW was the third son of that ambitious princess; she had poisoned her eldest in the late reign, as hath been hinted, and sent her second, after his father's death, into a small sovereignty, where he lived rather like an exile, whilst this third, whom she declared emperor, had only the name, without the power. When she had settled all things thus to her mind, her next care was to rid herself of all the nobles and grandees whom she suspected not to be in her interest; and, in one day, put a great number of them to death, who were of the best families in the empire. There was raised likewise, under her, a cruel persecution against the Christians, in the fifteenth year of *Vu-hew's* reign, which lasted fifteen years. Her *Ko-lau*, a man of virtue and courage, and equally grieved and ashamed of her tyranny and cruelty, did at length present so many noble remonstrances in favour of the lawful heir, who had, by this time, been banished from his throne fourteen years, whilst her other son was only looked upon now, and likely to be transmitted to posterity, as an usurper, that she was at length prevailed upon to recal him, and to assign him the eastern palace for his residence, till the death of *Vu-hew*, which happened about seven years after; upon which he ascended the throne, from which he had been deprived twenty-one years. *A persecution against the Christians.* 585.

IV. CHUNG-TSONG shewed himself little deserving of the regard which his father and prime minister had expressed for him, and, giving himself up wholly to pleasure and indolence, left the whole management of the empire to his empress, who had been the faithful companion of his exile. This princess, who, by the advice of the governor of the palace, intended to place her son *Shang* upon the throne, was strenuously opposed by the princes and petty kings, who took up arms against him. However, the emperor being made away by poison, in the fifth year of his reign, she caused *Shang* to be proclaimed his successor; but his uncle, who possessed a small principality, having made himself master of the palace, caused her and her daughter to be put to death; upon which *Shang* found no other way to save his life, than by surrendering the diadem to him. *The lawful heir restored.*

V. ZHUI-TSONG reigned but two years; during which, nothing is recorded of him, except that he died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and was succeeded by his third son. *IV. Chung-tsung. After Chr. 706.*

VI. YIVN-TSONG proved an excellent prince, and the restorer of his family, then upon the brink of ruin. He was a mortal enemy to the luxury then in vogue; and, to shew a good example to his nobles, caused all his gold and silver vessels, and his embroidered cloaths, to be burnt before his palace. He was no less diligent in the promoting of learning; and was the first who honoured such of his generals as had signalized themselves by their services, with the title of petty kings, which used only to be given to princes of the blood. In one of his progresses through the empire, he divided it into fifteen provinces, and did several other public acts. But one blemish is justly cast upon him; viz. his being deaf to the wholesome counsel of his prime minister *Ywen-chau*, who strove to persuade him to suppress the too great power of his eunuchs, and to abolish the idolatrous sects of *Fo* and *Tau*. *VI. Yivn-tsung. After Chr. 713.*

He had reigned almost thirty years peaceably, when the empire was, all on the sudden, disturbed with some insurrections, his army defeated, with the loss of 70,000 men, whilst all avenues to his throne were so obstructed by his eunuchs, that he knew nothing of it. The author of this rebellion was a foreign prince, named *Ngan-lo-shan*, whom he had raised to the highest employments, even to the command of his army, and who took the advantage of his successes in the north to assume the imperial title. The palace was, at the same time, in no less a combustion, the emperor having divorced his wife, and put three of her children to death, without any just cause, and married his daughter-in-law. These disasters brought on new ones, and encouraged a band of robbers to attack the imperial army, which they routed, with the loss of 20,000 men, the emperor himself being obliged to flee into the province of *Se-chwen*. He had reigned forty-four years when he made this shameful retreat; and his son *So-tsung* was obliged to mount the throne during his life, to save the empire from ruin. *A rebellion in the north. Disasters in the palace. The emperor's flight.*

VII. SO-TSONG, being a brave warlike prince, soon destroyed the army of the robbers, and restored the public tranquillity; after which, he brought back his father from *Se-chwen*, and conducted him to his palace with all the honours due to his rank; but the unhappy prince died soon after, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and left the crown to his more worthy son. In the mean time the rebel *Ngan-lo-shan* had plundered the palace of *Chang-ngan* of all its riches, and, among other curiosities, of an hundred elephants and horses which had been taught to dance at the sound of instruments, and to present the emperor with a cup with their mouths. The rebel wanted to see that ceremony performed to himself, but those creatures could not by any means be brought to give him that satisfaction; upon which, in a fit of rage, he ordered them to be killed on the spot. He met, however, soon after with the reward of his treason, being murdered in his bed by his own son, and this by his general. *VII. So-tsung. After Chr. 757.*

VIII.
Tay-tsong.
After Chr.
763.

VIII. TAY-TSONG was so successful in the choice of his ministers, that peace was soon restored to the empire, and the rebels reduced: but it was not long before five other tributaries revolted, and made themselves independent. The *Tartars* likewise, to the number of 20,000, made a dreadful irruption into the empire, in the eighth year of his reign, forced him to flee, and carried away an immense treasure into their own country. The emperor returned soon after into his palace, by the help of his celebrated general *Ko tsu-i*, a great patron of the Christians (R), and died in the seventeenth year of his reign, and fifty-third of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

IX.
Te-tsong.
After Chr.
780.

IX. TE-TSONG was a timorous and mistrustful prince, who minded only his flatterers; yet so far disinterested, as to refuse some considerable presents offered him from strangers; but he had the misfortune to lose his prime minister and general *Ko tsu-i*, who died in the third year of his reign, aged eighty-five years, after he had enjoyed that dignity, with the utmost reputation, during the four foregoing reigns. The whole empire mourned for him, as for a father, three whole years; but the power of the eunuchs, which he had artfully suppressed, whilst he lived, became soon after so formidable, that it occasioned insurrections every-where. The emperor, in order to maintain the vast army he was forced to raise, to suppress them, laid such heavy taxes upon the subjects, as reduced them to the lowest ebb of misery, and occasioned an infinite number of robberies. By good fortune his troops proved every-where victorious, suppressed the rebels, and restored peace and plenty to the people. He reigned twenty-five years, and died in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

X.
Shun-tsong.

X. SHUN-TSONG was a promising prince; but, being attacked by an incurable disease, resigned the crown to his son, after he had reigned one year.

XI.
Hyen-tsong.
After Chr.
806.

XI. HYEN-TSONG was a prince excellently qualified for the dispatch of the most intricate business of the empire, and of such firmness of mind, that nothing could shake him from a good resolution once taken. He was no less tender of his subjects welfare; and, in times of scarcity, had set open his granaries to their relief, sending his nobles through the afflicted provinces, with orders to see that every one was supplied according to their present distress. But he was, beyond measure, addicted to the superstitious follies of the Bonzaic sect, and had let his resentment fall very heavy on such of his ministers as had endeavoured to dissuade him from them. He was no less intoxicated with another notion, which cost him his life; viz. a firm persuasion of his being made immortal by the pretended supernatural liquor which those charlatans pretended to have the true receipt of; and having caused some of it to be brought to him, which is supposed to have been mixed with poison by one of his eunuchs, expired immediately after his taking it, in the 15th year of his reign, and 43d of his age. He left his crown to his son, whom he had appointed his successor.

XII.
Mo-tsong.
After Chr.
821.

XII. MO-TSONG was at first opposed by some of the grandees, who designed to place another prince on the throne; but their measures being frustrated, and they put to death, he was indiscrete enough to disband his army, part of which being thereby reduced to great straits, went and lifted themselves among the banditti, and increased their number, and the distress of the people. In his reign the imperial family of *Tang*, or of this thirteenth dynasty, began to decline apace, and his few successors helped to complete its ruin. He died in the fourth year of his reign, and the thirtieth of his age, after having taken a medicine prepared for him, and was succeeded by his son in the year following.

XIII.
King-tsong.
After Chr.
825.

XIII. KING-TSONG was raised to the throne by the interest of the powerful eunuchs, and, proving a weak prince, was deprived of it by the same interest, after two years reign, to make way for the empress mother. He was but just returned from hunting, and about to shift his cloaths, when, on a sudden, the candles were put out, and he murdered by his eunuchs, who placed his brother in his room.

XIV.
Ven-tsong.
After Chr.
827.

XIV. VEN-TSONG, a wise and good prince, grew so impatient at the exorbitant power of those eunuchs, that he had taken measures secretly to destroy them; but they being aware of it, fell suddenly on the ministers, and guards of the palace, and slew above a thousand of them, and together with them were several considerable families destroyed, in the ninth year of his reign. This misfortune, and others he foresaw, grieved him to such a degree, that, having in vain tried to alleviate his melancholy, by diversions, drinking, &c. he died of a deep consumption, in the fourteenth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his brother, though he left a son, whom the eunuchs set aside.

XV.
Vu-tsong.
After Chr.
841.

XV. VU-TSONG was a prince of a warlike temper, dreading neither danger nor fatigue, and worthy of the preference shewed to him. He drove the *Tartars* out of the province

(R) His elogium, we are told by the missionaries, is still to be seen in the ancient monument, formerly mentioned, wherein his liberality to the Christian preachers is highly extolled; and he is thought to have been very intru-

mental, both by his credit and purse, in building of churches; inasmuch, that some believe him to have been a convert to Christianity (34).

(34) *Du Halde, sub Tay-tsong, Le Compte, Noel, Couplet, &c. al.*

a of *Shen-si*, where they had fortified themselves, and cleared others of the banditti that infested them. He had so excellent a judgment, that he never was deceived in the choice of his ministers. He revived a law, still in force, though little practised, which obliged the Mandarins of the provinces, once in five, or at most seven, years, to send an account to court of all their miscarriages, and to beg the emperor's pardon for them^m; and if any thing was found in their confession either disguised, palliated, or excused, they were to expect no favour, but were immediately turned out. He is said to have suppressed the Christians, who had been so much favoured during some of the former reigns, and to have obliged the Bonzas to return to a secular life. He reigned but six years, and died in the thirty-third year of his age, and was succeeded by the grandson of *Hyen-tsung*, the eleventh monarch of this dynasty; the eunuchs having rejected his son from reigning after him.

XVI. SWEN-TSONG was no sooner upon the throne than he shewed himself a prince excellently qualified to reign, contrary to the expectation of the eunuchs, who had raised him to it with quite other views. His wisdom, equity, application, and love of his people, made him be looked upon and revered as a second *Tay-tsung*, the second emperor of this dynasty. All his merit, however, proved insufficient to suppress the power of the eunuchs, though his prime minister put him upon an effectual way of doing it; viz. by shewing himself inexorable to those who were guilty of any fault, and not to supply with new ones the places of those that died: but they, having got intelligence of this design, became such mortal enemies both to the prime minister and prince, that they ceased not to create new troubles against them. That wise monarch is however justly blamed for his fondness for the sect of *Tau*, and his eagerness of being immortalized by their pretended panacea, notwithstanding all the wise dissuaves of his best ministers; for he had no sooner drank the fatal liquor, than he felt himself devoured by worms that swarmed in his body; and died a few days after, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and fiftieth of his age. He was succeeded by his son, by the interest of the eunuchs.

XVII. I-TSONG soon became odious to all his subjects for his luxury and debaucheries. He reigned fourteen years; and, about three months before his death, caused one of the fingers of the idol *Fo* to be brought with great solemnity into his palace; and the Chinese attribute his death, and the troubles which ensued, to his stupid devotion for that idol. The eunuchs placed his son on the throne, who was but twelve years old, that they might enjoy the greater sway.

XVIII. HI-TSONG accordingly left the sole management to them; and, whilst he spent his time in music, riding, shooting, and other such diversions, nothing was seen on all sides but tumults and revolts, especially in the northern parts. The people groaned under the heavy load of taxes, and a grievous famine, occasioned by the overflowing of the rivers, and vast swarms of locusts which had destroyed most of the corn; all which still added to the number of the revolters. These had one *Wban-tsau* at their head, who went and besieged the imperial city; and, having driven their prince out of it, proclaimed their leader emperor, and gave to his family the name of *Tsi*.

In the midst of these disasters, the command of the imperial army was given to a young man not above twenty-eight years old, named *Li-ke yong*, but nicknamed *To-yien-long*, on account of his being blind of one eye. This youth, however, attacked the rebel army with great valour; and, though repulsed at the first onset, yet rallied his men, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that he totally defeated them, and brought back the emperor in triumph. For this eminent service, he was raised to the principality of *Tsin*, and his son became soon after the founder of a new dynasty. The emperor died about three months after, in the fifteenth year of his reign, and twenty-seventh of his age; and was succeeded by the sixth son of the last emperor, whom the eunuchs placed upon the throne.

XIX. CHAU-TSONG, a wise and valiant prince, designed, by the help of his prime and other ministers, to have totally abolished the exorbitant power of the eunuchs; when they, on a sudden, having got intelligence of it, came unawares upon him with their soldiers, seized on his person, confining him in a remote apartment under a strong guard, leaving him only a hole in the wall for conveying his food to him.

The prime minister *Tsu-yu*, having discovered the place, sent suddenly a number of resolute fellows, who slew the guards, and rescued the emperor, and brought him back to his palace. After this, he invited *Chu-ven*, then at the head of the robbers, to come and assist his prince against the eunuchs, who arrived just at the time when that monarch had issued out an edict for extirpating them all excepting thirty of the youngest, to be reserved for the most servile offices of the palace; and executed his commission with such zeal, that many hundreds of them were put to the sword. But *Chu-ven*, who had thus far behaved with so much loyalty, being seized with a spirit of ambition, caused the faithful prime-minister to be slain, and

^m See before, p. 578, & seq.

obliged the emperor to remove his court from the province of *Shen-si* to that of *Ho-nan*; a which he had no sooner done, but the traitor put him to death in the sixteenth year of his reign, and thirty-eighth of his age, and placed the crown on his son, till he could safely take it from him.

XX. CHAU-SWEN-TSONG had not reigned two years, before he perceived that *Chu-ven* designed to sacrifice him as he had done his father; to prevent which, he offered voluntarily to resign the crown to him. The usurper took him at his word; and gave him a principality, which he enjoyed only three years, being slain in the seventeenth year of his age; and with him ended the family of *Tang*, and thirteenth dynasty; and *Chu-ven*, who then assumed the name of *Tay-tsu*, became the founder of a new, though short and inconsiderable one (S).

14th dynasty. The fourteenth dynasty, called *Hew-lyang*, which had only two emperors within the space of sixteen years.

I. TAY-TSU did not long enjoy the fruits of his rebellion and parricides; and even during the time he sat on the throne, many principalities fell off from their allegiance. He fixed his court in the province of *Ho-nan*; and was murdered by his eldest son, in the sixth year of his reign, and sixty-second of his age, but was succeeded by his third son.

II. MO-TI was then sovereign of a petty state; but, as soon as he heard of his father's death, he marched immediately at the head of an army against his brother, and totally defeated and slew him, and mounted the throne. In the third year of his reign the *Sye-tans*, lately mentioned, who had changed their name into that of *Lyau*, laid the foundation of their government, which reckoned a succession of nine princes within the space of 209 years. *Chang-tsung*, the son of the famed one-eyed general, lately mentioned for his great services done to the late emperor *Hi-tsung*, took the advantage of the then reigning troubles to seize on the crown, of which he thought himself more worthy than the usurper. He commanded an army accustomed to conquer; and, after taking several considerable places from him, engaged and defeated him; and *Mo-ti*, in despair, slew himself in the tenth year of his reign, and with him ended this dynasty.

15th dynasty. The fifteenth dynasty, called *Hew-tang*, consisting of four emperors in the space of thirteen years.

I. CHWANG-TSONG, like his father, was enured to the martial trade from his youth; and, in all his campaigns, lay on the ground with a bell about his neck, for fear of sleeping too long; tho' his earlier years were blemished by his luxury, and fondness for public shews; and would himself act a part in plays, to divert his mother and wives. He was no less given to avarice; insomuch that though his coffers were filled with gold and silver, yet could he not prevail on himself to open them for the relief of his subjects. He was at length wounded in a sedition raised among his soldiery; and died of it, in the third year of his reign, and thirty-fifth of his age; but it was never known whether the arrow that wounded him was shot designedly at him, or at random. He was succeeded by *Ming-tsung*, whom the father of the late emperor had adopted, though he was not born in the empire.

II. MING-TSONG proved worthy of the rank he was raised to; and was highly esteemed for his liberality, peaceable disposition, love of his subjects, and regard for learned men, though himself was quite illiterate. In his reign the art of printingⁿ was found out; and the celebrated *Chau-quang-yu*, who afterwards became the founder of the nineteenth dynasty, was born. Several other blessings which accompanied and followed *Ming-tsung's* reign are attributed to his singular piety, and the continual prayers he offered up to heaven for himself and subjects (T). He had moreover a great number of wise men, by whose counsel he made many

ⁿ De hoc, vid. sup. p. 606, & seq.

(S) The five following dynasties are styled by the *Chinese* *Hew-u-tay*, or the five latter races or successions, and are accounted as petty ones, as well as the five that preceded that of *Tang*. They likewise resemble them in their wars, revolts, and parricides, which so often stained the throne with royal blood: but they differ from them in the number both of years and monarchs; the five former reckoning twenty-four emperors in the space of 198 years, whereas the following ones hardly continued one cycle, and reckon no more

than thirteen emperors; and these latter being much disturbed by a warlike nation called *Sye-tan*, which inhabited the country now called *Lyau-tong*, and were much increased by the colonies that came thither from *Korea*.

(T) The *Chinese* historians tell us, that he every night burnt perfumes to the Lord of heaven; and addressed him in words to this effect: *I was born a barbarian, and in a country of barbarians; yet, in the midst of the disturbances that troubled the empire, they chose me*

a many excellent regulations, and one among the rest which excluded the eunuchs from all public employments. He reigned eight years very peaceably, and died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

III. MIN-TSONG had not reigned a full year, when *Sbe-king-tang*, son-in-law to the late emperor, at the head of an army of 50,000 men, furnished by the people of *Lyau-tong*, made himself master of the palace, and deprived him both of his life and crown in the forty-first year of his age. He was succeeded by his adopted son *Lo-vang*, since named *Fi-ti*. III. Min-tsong. After Chr. 934.

IV. FI-TI, not being able to make head against the murderer of his father, fled for shelter into the city of *Gbey-chew*; where not thinking himself safe, he shut himself up with his family, and every thing he had of value, in a palace, and, setting it on fire, perished in the flames, in the very first year of his reign. With him ended the fifteenth dynasty; and the rebel *Sbe-king-tang* became the founder of a new one, and took the name of *Kau-tsu*. IV. Fi-ti. After Chr. 935. Burns himself alive.

The sixteenth dynasty, called Hew-tsin, consisting of two emperors in the space of eleven years. 16th dynasty.

c I. **K**AU-TSU was forced to purchase his new-gotten dignity at the expence of the honour of his country. The general of the auxiliary forces of *Lyau-tong* refusing to acknowledge him, and being inclined to assume the imperial diadem, *Kau-tsu*, not daring to enter into a war with him, was forced to buy a peace, by yielding to him sixteen cities of the province of *Pe-cheli*, nearest to that of *Lyau-tong*, and sending to him annually 300,000 pieces of silk. This imprudent donative, which could not but augment the power and pride of that warlike nation, proved the fatal source of numberless wars, which ravaged the Chinese empire above 400 years. He reigned but seven years; and died in the fifty-first year of his age, and was succeeded by his nephew, by the choice of the grandees. I. Kau-tsu. After Chr. 936. Makes a fatal step.

d II. TSI-VANG had not reigned long, before he saw himself invaded by the *Lyau-tongians*, notwithstanding the treaty made with his predecessor. He opposed them with an army sufficient to have given them an effectual repulse, had not his general *Lyew-chi-ywen*, who himself aimed at the imperial dignity, given them time, by his slow marches and affected delays, to seize on the emperor; who, being dethroned by them, was glad to accept of a small sovereignty, where he ended his days. He reigned four years; and was succeeded by his treacherous general, who assumed the name of *Kau-tsu*, and became the founder of a new dynasty. II. Tsi-wang. After Chr. 943. Betrayed, and dethroned.

The seventeenth dynasty, called Hew-han, consisting of two emperors in the short space of four years. 17th dynasty.

e I. **K**AU-TSU, at the beginning, made so little resistance against the *Lyau-tongian* forces, that they made a terrible havock among the northern provinces; but, upon their entering into the southern ones, they were opposed by such bodies of *Chinese*, as made their general say, *He could not have believed the conquest of China would have proved so difficult*; so that, contenting himself with his rich plunder, he retired to his own country. In the mean time *Kau-tsu* died in the second year of his reign, aged fifty-four, and in the next was succeeded by his son. I. Kau-tsu. After Chr. 947. Northern China ravaged.

f II. IN-TI, being obliged to employ his forces against the *Tartars* of *Lyau-tong*, gave an opportunity to the eunuchs of raising great disturbances, in order to recover their power; so that, whilst his army was gaining many signal victories against those barbarians, his palace was all in combustion; and the eunuchs had raised a sedition, in which the emperor was slain, in the second year of his reign. The empress immediately placed his brother on the throne; but he was scarcely seated on it, before the imperial general, named *Kogbey*, returned crowned with laurels from his glorious expedition, and was proclaimed emperor by his army. The empress, unable to support her son, was forced to submit to the victorious general, who from that time respected her as his mother; and, taking upon him the name of *Tay-tsu*, became the founder of the next dynasty. II. In-ti. After Chr. 949. Murdered by the eunuchs.

to govern it. I make but one request, which is, that the heavenly Majesty would vouchsafe to watch over my conduct, and send me wise and experienced men, whose counsel may aid me to govern this state, without falling into any mistakes (38).

(38) *Vide Le Compte, Neel, Couplet, & al. & Du Halde, sub Ming-tsong.*

18th dynasty. *The eighteenth dynasty, called Hew-chew, consisting of three emperors, within the space of nine years.*

- I. **TAY-TSU**, upon his mounting the throne, removed his court to the capital of the province of *Ho-nan*, visited in person the sepulchre of *Confucius*, and honoured his memory with the title of king (U). Some believe that the *Mohammedans* first settled in *China* in his reign; whilst others place it much earlier, even as high as the thirteenth dynasty. He reigned but three years, and died in the fifty-third year of his age, and was succeeded by his adopted son. a
- II. **SHI-TSONG** was admired for his love of learning and skill in the art of war; though he still retained such singular modesty, notwithstanding his grandeur, that he always kept a plough, and a loom at work in his palace. In the time of scarcity he opened all his granaries, ordered his corn and rice to be sold at the cheapest rate, and the people to pay him when they were able; alleging, that they were all his children, and that it did not become a parent to withhold necessary food from his children. He likewise caused all the metal statues to be melted, and coined into money for their relief. His fame brought several petty princes to their obedience, who had for many years withdrawn it from his predecessors; and a method was proposed to him how to recover the provinces that had been dismantled from the empire during the late troubles; but death prevented his putting it in execution. He reigned six years, and died in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son. b
- III. **KONG-TI** was but seven years old when his father died, who put him under the guardianship of his prime minister *Chau-quang-yu*, who had done signal services to the empire during the late wars; but the grandees, excepting against his nonage, raised that minister to the empire. When they went to acquaint him with their choice, they found him in bed; and saluted him emperor, cloathing him with a yellow habit, which is the imperial colour. *Kong-ti*, who had reigned but a few months, had a small principality assigned him, and with him ended the eighteenth dynasty. *Chau-quang-yu* accepted of the crown on condition that the empress mother should take place of him on all occasions; and with him began c

19th dynasty. *The nineteenth dynasty, called Song, consisting of eighteen emperors within the space of 319 years.*

- I. **TAY-TSU**, for that was the name he assumed with his new dignity, together with eight of his successors, kept their court in some of the northern provinces of *China*, that they might be at hand to suppress the incursions of the *Tartars* and *Lyau-tongians*; by which means the empire began to take breath after all its former disasters; and those commotions were happily succeeded by a long calm, which might have proved still more lasting, had all the princes of his family been as much addicted to learning and arms. He was indeed endowed with all the princely qualities that could make a people happy and flourishing; and ordered the four gates of his palace, which fronted the four cardinal points, to be always open, that his house, as well as his heart, might be open to all his subjects. d
- His fame was such for wisdom and moderation, that no less than ten petty sovereigns submitted to his government; and he was such an enemy to luxury, that he retrenched it altogether in his family, and would not suffer even his daughters to wear pearls. However, he honoured his deceased father, grandfather, and great grandfather, with the title of emperor; and his mother, an excellent princess, with that of empress (W). During a severe winter, reflecting on what hardships his army, then engaged in opposing the northern nations, were likely to suffer, he pulled off his fur gown, and sent it to their general; telling him, that he wished it was in his power to do the like to every soldier; and it is hardly to be conceived what ardor and zeal this action inspired his whole army with. He gave a still e

(U) We are told, that some of his courtiers represented to him, that such an honour did not suit with a man who had always been a subject not only to the emperors, but even to petty kings. To which he replied, that they were mistaken; for that he had been rather a master to kings and emperors, and that therefore too much honour could not be paid to him (36).

We have formerly observed, that it was the custom of the *Chinese* thus to honour the dead with such titles; and many of the founders of dynasties, and their successors, have done it to their ancestors, who never had any while alive, and merely to give the face of grandeur to their families.

(W) This noble lady, when congratulated by the grandees on her son's advancement, instead of expres-

sing any joy at it, only reminded them of the great difficulty of ruling well; adding, that, if her son did so, she should gladly receive their congratulations; but, if not, that she should contentedly resign those honours, and finish her days in her pristine obscurity.

A year before her death she is said to have earnestly charged her son not to be swayed by his affection for his children in the choice of a successor; but to nominate his brother to that dignity: "for (said she) remember, my son, that you are beholden for the throne you sit on, less to your own merit, than to the infancy of the prince of the preceding family;" which advice the emperor exactly followed, as will be seen in the sequel.

- a more pregnant proof of his fatherly affection at the siege of *Nan-king*; when, reflecting upon the horrid slaughter that would be made in it, as it was on the point of surrendering, he feigned himself sick. His generals, alarmed at it, came and surrounded his bed, every one proposing some remedy to him. To whom he answered: "The only remedy that can effectually cure me, is in your power alone; swear to me, that you will not shed the blood of the citizens." They all swore accordingly, and he immediately appeared well; and, though they took all possible precaution to restrain the soldiers, so that there were but few slain by them, yet those few drew a flood of tears from him: and as the city had, with a long siege, suffered likewise by famine, he immediately sent one hundred thousand measures of rice to be distributed among them. Many other public acts he did, worthy of so good a prince; and died in the seventeenth year of his reign, leaving the crown to his brother *Tay-tsong*, according to his mother's desire, mentioned in the last note. Stratagem to save Nan-king.

II. *TAY-TSONG* was a great lover of learning, and erected a library which is affirmed to have contained 80,000 volumes. He was once besieging the metropolis of one of the revolted reguli, when he was alarmed with a tumult in the camp which was commanded by his brother *Chau*, occasioned by a design of the soldiers, as was reported the next day, of making him emperor. *Tay-tsong*, without betraying the least resentment, went on vigorously with the siege; and, a few days after he had taken it, *Chau* in the most familiar manner told him, he wondered he had not rewarded those who had signalized themselves at the siege. To which the emperor replied, *I expected that you would have rewarded them.* This stung *Chau* so to the heart, that he killed himself before night: which when his brother heard, he shed a flood of tears over his corpse, and caused the greatest funeral honours to be paid to it. II. Tay-tsong. After Christ, 977.

He fought several battles with unequal success against the *Lyau-tongians*, in order to recover the cities which had been yielded to them by *Kau-tsu*, founder of the sixteenth dynasty, though contrary to the advice of his more experienced general; so that we need not wonder at his pursuing that war with such fluctuating success, being as often defeated by, as victorious over, the *Tartars*, but without gaining any great advantage (X). He reigned twenty-one years; and died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and was succeeded by his third son. Wars in the north. Death.

III. *CHING-TSONG* much deceived the hopes which his subjects had conceived of his reign (Y); and, instead of pursuing the advantages he had gained against the *Lyau-tongians*, whom his victorious forces had thrown into the utmost consternation, bought a shameful peace of them at the price of 100,000 taels, and 200,000 pieces of silk, to be paid annually to them. He was much intoxicated likewise with notions of magic, and other superstitions of the sect of *Tau*; and we have had occasion to mention elsewhere an egregious trick that was put upon him by one of those impostors, which was not a little to his dishonour (Z). III. Ching-tsong. After Christ, 998.

In the sixteenth year of his reign he caused an account to be taken of all the people employed in agriculture; who were found to amount to 21,976,965 able persons, exclusive of the magistrates, literati, eunuchs, soldiers, bonzas, watermen of all sorts, &c. all which amounted to an immense number. He caused likewise the antient books to be reprinted, and dispersed through the empire, and died in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and fifty-fifth of his age, and was succeeded by his sixth son, whom he had by his second queen.

° See before, p. 558. sub not. (E).

(X) These wars were much against the mind of his wife general *Chang-tsi-hyen*, who advised him first of all to settle the empire in peace, before he aimed at new conquests. However, we are told of a strange stratagem which that officer made use of to raise the siege of a city: he caused 300 soldiers to approach the besiegers camp, in the dead of the night, with lighted flambeaux in their hands; which so alarmed them, that they thought the whole *Chinese* army was coming against them: so that they, betaking themselves to a sudden flight, fell into an ambuscade which *Chang-tsi-hyen* had laid for them, and were most of them cut off (37).

(Y) A comet having appeared at the beginning of his reign, which was deemed to portend some calamity, he ordered, as usual, all his faults to be laid before him, that he might avert the omen; and at the same time remitted ten millions of the taxes, and set 13,000 prisoners at liberty; and, a son being born to him at that juncture, he attributed that long-wished-for blessing to the favour of heaven, which he looked upon

now as pacified by his religious and charitable deeds above-mentioned; and his subjects looked upon the whole as a good omen of a prosperous reign; though it proved otherwise, through his excessive weakness.

(Z) His prime vizir, we are informed, being on his death-bed, told his children, that his conscience did not upbraid him with any neglect, except that of his not having advised the emperor to burn that pernicious book which they had made him believe was dropt from heaven, and he received with so much respect; and, as I cannot forgive myself that fault, said he, so then I desire I may be punished for it after my death; and therefore charge you to cause my head and face to be shaven; and my body to be buried, like that of a wretched Bonza, without cap or girdle. This was doubtless done by that wise minister, in order to cure the emperor of his vast respect for that cursed book; against which it is observed by the *Chinese* historians, that, from that fatal period, the respect due to the Sovereign Lord of heaven abated much among great numbers of their countrymen.

(37) Vide Du Halde sub *Tay-tsong*. See also before, p. 558. sub (E)

IV.
Jin-tsong.
After Christ,
1023.

buys a shameful
peace of the
Tartars.

His singular
piety to his
subjects.

A shameful
treaty with
the king of
Liau-tong

IV. JIN-TSONG was then but thirteen years old; but the empress took the government into her hands, and held it till her death, which happened eleven years after his accession, and to whom he had always paid the same respect as if she had been his own mother. As he was of a pacific disposition, his sole aim, when he came to govern, was, to let his subjects taste the fruits of tranquility; but, this emboldening the *Tartars* to renew the war, he was forced to buy another shameful peace from them. He was, however, a prince of great piety; which he shewed not only in banishing all image-worshippers from his palace, but by his constant addresses to heaven during a long drought, and his thankfulness to it upon the return of the usual rains. He saved 500,000 of his subjects from perishing, by the timely supply he sent them of corn and rice.

His extreme desire of having a son made him divorce his empress, for which he was blamed by the generality of his subjects; but his most shameful false step of all was, his buying a peace of the *Liau-tongian* king, who demanded a restitution of ten cities which had been retaken by one of his predecessors, and instead of which he engaged to pay him a pension of 200,000 taels, and 300,000 pieces of silk; and suffered the word *Na* to be used in the treaty, which rather signifies a tribute than a pension. As he had no children either by his empress, or by that which he married after her divorcement, he was obliged to name *Ing-tsong*, the thirteenth son of his brother, for his successor. He died in the forty-first year of his age.

V.
Ing-tsong.
After Christ,
1064.

VI.
Shin-tsong.
After Christ,
1068.

An atheistical
sect.

V. ING-TSONG's reign had like to have been embittered by a misunderstanding between him and the empress, who, though not his mother, had a share in the government; but that breach being made up by the strenuous endeavours of his wise prime minister, and she resigning her part up to him, he reigned quietly the rest of the time, which was in the whole but four years. He died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son (A).

VI. SHIN-TSONG, a prince of more courage than conduct, was extremely desirous to deliver his northern subjects from the *Tartarian* yoke; but was diverted from it by his dying mother, who counselled him to sacrifice every thing to the peace of his empire. He was a lover of learned men, many of whom flourished in his reign, particularly *Che-w*, *Cbang*, *Cbing*, *Chau*, &c. authors of a new atheistical philosophy, by which they undertook to explain their antient books, and whom that monarch distinguished by titles and honours both before and after their deaths. One of their disciples, observing the emperor's grief at a time of drought, and that he endeavoured to appease heaven by fasting and prayer, had the boldness to tell him, that he tormented himself in vain, for that every thing that happened in the world was the mere effect of chance. Upon which the prime minister severely reproved him: "How dare you," said he, "teach such a doctrine? If the emperor was to lose all respect and fear of heaven, what crimes would he not be capable of committing?" These philosophers had some other equally dangerous notions, all which were learnedly opposed by the great *Su-ma-quang*, mentioned in the last note, and who was then in the highest esteem. *Shin-tsong* reigned eighteen years, and died in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

VII.
Che-tsong.
After Christ,
1086.

Ten noble in-
structions.

VII. CHE-TSONG being then but ten years old, his grand-mother governed with singular wisdom during the eight years she lived; and, when she died, would have obliged the prime minister to have discarded several of the young monarch's useless servants and flatterers; but, as she had not done it herself, his authority was not sufficient for it. He presented, however, a memorial to him, in which were the ten following instructions, expressed in twenty characters: 1. Fear heaven; 2. Love your subjects; 3. Strive after perfection; 4. Apply yourself to the sciences; 5. Employ persons of merit; 6. Readily hear advice; 7. Lessen the taxes; 8. Mitigate the severity of punishments; 9. Shun profuseness; 10. Detest debauchery. *Che-tsong* died in the fifteenth year of his reign, and twenty-fifth of his age, and was succeeded by the eleventh son of his predecessor *Shin-tsong*.

VIII.
Whey-tsong.
After Christ,
1101.

VIII. WHEY-TSONG was equally a lover of learning and pleasure; and divided the government with his grandmother, to avoid having too great a share of business. He lost the esteem of his subjects, first, by raising the eunuchs to greater power than they had enjoyed of late, and some of them even to sovereignties, which were actually granted only to princes of the blood; and, secondly, by his superstitious fondness for the sect of *Tau*, whose books he caused to be collected; and was even infatuated enough to give one of his disciples the title of *Sbang-ti*, or *Supreme Lord*; and the *Chinese* make no scruple to ascribe all the

(A) In his reign flourished the celebrated *Ko-lau* and his history from above 2000 volumes, beginning with annalist *Su-ma-quang*, who, is said to have compiled *Wban-ti*, the third *Chinese* monarch (38).

a disasters that since befel the empire, to that blasphemous title, given in a sort of contempt of heaven.

HE joined forces with the *Nyu-che*, or eastern *Tartars*, against the *Lyau-tongians*, and obliged those few that remained unsubdued to flee into the mountains in the west; by which an end was put to the kingdom of *Lyau-tong*, after it had stood 290 years. He paid dear for his victories: the *Tartarian* chief, no less elated with his success, and resolving to found an empire, and give it the name of *Kin*, or *Gold*, soon broke all treaties with him; and, invading the provinces of *Pe-cheli* and *Shen-si*, made himself master of them, more through the treachery of some *Chinese* malcontents, than by force of arms. *Whey-tsung*, in danger of losing a great part of his dominions, made him several considerable offers; and, at his desire, went in person to him, and with him settled the limits of the empire by a new treaty of peace.

ON his return to his capital, he was easily persuaded to alter his mind, that treaty being so shameful to him, that the most bloody war was preferable to it: but the *Tartar*, having intelligence of it, resolved to keep him to it by force of arms; and entered the province of *Shen-si* in triumph, where he invited the emperor to a second interview. *Whey-tsung*, who dreaded nothing so much as a war, easily agreed to it; and, upon his arrival, was seized, and stripped of all his imperial ornaments, and confined prisoner under a strong guard. He died in the desert of *Sba-mo*, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and fifty-fourth of his age, and appointed his son *Kin-tsung* his successor.

c IX. *KIN-TSUNG*, according to his father's commands, put six of his ministers to death, who had betrayed him to the *Tartars*; but made so little preparation against them, that they penetrated into the province of *Ho-nan*, and, crossing the *Yellow River* without opposition, where a handful of men might have prevented them, marched directly to the metropolis, took and plundered it, and carried away the emperor and his queen prisoners, in the first year of his reign, whilst several lords, preferring death to an ignominious slavery, slew themselves. The conquerors left behind the empress *Meng*, who had been divorced, and excluded from public affairs, and who, being a princess of great wisdom and conduct, had preserved the empire, by getting the crown placed on the head of *Kau-tsung*, the brother of the late emperor.

d X. *KAU-TSUNG* had some few successes against the *Tartars*, which he might have improved to advantage; but though he was a lover of learning, yet he was too apt to slight the advice of his best experienced ministers, and confiding in a few parasites, of no honour or skill in governing. He was, moreover, so addicted to the *Bonzaic* sect, that he committed the care of the empire to his adopted son, that he might be more at leisure to vacate at his superstitions.

IN the mean time, *Ho-tsung*, the *Tartar* king, did all he could to gain the love of his new subjects, and shewed a more than ordinary regard for learned men, visited the sepulchre of *Confucius*, and paid him the same royal honours the *Chinese* did, telling his courtiers, that if he did not deserve them on account of his birth, he did on account of his excellent doctrine. He marched thence to the city of *Nan-king*, where the emperor had fixed his residence at first, but had been forced to abandon it, and laid close siege to it. He easily made himself master of it; and, among other prisoners, carried off a general, named *Tung-pang*, whom he strove, by the most advantageous offers, to gain to his interest; but that faithful officer not only refused them, but wrote, with his blood, on his vest, that he chose to die, rather than serve barbarians; for which he was immediately put to death. Another *Chinese* general was then marching, with all speed, to relieve that capital; which the *Tartars* having notice of, set the palace on fire, and retired towards the north; but had their rear almost cut off by him; and from that time never dared to cross the *Kyang*.

f A FEW years after, *Kau-tsung* made a shameful treaty with them, in which he did not scruple to own himself *Chin*, or subject, and *Kong*, or tributary. This peace was, however, broken, in the thirteenth year of his reign, by the *Tartar*, who came again into the southern provinces, with a formidable army, and took the city of *Yang-chew*; but attempting to cross the *Yang-tse-kyang*, near the mouth of it, where it is widest and most rapid, his army mutinied, and slew him, and withdrew with all speed towards the north, where several insurrections began to appear.

KAU-TSUNG resigned his crown to his adopted son, in the eleventh year of his reign, but lived about twenty-five years longer, and died without issue, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

g XI. *HYAU-TSUNG*, descended from the founder of this dynasty, reigned peaceably twenty-seven years; the new *Tartar* king *She-tsung* being of a more pacific disposition than his predecessor. In this reign flourished the great *Chu-bi*, one of the most celebrated interpreters of the antient books, who discharged the greatest functions in the state with honour. *Hyau-tsung* died in the sixty-eight year of his age, and was succeeded by his third son.

Wars against the Lyau-tongians. An end of that kingdom. The Tartars invade China.

Emperor seized and confined. His death.

IX. *Kin-tsung. After Christ, 1126.*

X. *Kau-tsung. After Christ, 1127.*

Invaded by the Tartars.

Nan-king taken.

A shameful peace made them.

Tartar king slain.

XI. *Hyau-tsung. After Christ, 1163.*

XII. QUANG-TSONG died in a fit of an apoplexy, in the fifth year of his reign, and fifty-fourth of his age, and was succeeded by his third son. a

XIII. NING-TSONG, a prince of small abilities, was, with great difficulty, persuaded to accept of the crown, and, when he did, was wholly governed, or rather misguided, by his courtiers. In his reign the imperial palace was set on fire, and burned four days before it could be extinguished; and, some years after, a fire happened in the metropolis, which was *Hang-chew*, which reduced 530,000 houses into ashes.

It was in the twelfth year of *Ning-tsong's* reign that the famed *Jenghiz Khan*, head of the *Western Tartars*, laid the foundation of his vast empire, and gave it the name of *Ywen*, as hath been fully related in a former volume*. In the mean time, the *Kin*, or *Eastern Tartars*, having, according to custom, broken the peace, invaded *China* afresh; upon which *Ning-tsong* entered into a league with the head of the *Western Tartars*, in order to destroy a faithless enemy, which was perpetually disturbing him. This put the *Eastern Tartars* into the utmost consternation, and obliged them to send him new and advantageous offers of peace; but the emperor, incensed at their frequent breach of faith, and confiding more in that of the *Western*, rejected them with scorn (B). *Ning-tsong* reigned thirty years, and died in the fifty-seventh of his age, and was succeeded by *Li-tsong*, another descendant from the founder of this dynasty.

XIV. LI-TSONG was no warlike prince, but rather addicted to learning, and to the whimsies of the sect of *Tau*; but, nevertheless, carried on the war against the faithless *Tartars* with great vigour, in conjunction with his new ally. He took from them the city of *Ho-nan*, where their king kept his court, and next the capital of *Shang-tong*, after a long and bloody siege, in which the *Tartars* were forced to feed on human flesh, their king *Ngai-ti*, in a fit of despair, hanging himself, just before its surrender; which put an end to the empire of the *Eastern Tartars*, after it had continued 117 years, under nine princes. c

NEVERTHELESS, the small remains of that nation, which was then almost destroyed, gave rise to the family which afterwards conquered the *Chinese* empire, and governs it to this day, with so much glory, as will be seen in the sequel. All this time *Li-tsong* only held the southern provinces of *China* under his dominion, whilst the *Western Tartars* had the empire of the north. Their king, called *Kublai*, or *Koplay Khan*, and by the *Chinese* *Ho-pi-lye*, a lover of the sciences, gained the love of his subjects, by the respect he shewed to learned men, and the honours he paid to the memory of *Confucius*. *Li-tsong* reigned forty years, and died without issue, in the sixty-second of his age, and was succeeded by his nephew. d

XV. TU-TSONG had the misfortune to be encouraged in his debauches by a treacherous prime minister, no less vicious than himself, and fell into such pernicious counsels, as proved fatal both to himself and the empire. Many of his faithful ministers having in vain tried, by frequent and pressing memorials, to disengage him from his wicked *Ko-lau*; and, foreseeing the dreadful disasters that were likely to fall on the imperial family, retired to the *Western Tartars*, who were then pursuing their conquests in the north, and had already seized on the provinces of *Yu-nan*, *Se-chwen*, and *Shen-si*, and were entering into that of *Hu-quang*, most of the cities opening their gates to them; whilst *Tu-tsong*, drowned in pleasures, was gradually stripped of his dominions, without knowing any thing of it (C). He reigned ten years, and died in the twenty-fifth of his age, leaving three young children, who seemed only born to be the sport of fortune; the second of whom was raised to the throne. e

XVI. KONG-TSONG being but an infant, the empress, who governed for him, sent an embassy to the *Tartars*, to beg a peace, upon any terms; but received a most haughty refusal. The *Tartar* general, at the head of 200,000 men, went still on with his conquests; and having seized the young emperor, in the second year of his reign, sent him to a desert of *Tartary*, called *Co-bi*, and by the *Chinese* *Sba-mo*, where he died.

XVII. TWANG-TSONG, his elder brother, was next placed on the throne; but the *Tartars* advanced against him with such diligence, as obliged him to go on board his fleet, with such of the lords of his court, and about 130,000 troops, that remained with him, designing to retire into the province of *Fo-kyen*. But being closely pursued by the *Tartars*, both by sea and land, he was forced to fly to the coasts of *Quang-tong*, the most southern province of f

* See before, vol. ii. p. 368. 381. & seq.

(B) We are told, that when the *Tartar* king heard of his offers being so scornfully rejected by the *Chinese* monarch, he said, as speaking to him, "To-day he (the *Western Tartar*) will take my empire from me, and to-morrow yours from you;" which came to pass accordingly (39).

(C) It was about this time that *Marco Paolo*, or *Mark Paul*, a *Venetian* gentleman, came into this country, and travelled through some of the finest provinces of it, and published that description of which we have spoken at the beginning of this chapter (40).

(39) Couplet, *Monarch. Sinic. Tab. Chron.* p. 74. Vide & *Du Halde Engl. sub Ning*, note (E) before, p. 516, & (F). See also the next note.

(40) See

- a the empire, where he died of some disease, in the second year of his reign, and eleventh of his age; and was succeeded by his youngest brother *Ti-ping*, the last remains of the family of *Song*.

XVIII. *TI-PING* was then on board his fleet, which not being able to avoid engaging that of the *Tartars*, a bloody fight ensued, in which the latter gained a complete victory. XVIII. *Ti-ping*. *Lo-syew-se*, the prime minister, to whose care the young emperor, then eight years old, After Christ, 1279. was committed, seeing his ship surrounded by *Tartar* vessels, took him up in his arms, and Forced over-board. leaped with him into the sea. The rest of the grandees, and the distracted empress, followed his example. Nothing was heard but the most dismal outcries; and it is affirmed, that no less than 100,000 *Chinese* perished in this fight, either by the sword, or by water, into which b the greater part threw themselves, in despair.

THIS dreadful catastrophe happened near an island depending on the city of *Quang-chew-fu*, The sad catastrophe of his fleet; and end of that dynasty. or *Canton*, capital of the province of *Quang-tong*.

THUS ended the dynasty of *Song*, and with it the *Chinese* dominion; for *Shi-tsu* (before called *Ho-pi-lye* by the *Chinese*, and *Kublay Khan* by the *Tartars*), who was the fourth son of *Tay-tsu* (or *Jenghiz Khan*, who founded the empire of the *Western Tartars*), took possession of his new conquests, and was the first emperor of this new dynasty†.

The twentieth dynasty, called *Ywen*, consisting of nine emperors, within the space of eighty-nine years. Twentieth Dynasty.

- c I. *SHI-TSU*, founder of this dynasty, though a *Tartar*, and the first foreign prince that ever reigned over the *Chinese* nation, yet found a most effectual way of reconciling them to his government, and even of endearing himself to them, by keeping as close as possible to their ancient laws and customs, by his equity and justice, by his love and regard to learned men, and fatherly tenderness to all his new subjects; inasmuch, that the reign of this family is, to this day, styled by the *Chinese*, the wise government. He even caused a declaration to be published, that all persons should continue in the same posts and dignities which they enjoyed in the preceding reign; though many of the *Chinese* nobles refused his offer, and preferred a voluntary death to an honourable servitude. I. *Shi-tsu*. After Christ, 1281. His excellent government.

- d In the third year of his reign, he formed a design of invading the *Japan* islands with 100,000 men; but miscarried in it, they being all shipwrecked, except four or five persons, who brought him the melancholy news of it. He caused, in the same year, all the books of the impious sect of *Tau* to be burned; and ordered, that there should be but one calendar through the whole empire, which should be compiled at court, and published every year; and forbid all private persons to attempt the like under pain of death. Four years after, his only son, whom he had named his successor, died; and though he left children behind, yet was the emperor inconsolable for his loss. Fatal attempt on Japan. Orders an universal calendar.

- e At his first accession to the *Chinese* crown, he had fixed his court at *Tay-ywen-fu*, the capital of *Sben-si*, but thought fit afterwards to remove it to *Pe-king* (D); and, being informed that the barks which brought the court the tribute of the southern provinces, or carried on the trade of the empire, were obliged to come by sea, and often suffered shipwreck, he caused the famed great canal to be made, which is at present one of the wonders of the *Chinese* empire, it being 300 leagues in length, and forming a great road of water, by which above 9000 imperial barks transport, with ease, and at small expence, the tribute of grain, rice, silks, &c. which is annually paid to the court (E). He reigned fifteen years, and died in the eightieth of his age, and was succeeded by his grandson. Causes the great canal to be made. His death.

- II. *CHING-TSONG*, a mild and wise prince, mitigated the severity of the *Chinese* punishments, lessened the taxes, with which several petty princes had begun to burden the people; but II. *Ching-tsong*. After Christ, 1296.

† See before, vol. ii. p. 537, & seq. & alib. pass.

(D) This metropolis is, by *Marco Paolo*, called *Kambalu*, instead of *Ham-palu*, which, we are told, signifies, in the *Tartaric* tongue, the seal of the king or emperor; which mistake is inconsiderable in a stranger, if it be really one. But the above-mentioned etymon of *Ham* and *palu* is justly questioned; for not *Ham*, but *Han*, or rather *Khan*, signifies a king, in the *Mongol* language, which is originally the same with the *Turkish*; and possibly *palu* may be another mistake for *balik* or *buluk*, which, in the same language, signifies a city (41).

(E) A late missionary (42), who has published a curious abstract of the five first *Mongol* emperors, from the *Chinese* history, tells us, that those historians exaggerate the faults of this great monarch, particularly his fondness for the superstitions of his lamas; but say nothing of his virtues; though it is plain, from what we have said of him above, that he deserved their highest encomiums, on several accounts, besides that of the most useful and noble canal above-mentioned.

(41) See note on *Du Halac*, sub *Shi-tsu*, vol. i. p. 215.

(42) *Souci. Obser. Math. ap. eund. ibid.*

his bad state of health would not permit him to apply so closely to the affairs of the empire, as he was inclined to. He reigned thirteen years, and died in the forty-second of his age, and was succeeded by his nephew.

III.
Vu-tsong.
After Christ,
1309.

III. VU-TSONG was no less admired for his mildness, generosity, and regard to learned men, and, in particular, to the great *Confucius*. Being informed, that gold, silver, grain, silk, and other commodities, were exported into other countries, he forbade it, under the severest penalties. He reigned but four years, and died in the thirty-first of his age, and was succeeded by his brother.

IV.
Jin-tsong.
After Christ,
1313.

IV. JIN-TSONG was still more remarkable for his princely virtues, and great penetration and application to the business of state. He punished with reluctance, and rewarded with singular generosity. He forbade the petty princes to hunt from the fifth to the tenth month of the year, for fear of damaging the product of the earth. He set an extraordinary value on great men, and had them near his person; alleging, *that if he could but make his people happy and prosperous, by their advice, no riches or felicity could be equal to his*. He reigned nine years, and died in the thirty-sixth of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

V.
Ing-tsong.
After Christ,
1322.
Murdered.

V. ING-TSONG inherited all his father's virtues: but was unfortunately assassinated, in the third year of his reign, and thirtieth of his age, as he was entering his tent with his faithful *Ko-lau*, by some wicked villains, who were conscious of some enormous crimes, and in dread of a condign punishment. He was succeeded by the eldest son of *King-byen-tsong*.

VI.
Tay-ting.
After Christ,
1325.
Sundry calamities during his reign.

VI. TAY-TING, upon his mounting the throne, not only put the murderers to the most severe deaths, but exterminated their families. In his reign happened some very severe calamities, as earthquakes, falling of mountains, overflowing of rivers, droughts, conflagrations, &c. during which he gave signal proofs of his love for his subjects, by the timely aid he gave to them. He forbade likewise entrance into his dominions to all the Bonzas or Lamas of *Tibet*, who used to come in swarms, and, going from house to house, were a great burden to the people.

He reigned five years, and died in the thirty-sixth of his age, and the estates chose his second son to succeed him; but he refusing to accept of the crown, which, he said, belonged to his eldest brother *Ming-tsong*, who was then in *Tartary*, they sent for him from thence, and proclaimed him emperor.

VII.
Ming-tsong,
proclaimed,
and dies.

VII. MING-TSONG, upon his accession, gave a grand entertainment to the court; but, in the midst of it, was suddenly struck with death, not without strong suspicion of his being poisoned; and his brother, who had refused the crown, was chosen in his stead.

VIII.
Ven-tsong.
After Christ,
1330.
Sends for the Lamas of Tartary.

VIII. VEN-TSONG proved a wise and affable prince, open to the wise counsels of his ministers; but was guilty of a weakness unbecoming his dignity, in receiving the Lama or chief Bonza of *Tibet* into his place, and suffering his nobles to pay him their honours, on their knees, and presenting him with wine, whilst the haughty priest received them, without making the least return (F).

He reigned but three years, and died in the twenty-ninth of his age, and was succeeded by *Ning-tsong*, the son of *Ming-tsong*, the seventh monarch of this dynasty; but as he reigned but two months, he is not reckoned among the other emperors. He was succeeded by his elder brother *Shun-ti*, who was fetched from the province of *Shen-si*, and placed on the throne.

IX.
Shun-ti.
After Christ,
1333.
Degenerates.

IX. SHUN-TI was the last of this *Tartar* race that reigned in *China*. Those princes, enervated by the pleasures of that fine and fruitful country, easily degenerating from the valour of their ancestors; whilst the *Chinese*, growing gradually brave and warlike by their subjection, deprived them of their conquest, and drove them clear out of their empire. *Shun-ti*, though otherwise a prince of great parts, was lulled into a downright indolence and effeminacy, by his favourite *Ko-lau*; and, to complete his misfortunes, sent for the Lamas of *Tartary*, who quickly filled his palace with female singers and dancers, and introduced idolatry and magic, together with lewdness and debauchery, which quite bereaved the young prince of the little valour that was left.

Chû leads the revolt against him.

In the fourteenth year of his reign, a *Chinese*, named *Chû*, who had been a servant in a monastery of Bonzas, going over to a numerous company of revolters, became their chief,

(F) The proud Lama did, it seems, receive all these honours, without stirring off his seat; which inspired one of the nobles with such disdain, that he addressed him in a quite different manner: "Honest man," said he to him, "I know that you are the disciple of *Fo*, and master of the Bonzas; but you don't know, perhaps, that I am a disciple of *Confucius*, and one of

"the chief among the Literati of the empire; and it is fit I should acquaint you with it, and advise you to lay aside all this ceremony." This saying, he offered him the cup standing; upon which the Lama thought fit to stand up, and, with a smile, took the cup from him, and drank it (43).

(43) Du Halde, in *Ven-tsong*.

and

a and made a surprising advantage of the present juncture, making himself master of many considerable cities, and next of the provinces; and, in a celebrated battle, defeated the imperial army sent against him. His great success soon drew vast numbers of *Chinese* into his army, with which, having crossed the *Yellow River* without opposition, he easily subdued every place that came in his way, and meeting at length with the imperial army, cut it all in pieces. The emperor was forced to flee towards the north, where he died two years after, having reigned thirty-five; and with him ended the *Tartar* dynasty of *Ywen*, which was succeeded by that of *Ming*, founded by *Chü* above-mentioned, who, upon his mounting the throne, took the name of *Tay-tsü*. His success, and end of the Tartar dynasty.

The twenty-first dynasty, called Ming, containing sixteen emperors, within the space of two hundred and seventy-six years. Twenty first dynasty.

b I. **TAY-TSU**, formerly named *Chü*, and *Hong-vu*, mounted the throne with a general applause, and fixed his court at *Nan-king*; and, the year following, made himself master of *Pe king*, after one day's siege, erecting that country into a sovereignty, which he gave to his fourth son. He likewise honoured his father, grandfather, &c. with the title of emperor; and then enacted some wholesome laws, to preserve the national tranquility (G). His court was soon crowded with ambassadors, who came from all parts, to congratulate him, particularly from *Japan*, *Korea*, *Formosa*, the *Philippine*, and other southern islands. But the joy that reigned at his palace was soon after allayed by the death of his empress, to whose wise counsels, he said, he owed the crown. He was a prince of great wisdom and penetration; and his piety was no less conspicuous in time of drought, when, they tell you, he hath gone and staid three whole days upon a high mountain, and by his prayers hath obtained plenty of rain. He had taken likewise special care to breed up his son in such excellent manner, that he might prove a father to his people; but the unexpected death of that promising young prince did so overwhelm him with grief, that he mourned for him three whole years, contrary to his own law. He reigned thirty-one years, and died in the seventy-first of his age, and was succeeded by his grandson, then but thirteen years old. I. Tay-tsü: After Christ, 1368. Excellent government. Piety. Grief for his son. Death.

d II. **KYEN-VEN-TI** gave early marks of an excellent disposition, by remitting one third of the taxes, and other popular acts; but his uncles, ill brooking the preference that was given to him, which was ascribed to the intrigues of the *Ko-lau* of the late emperor, soon raised great disturbances in the empire. *Young lo*, in particular, who had been raised to the sovereignty to *Pe-king*, took up arms against him, and a bloody battle was fought between him and the imperial army; which was soon followed with new offers of peace on the court side: but *Young-lo* refused to hearken to any, unless the emperor's ministers were delivered up to him. This not being granted, he marched directly to the imperial city, where, the gates being opened to him by a traitor, he committed a most horrid slaughter, and reduced the imperial palace to ashes. The body of the young monarch being brought, half consumed by the flames, to the conqueror, drew a flood of tears from him; and he ordered him to be interred with all the pomp due to his rank. But, this did not allay his resentment against his ministers, many of whom he put to most cruel deaths; whilst others chose to kill themselves; or to escape his fury in the habit of Bonzas. Thus perished that young monarch, in the fourth year of his reign, and seventeenth of his age, and was succeeded by *Young-lo*, who then took the name of *Ching-tsü*, and seized on the crown. II. Kyen-ven-ti. After Christ, 1399. Invaded by Young-lo. Burned his own palace.

e III. **CHING-TSU** was a generous and magnanimous prince, but much dreaded, on account of the cruelties with which he began his reign. He obliged a great number of Bonzas, who had taken the habit before they were forty years old, to quit their convents; and ordered all the books of chemistry, which treated of the immortalizing liquor, to be burnt. In the seventh year of his reign, he removed his court from *Nan-king* to *Pe-king*, leaving his son in the former, with the same number of courts and ministers as were established in the latter. III. Ching-tsü. After Christ, 1403.

(G) Among which, the following ones were the most important; viz.

1. That those who possessed sovereignties, should not extend their power beyond their own territories, nor meddle with public affairs.

2. That the eunuchs should be excluded from all employments, civil and military.

3. That the women should not be suffered to turn

Bonzesses, nor men to turn Bonzas, before the age of forty years.

4. That the antient and modern laws should be reduced into one body, of 300 volumes. It was, we are told; a whole century before that work appeared.

5. That the twenty-seven months of mourning for the death of a parent should be reduced to twenty-seven days (44).

(44) *Du Halde, sub Tay-tsü.*

An excellent
saying.

IV.
Jin-tsong.
After Christ,
1426.

His strange
death.

V.
Swen-tsong.
After Christ,
1427.
Invaded by the
Tartars.
Imperial pa-
lace burnt.
A new mixed
metal produced.

VI.
Ing-tsong.
After Christ,
1437.

Defected and
carried pri-
soner.

Two instances
of Tartarian
perfidy.

VII.
King ti.
After Christ,
1451.

He encouraged learned men, and caused some philosophical works to be published, expository of the antient classical books. When some fine precious stones were brought to him from a mine lately discovered, he ordered it to be shut up; alleging, *it only fatigued his people with useless toil; whereas those stones, however valued, could neither feed nor cloath them in times of scarcity.* He reigned twenty-three years, and died in the sixty-third of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

IV. JIN-TSONG gave early instances of his tenderness and liberty, in the speedy relief he sent to the province of *Ssang-song*, then labouring under a famine (H). He was likewise much given to astrology; and having spent a whole night in observing the stars, and found some uncommon change in the heavens, sent for his two *Ko-laus*, and told them, that his life was at an end and gave them some signal marks of his love and gratitude for their fidelity to him. His son, then at *Nan-king*, was sent for with all speed; but came too late to receive his last commands. He had reigned but a few months, and died in the forty-eighth year of his age. And this year is reckoned to the reign of his son, contrary to the Chinese custom, which includes that of the emperor's death with those of his reign.

V. SWEN-TSONG was attacked by the *Tartars*, who had made an irruption into the empire; but were severely repulsed, and defeated by him. Some years after, the king of *Cochin-China*, whom he had nominated to that dignity, being slain by a band of rebels, these immediately sent an ambassy to crave pardon for it. *Swen-tsong* not being then able to send an army against them, without great inconveniency, not only granted them pardon, but sent them home with some titles of honour. About the same time, the palace having took fire, burnt with such violence several days, that great quantities of gold, silver, copper, tin, and other metals, which were melted together, formed a mass of a mixed metal, which, like that which is reported to have happened at *Corinth*, hath been much esteemed ever since, and bears a very great price. *Swen-tsong* reigned ten years, and died in the thirty-eighth of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

VI. ING-STONG, then but nine years old, and under the guardianship of the empress and court eunuchs, began his reign with rebuilding the nine gates of the imperial city; and, in the third year, forbade any honour to be paid to *Confucius* in the idol temples. In the mean time, the *Tartars*, taking the advantage of his youth, made continual inroads into his northern provinces; against whom he marched, in the fourteenth year of his reign, at the head of a powerful army, even beyond the great wall, but his forces, weakened by want of provision, were totally defeated, and he taken prisoner, and carried into the furthestmost part of *Tartary*. The court, in the greatest consternation at the news, placed his son, then but two years old, on the throne, under the guardianship of the captive prince's brother, who soon seized on the throne. In the mean time, the empress having sent a great quantity of gold, silver, silks, &c. to ransom the emperor, the *Tartar* conducted him to the frontiers of *China*; but there pretending that the ransom was too small, and being, perhaps, bought by the brother on the throne, conducted him back, in a few days, into *Tartary*. He reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his brother.

VII. KING TI mounted the throne; but an agreement being soon after made for the release of the emperor, some of the grandees went to receive him on the frontiers. Here the *Tartar* pretended a-new, that the retinue was too small to accompany so great a monarch; and insisted that a greater number should come, and in greater pomp: but the emperor forbade it, and sent the court word, that he renounced the empire, and designed to end his days in solitude; and, to avoid all ceremony, entered the capital by a private gate. Here the two brothers having embraced each other, with great tenderness, *King ti*, attended by the whole court, accompanied him to the south palace, which he had chosen for his retirement.

KING-TI had, by this time, resolved to declare his own son his successor; but that was opposed by the prime minister (I); and the young prince dying about a year after, and himself being soon after taken ill of an incurable disease, *Ing-tsong*, was again

(H) It being represented to him, by his ministers, that it would be proper for him to consult the tribunals about the means of relieving so much people, he replied, "When my subjects are in distress, we ought to fly to their relief, with the same speed as we would to stop an inundation, or extinguish a fire;" and, upon their reminding him that a distinction ought to be made between those who stood in more or less need of relief, "With all my heart, he said; but let them not be too nice and dilatory in their scrutiny, nor be afraid of exceeding my intentions, by being too liberal."

(I) *King-ti* had designed to declare his son his suc-

cessor on the next birth-day; and, willing to try how the prime minister would take it, said to him one day, "The birth-day of the prince my heir falls on the second day of the seventh moon." To which the *Ko-lau* replied, "Give me leave to tell you, that it is the first day of the eleventh moon." Plainly intimating thereby the birth-day of *Ing-tsong*, who was the lawful emperor. Upon which *King-ti* let aside all further thoughts about his own son.

As *Ing-tsong* did afterwards resume the empire, *Du Halde*, and others, have made two reigns of it, though but one monarch: we have only followed the series as it happened, without the needless addition.

brought

a brought out of the southern palace, and re-ascended throne, a year before his brother's death.

KING-TI had reigned seven years, and, upon his death, the emperor was desired to stigmatize his memory, and to have his name erased out of all public records, as a punishment for his usurpation: but he rejected the proposal, and contented himself with ordering his funeral obsequies to be performed only as for an emperor's brother. After that, he reigned seven-years longer, and died in the thirty-first of his age, and left the crown to his eldest son.

VIII. HYEN-TSONG, who was the son of the second queen, owed the crown to the empress's barrenness, and proved a warlike prince, and frequently defeated the plundering Tartars, who were often making inroads into his territories. The king of Korea, about that time, proposed an easier method of paying his homage to him, than by sending an embassy; but he absolutely rejected it. He reigned twenty-three years, and died in the forty-first of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son Hong-chi, who since assumed the name of Hyau-tsong. VIII.
Hyen-tsong.
After Christ,
1465.

IX. HYAU-TSONG was much addicted to the superstitions of the Bonzaic sect; yet, in the eighth year of his reign, one of the most considerable of them, having been the ring-leader of a rebellion, and being taken prisoner, was executed, without regard to his function. About the same time, a famine raged through several of the western provinces, to such a degree, that the parents were known to eat their own children; whilst as grievous a pestilence, a calamity scarcely known in China, raged and laid waste the eastern ones. These were followed with such terrible earthquakes, that many thousands of people were buried alive. The latter end of this reign was no less remarkable for the irruptions and depredations which the Tartars made in the empire, and at length, for the death of the emperor, in the eighteenth year of his reign. He was succeeded by his son Vu-tsong, whom he had caused to be proclaimed his successor, with great pomp, five years after his coming to the crown. IX.
Hyau-tsong.
After Christ,
1488.
Dreadful calamities all over the empire.

X. VU-TSONG, a wilful and debauched prince, enjoyed but a very uneasy reign; the calamities of the former still continuing, and he deaf to all advice that was given him towards a remedy. At length several provinces, particularly those of Shang-tong and Ho-nang, oppressed with famine and heavy taxes, revolted, in a kind of despair, and, like an irresistible torrent, spread dread and devastation where-ever they came; and if any forces were sent against them, they only put a stop to the evil for the present, to break out soon after with greater fury. X.
Vu-tsong.
After Christ,
1506.
His unhappy reign,

In the thirteenth year of his reign, he took it into his head to march against the ravaging Tartars incognito; and he was, with great difficulty, diverted from the dangerous project, by one of his Ko-laus (K). The next year, he resolved to retire into the southern provinces, from which his ministers all joined to dissuade him; alleging, that it would be interpreted by the Tartars as a shameful flight; and so exasperated was he at their opposition, that he suffered them to continue, on their knees, five whole days before his palace, notwithstanding the badness of the weather. At length, a sudden inundation which followed, and was by him looked upon as portending of some evil, made him relax, and set aside this project also. He reigned sixteen years; and, a little before his death, sent for the grandees, and appointed his empress guardian to his second son, then thirteen years old, whom he appointed his successor, and died in the thirty-first year of his age. and death.

XI. SHI-TSONG, or Kya-tsing, began his reign with several public acts (L); such as, repairing the great wall, relieving his subjects during the scarcity, and enacting some wholesome laws; but is much blamed for his fondness for poetry, for the superstitions of the Bonzas, and, in particular, for the immortalizing liquor, which he caused to be sought for far and near. The Tartars, having invaded his territories, were totally defeated, and above 200 officers taken prisoners. The next year, their king sent to beg pardon, and to ask leave for his subjects to come into China to sell their horses; which was granted at first; but, as that commerce was like to prove a continual source of quarrels between the Mandarins and the merchants, it was absolutely forbid again. XI.
Shi-tsong.
After Christ,
1522.
His success against the Tartars,

ABOUT the thirty-fourth year of his reign, the Japanese shook off their homage to him, and about 4000 made a descent into the province of Che-kyang; but were either destroyed, or forced to flee to their ships. The next year, 10,000 more came on the same errand, and met a worse fate, they being all cut off to a man. This did not prevent their making fresh attempts in the following years; but still with the same ill success. and Japanese.

(K) He was so provoked at their opposing his mad project, that he drew his scymetar to slay the first that spoke another word against it; upon which one of those Ko-laus stretching out his neck towards him, as if to receive the blow, quite allayed his passion, and made him open his eyes to the danger of his design.

(L) The famine and poverty then raging, obliging many parents to prostitute their daughters, two young maids, to avoid the disgrace, drowned themselves; which, when the emperor knew, he erected a fine monument to their memory, giving them the title of *The two illustrious virgins*.

His ill conduct
complained
against.

Strange death.

XII.
Mo-tsung.
After Christ,
1567.

XIII.
Shin-tsung.
After Christ,
1573.
His excellent
reign.

A dreadful fa-
mine.

Tartars de-
feated.

A new famine.

Japanese fall
upon Korea.

Their chief
obtains the
title of king.

Tartars in-
vade China.

TOWARDS the latter end of his reign, a severe memorial was presented to him, complaining of his ill conduct almost in every branch of his government, and more particularly of his extravagant search after the immortalizing liquor. He had no sooner read it, than he trampled it under his feet, in the first fally of his passion; but, growing cold again, he took it up, and, upon a second reading, shewed some signal tokens of remorse. He did not live long enough, however, to give any further proofs of it; for, falling sick a few days after, he had no sooner drank the pretended liquor, than he expired, in the forty-fifth year of his reign, and fifty-eighth of his age, and was succeeded by his son.

XII. MO-TSUNG, alias *Shin-tsung*, began his reign with releasing some of those whom his father had too severely imprisoned, and with other acts of clemency; but could never brook the advice of ministers, and often degraded them for it. He repealed, in part, the law which forbids the subjects having any employments in their own native provinces, by excluding out of it inferior Mandarins, tax-gatherers, and inspectors over literature. He fell sick in the sixth year of his reign; and putting his son, then but ten years old, under the guardianship of the empress, and of the *Ko-lau Chang-kyû-ching*, declared him his successor, and died not long after. That prince was called *Van-lye*, but, upon his accession to the crown, took the name of *Shin-tsung*.

XIII. SHING-TSUNG shewed an excellent disposition, and prudence much above his years, and paid the utmost regard to his master *Chang-kyû-ching*, and behaved with singular assiduity, justice, and uprightness, in every branch of his government: and every day, from four in the morning, applied himself to examine and answer the petitions that were presented the day before: and, for the greater ease and conveniency of his subjects, ordered a book to be printed every three months, containing the names, rank, degree, and country, of every Mandarin in the empire; which custom is still observed. He married in the seventh year of his reign, and immediately his wife was proclaimed empress.

THREE years after there was such a dreadful famine in the province of *Shan-si*, that numberless people died of hunger; insomuch that sixty great pits were dug in different places, each of which held 1000 dead bodies, and, on that account, were called *Van-jin-keng*. The same year was remarkable for a great defeat of the *Tartars*, of whom 10,000 were killed on the spot; but much more for the death of the prime minister *Chang-kyû-ching*, whom the emperor caused to be interred with great pomp, and singular marks of honour. These, however, proved of but short duration; his enemies laying such accusations against the deceased about two years after, that both he and his posterity were deprived of all their titles; their estates confiscated; and his son, either through grief or fear, killed himself. A grievous frost, which happened in the eleventh year of his reign, and had congealed the greatest rivers, invited again the plundering *Tartars* into *China*, who were most of them cut off. The famine, which followed soon after, obliged that monarch often to address himself to heaven for relief, and to contribute largely to the assistance of his subjects; but when it was represented to him, that his misconduct, and the avarice of the ministers of his court, drew these calamities down upon his people, he not only proved deaf to their remonstrances, but punished the authors of them (M).

ABOUT the twenty-first year of his reign, the *Japanese* broke into the kingdom of *Korea*, seized on several cities, and put all to fire and sword where-ever they came. The king himself was obliged to flee; but having soon after obtained a seasonable succour from the emperor, intirely routed them. After this defeat, they sent an ambassy to the emperor, to beg his pardon for the irruption, and to intreat him that he would bestow some title upon their chief. Both which were granted; and the title of *Je-pwen-wang*, which signifies king of *Japan*, was given to him; but with express orders, that he should send no more ambassies to *China*. By this time the *Nyu-che*, or eastern *Tartars*, who were become formidable, and divided into seven dynasties, after a long and bloody war, coalesced into one, under one prince, who laid the foundation of a new kingdom. As to the *Tan-yu*, or western *Tartars*, they lived peaceably within their own territories, without making any further inroads into *China*.

IN the forty-fourth year of his reign, the chief of the *Tartars*, highly incensed at the insolence with which the *Chinese* Mandarins treated his merchants trading into *Lyau-tong*, and much more at their treacherously seizing on their prince, and cutting off his head, resolved now to seize on some of the *Chinese* cities which lay most convenient for him; and accordingly the son of the deceased king, named *Tyen-ming*, entered the province of *Lyau-tong*

(M) During these troubles, a comet also appeared towards the east, which was thought to portend still some greater disasters to the empire; upon which a *Ko-lau*, named *Song-guen*, presented a memorial to the emperor, setting forth, that the figure of the meteor forewarned him to rid his court of certain ministers,

who took bribes, and preserved their posts by the basest flattery. For this he was condemned to death by the exasperated monarch; but, his son coming to him, and begging he might be permitted to lay down his life to save his father's, *Shing-tong* relented, and changed his sentence into that of banishment.

a at the head of a powerful army, and took the city of *Kay-ywen*; but at the same time sent a letter, with his complaints, to the emperor, offering to restore the city, and lay down his arms, upon proper satisfaction being made for such a cruel injury. The Mandarins, to whom the emperor communicated the letter, slighting it so far as not to vouchsafe an answer to it, so exasperated the *Tartar* prince, that he vowed to sacrifice 200,000 *Chinese* to the ghost of his murdered father. He accordingly marched with an army of 50,000 men into the province of *Pe-cheli* in triumph, with a design to attack the imperial city; but, being repulsed by the *Chinese* forces, he retired into *Lyau-tong*, where he assumed the title of emperor of *China*. Two years after, having, by a stratagem, drawn the *Chinese* forces farther towards *Tartary*, he surrounded them at once, and made a dreadful slaughter among them; and their general was found among the slain. On the next year the emperor opposed them with a powerful army, and 12,000 auxiliaries out of *Korea*; and a long and obstinate battle was fought; in which the *Tartars* being at last victorious, marched directly towards *Pe-king*; which threw the court into such consternation, that the emperor would have retired into the southern provinces, had not his ministers represented to him how much such a shameful flight would inspire the enemy, and dishearten his subjects. Under these disasters the emperor died, in the forty-eighth year of his reign, and fifty-eighth of his age, and was succeeded by his son *Quang-tsung*, who, upon his accession, took the name of *Tay-chang*.

XIV. TAY-CHANG died in a month after, and, as is supposed, though the neglect of his physician; but appointed his eldest son *Tyen-ki* to succeed him, who thereupon took the name of *Hi-tsung*.

c XV. HI-TSUNG, though a timorous prince, and too much swayed by his court-eunuchs, yet made a vigorous opposition against the *Tartars*; augmented his forces, sent for fresh auxiliaries from *Korea*, and saw his army reinforced from several quarters; particularly by an Amazonian lady, at the head of several thousand men, which she had brought from the province of *Se-chwen*, where her son held a small sovereignty. He also fitted out a powerful fleet, in order to humble the enemy both by sea and land; and, upon this occasion, he sent to *Ma-kau* for some *Portuguese* engineers, to serve the artillery, to which the *Chinese* were very little used; but, before they came, the *Tartars* were driven out of the province of *Lyau-tong*, and the capital recovered from them; so much the more easily, as the inhabitants detested the cruelty of *Tyen-ming*, and he was then engaged in another war in *Tartary*. He was, however, no sooner returned from that expedition, than he renewed the siege of that city with fresh vigour; in which the *Chinese* lost 30,000 men, and he 20,000, and at last carried it by means of a traitor. As soon as he was master of it, he published an edict, commanding all the *Chinese*, under pain of death, to shave their heads after the *Tartar* fashion; upon which several thousands of them chose rather to lose their heads than their hair. In the mean time one of the ablest *Chinese* generals, named *Mau-ven-long*, being sent with fresh troops against the *Tartars*, so strongly fortified the citadel of *Shang-hay*, that he made it impregnable, and, by that means, shut up the entrance into *China* from *Tartary*.

d THE third year of *Hi-tsung*'s reign was dreadfully disturbed by crowds of robbers and seditious people, whose number and rapines daily increased; and the next year was remarkable for the Christian monument dug out near the capital of *Shen-si*, and mentioned in a former section; as also for the death of the emperor, in the seventh year of his reign, and thirty-second of his age; who was succeeded by his brother *Tsong-chin*, or *Zun-ching*, since called *Whay-tsung*, the fifth son of *Quang-tsung*.

e IN the same year died *Tyen-ming*, the king of the *Tartars*; a prince, who according to the *Chinese* account, was distinguished chiefly for his fierceness; and was succeeded by his son *Tyen-tsung*, who proved the reverse of his father, and a prince of great clemency, meekness, and goodness.

f XVI. WHAY-TSUNG, the last emperor of the *Chinese* race, and more commonly known by the name of *Zun-ching*, was a great lover of sciences, and a favourer of the Christians, though he continued still bigotted to the Bonzaic superstitions. He had most of the princely qualities that could render him capable of governing; was an enemy to luxury, and to the court-eunuchs, and took the most effectual way to remove them (N), even from the very beginning

* See before, p. 547, & (L).

(N) He had at first forbid all his Mandarins to have any conversation with them; and soon after gave them leave to go and visit their native country for a month; and money to defray their journey, and afterwards sent them an express prohibition to return.

There was one among them, named *Ghey-tsung*, who had raised himself in the former reigns to the highest pitch of power, wealth, and insolence; but upon this

emperor's mounting the throne, whom he knew to be an enemy to the whole tribe, dispatched himself by poison, to avoid a more severe punishment; upon which his immense riches were confiscated, his body torn in pieces by the populace, and the temples and monuments which his flatterers had reared to his honour, levelled with the ground.

Betrayed by
his general.

Mau-ven-
long poisoned.

Ywen stran-
gled.

Tyen-tsung's
death.

His son brought
up among the
Chinese.

The emperor
abandoned.

Revolters
every-where.

Kau-fong be-
sieged by Li.

Drowned by
accident.

Li assumes the
imperial title.

Enters Pe-
king.

The emperor
hangs himself.

of his reign. In the mean time the revolvers multiplying in the provinces, whilst his forces were engaged against the *Tartars*, he resolved to make peace with the latter, that he might the more effectually suppress the former; and, to that end, sent one of his generals, named *Ywen*, into *Tartary*, at the head of an army, with full power to negotiate a peace; but that traitor made one on such shameful terms, that the emperor refused to ratify it; upon which he took the following method to oblige him to it:

MAU-VEN-LONG, the faithful and expert general mentioned under the last reign, was then at the head of the imperial forces, and him the villain invited to a feast, and poisoned; and then sent word to the *Tartars* to march directly to *Pe-king* by a different road from that which he took with his army; which they did, without meeting with any opposition, and laid siege to that capital. *Ywen* was thereupon ordered to its relief; which he did, not suspecting that his perfidy was found out; and, upon his arrival, was put to the torture, and then strangled; which the *Tartars* no sooner knew, than they raised the siege, and returned into *Liau-tong*, laden with the richest plunder.

IN the eighth year of *Wba-tsung*'s reign died *Tyn-tsung*, king of *Tartary*, and was succeeded by his son *Tsong-te*, father of the founder of the following dynasty, and a mild and affable prince, who had been privately brought up from his infancy among the *Chinese*, and was a perfect master of their language and learning, as well as of their genius and customs; all which gained him the love and esteem of the *Chinese* generals and Mandarins, who insensibly fell off from the emperor, whose ill success had quite altered his temper, and rendered him thoughtful, uneasy, diffident, and cruel. This and the following year proving a series of robberies, murders, and intestine wars, the revolvers grew to such a height, that they composed no less than four armies commanded by as many generals, who were however reduced soon after to two, named *Li* and *Chang*. These agreed to divide the provinces between them: *Chang*, taking the western ones of *Se-chwen* and *Hu-quang*, left *Li* to seize on part of *Sben-fi*, and then of *Ho-nan*, whose capital, named *Kay-fong*, he laid siege to, but was repulsed with loss. He renewed it six months after, with no better success; the besieged chusing to feed on human flesh, rather than surrender to a rebel. The imperial forces coming soon after to its assistance, their general made no doubt of drowning the whole rebel army, by breaking down the dikes of the *Yellow River*; but, by ill fortune, they had time to escape to the mountains; whilst the city, which lay lower than the river, was quite overflowed; by which unforeseen accident about 300,000 of its inhabitants perished.

AFTER this disaster, *Li* marched into the provinces of *Sben-fi* and *Ho-nan*, where he put to death all the Mandarins, exacted great sums from the officers in place, and shewed no favour to any but to the populace, whom he freed from all taxes: by this means he drew so many of the imperial army into his interest, that he thought himself powerful enough to assume the title of emperor. He next advanced towards the imperial city, which, though strongly garrisoned, was divided into factions; and into which he had found means to convey a sufficient number of his own men in disguise, who were to open the gates to him soon after his first appearance. They did so accordingly on the third day, and he entered the city in triumph, at the head of 300,000 men; whilst the infatuated emperor kept himself shut up in his palace, ignorant of what was done without it, and only busying himself with his Bonzaic superstitions. It was not long, however, before he found himself betrayed; and, under the greatest consternation, made an effort to get out of the palace, with about 600 of his guards. He was still more surprised to see himself treacherously abandoned by them, and deprived of all hopes of escaping the fury and insults of his rebel subjects; so that, preferring death to the disgrace of falling alive into their hands, he forthwith retired with his beloved empress^b (*Du Halde* says, only the young princess his daughter) into a private and distant part of the garden, or, according to *Palafox*, into a small wood, without being able to utter a word to her, such was the excess of his grief. That princess, however, too well apprehended his meaning; and, after a few tender, but silent embraces, retired into the wood, and there hanged herself in a silken string. The emperor, pierced to the heart at the doleful sight, staid only to write these words on the border of his vest: *I have been basely deserted by my subjects; do what you will with me, but spare my people*; which being done, he cut off the young princess's head with one stroke of his scymetar, and hanged himself on another tree, in the seventeenth year of his reign, and thirty-sixth of his age (O). His prime minister, queens, and faithful eunuchs, soon followed his

^b Vide DU HALDE, vol. i. p. 266, & seq. & PALAFOX, sup. citat.

(O) *Palafox* (45) adds, that the unhappy monarch, being quite chilled with horror, called for a glass of wine, though at all other times averse to that liquor; and, having drank it, bit with his own teeth one of his fingers, till the blood gushed out, and wrote with it, not the abovementioned short sentence, but a long and more

a his example, and killed themselves^c; and with his life ended the *Chinese* monarchy, to give place to that of the *Tartars*, who have reigned over the whole empire ever since with an absolute sway. *The sad catastrophe of his family.*

It was not till after some time, and with great difficulty, that the body of the unfortunate *Wbay-tsung* was found, which, when brought, and laid before the rebel *Li*, as he sat upon the throne, the inhuman wretch used with the utmost indignity; after which he caused two of his sons, and all his ministers, to be beheaded; only his eldest son happily escaped by flight. *His body insulted, and his sons murdered, by Li.* It is scarcely credible how soon every one submitted to the usurper; and prince *U-san ghbey*, who commanded the imperial forces in the province of *Lyau-tong*, was the only one who refused to acknowledge him, which obliged him to march against him at the head of a powerful army; and, having invested the place where he was governor, the more effectually to move him to surrender, shewed him his father loaden with fetters; and swore that he should be instantly sacrificed, if he refused to submit. *U-san-ghbey opposes him.* The brave *U-san-ghbey*, when he beheld his father in that condition, from the top of the city-walls, burst out into a flood of tears; and, falling on his knees, prayed to heaven to forgive him, if he sacrificed his filial duty to his allegiance to his prince; and the good old gentleman, applauding his son's noble resolution, submitted to his fate, and was accordingly put to death. *Noble resolution.* *U-san-ghbey*, resolving at once to revenge his prince and his father's death, immediately struck up a peace with the *Manchew* or eastern *Tartars*, and invited them to his assistance against the usurper and his rebellious forces; which *Invites the eastern Tartars.* *Tsong-te*, their king, easily consented to, and, without any delay, joined him with an army of 80,000 men; upon which the usurper raised the siege, and marched directly to *Pe-king*. Not thinking himself safe there, he plundered and burnt the palace, and, with the immense treasure he had got, fled with his troops into the province of *Shen-si*, no less loaden with the curses of the people, than with the spoil of the imperial city (P). *Li burns and plunders the palace.*

Tsong-te died almost as soon as he had set foot in *China*, after he had declared his son *Sun-tsong te's son* his brother *A-ma-van*. The young prince was presently after conducted to *Pe-king*; and received with the acclamations of the people, as their great deliverer. Nothing was heard on all sides but the shouts of *Van-swi! Van-swi! Long may he live! long live the emperor! may he live a thousand years!* This memorable revolution, which put a final end both to the twenty-first dynasty, and to the *Chinese* government, and made way a second time for that of the eastern *Tartar*, happened in the twenty-first year of the seventy-third cycle, which answers to that of Christ 1644 (Q). *End of the Chinese monarchy.*

WHAT became of the traitor *Li*, and of his army and immense treasure, is not certainly known. Some say that he retired with them into the province of *Shen-si*, one of the six which he had made himself master of; and that he settled and fortified himself in it, the best he could, against the new conqueror: others think that he was slain in an engagement by *U-san-ghbey*. However that be, we hear no more of him from the time of his retreat from *Pe-king*;

^c See DU HALDE, & al. ubi sup.

more mournful epistle, in which he complains of the treachery of his officers, but absolves his subjects of the guilt, and prays that they may escape the punishment of it. He deeply laments the ruin of his empire, which had flourished in such power and splendor so long a series of centuries; and the extinction of his antient and royal family, who had held it so long, and with so much glory; and concludes, that, since he hath lived to see the loss and ruin of them, and of all that was valuable in life, he thought it high time to put an end to it. But that author mentions nothing of his cutting off his daughter's head, as *Du Halde* doth (46).

(P) The villain, who had hitherto hardly encountered with any but unarmed and disheartened enemies, and had succeeded more by treachery than valour, was so exasperated to see himself now opposed not only by the imperial army, but by a much more numerous and warlike one of the *Tartars*, that, not content to give up that rich metropolis to be plundered by his rebellious troops, whilst he did the same by the imperial palace, he vented his rage on the inhabitants by the most bloody and execrable cruelties during his short stay; and that under pretence of punishing them for those remaining faint sparks of loyalty which they had dared to shew for

their lawful sovereign, which rather consisted in an universal abhorrence they testified, than in any resistance they ventured to make against him.

What forces the king of *Tartary* brought with him into *China*, we are not told; except, in general terms, that they were without number, both of horse and foot. They were commanded by the three uncles of that young monarch, who served him so faithfully with their wise counsels as well as valour, and behaved with such moderation and equity towards the *Chinese*, as the more easily reconciled them to his government (47).

(Q) The *Chinese* historians, or at least our *European* memoirs from them, have not been so careful to transmit to us the year and month of the *Tartar* and his army entering into *China*, nor the length of the reign and life of this last *Chinese* emperor. We are only told in general, that, after their arrival, the conquest of the whole empire was completed in three years and some months; and that *Quang-tong*, or *Can-ton*, the last city which surrendered to them, was not taken by them till *January* 1647; from which it is probable to suppose, that they entered about the end of the year 1643, and that the new emperor was crowned some time in the year above-mentioned (48).

(46) *Annals*, page 227. *Du Halde, & al.*

(47) *Palafox*, ubi sup. ch. 2. & seq.

(48) *Conf. Palafox*,

and so shall have done with him with this remark, that his name and memory are to this day held in execration both by the *Chinese* and *Tartars*. It is now time to pass on to

22d dynasty. The twenty-second dynasty, named *Tsing*, now reigning, and containing at present three emperors.

I.
Shun-chi.
After Christ,
1664.
U-san-ghey
made king.

Korea invaded
by the em-
peror.

Submits to
him.

Hong-quang
strangled.

I. SHUN-CHI, or *Xun-chi*, began his new reign with rewarding the noble *U-san-ghey*, by bestowing upon him the dignity of king, and title of *Ping-si*, which signifies the pacifier of the west; and assigned to him the city of *Si-gnan-fu*, capital of *Shen-si*, for his residence, which had been lately ravaged with fire and sword by the usurper *Li*. But this did not hinder *U-san-ghey* from sorely repenting of his error and rashness in calling the *Tartars* to his assistance against that tyrant, or, as he himself used to phrase it, *in sending for lions to drive away dogs*. In the mean while the young monarch, who was now absolute master of the northern provinces (R), began to turn his arms to the conquest of the southern ones; rightly judging, that he should never enjoy the one quietly till he had got possession of the other.

On the other hand, he did not think it proper to leave the kingdom of *Korea* behind him, a fierce and warlike people, who had a king of their own, but who was a vassal to the *Chinese*, and now of course to him. He marched accordingly against them at the head of a powerful army; and, though the *Koreans* fought with much vigour and intrepidity, yet they still found themselves inferior to the *Tartars*. At length their king thought it the wisest way to secure his crown by a timely submission; which *Shun-chi* readily accepted, and brought back his forces with honour; and ordered the *Korean* king to follow him to *Pe-king*, where the articles of peace and homage were soon after concluded; and, having received his crown and sceptre from the emperor, and paid him the homage agreed on, returned to his own subjects. *Shun-chi* then ordered his army, under the command of one of his uncles, to march directly towards the south, where a grandson of *Shin-tsong*, or *Van-lye*, the thirteenth emperor of the foregoing dynasty, had been proclaimed emperor, under the name of *Hong-quang*, or *Hun-guan*, which signifies splendor, and had most of the nine southern provinces under his subjection. This young prince had many amiable qualities, and had been educated under the late and last emperor with great care, whilst the empire was at peace, and was looked upon as the last refuge of the *Chinese*; but was with great difficulty prevailed upon by the Mandarins to accept of a crown, the weight of which he foresaw would soon crush him to death. However, he was prevailed upon at last; and took all proper means to fortify his capital of *Nan-king*, and to strengthen his army; but, with all these precautions, found himself unable to resist the superior force of the enemy, which came and besieged him in that city, and soon made himself master of it. *Hong-quang* was pursued in his retreat, and taken prisoner, by the *Tartar* general, who immediately slew him, or, according to others, sent him to *Pe-king*, where he was strangled. Being returned to *Nan-king*, he gave the government of it to the *Chinese* Mandarin, who had enjoyed some of the greatest posts under the two or three last emperors, and made him viceroy of that province.

(R) It is surprising to think what quick progress he made in the conquest of those northern ones, considering their vast extent, and the number and strength of their cities; for he made himself master of them all within the space of about a year, that is, by the latter end of the year 1644. It is true the *Chinese* had neither the heart, nor were they at that time so loyal to the family of their ancient princes, as to make any considerable resistance; nevertheless there were several that did, though with so little success, as gave even but small encouragement to others to follow their example. But the new emperor, who would himself be always at the head of his vast and powerful army, had such excellent counsellors and generals, particularly his three uncles lately mentioned, that he fell immediately into the most effectual and expeditious way of reducing them.

His method was, not to trouble himself, when he entered into a province, what great towns he left behind, but to bend his forces towards the metropolis at once, which he first caused to be summoned; and, if they submitted, he treated them with all possible humanity, appointed such governors over them as they could not but approve of, and often some of their own nation, and left the rest of their polity in the same state in which he found it, without making any alteration. If they refused, then he ordered his numerous troops to

bring them the second summons; which they did with such force and fury, that they gained the place in a short time; in which case they must submit to the fate of war, which was generally very hard and cruel, if it were to serve as a warning to the rest. By these means, whether the metropolis submitted of its own accord, or was forced to it, the rest of the cities seldom failed of opening their gates to him; and the reduction of the capital proved the reduction of the whole province (49).

Another thing that greatly forwarded the conquest not only of these, but of the southern ones afterwards, was, that the emperor, in all his declarations, always ascribed his great and surprising success not to his valour, or to the number and courage of his troops, as might be natural for such a young monarch to do, but to the will and favour of heaven; which squaring exactly with the notion of the *Chinese*, they not only readily yielded to it, but were glad to plead it as an excuse for their so shamefully abandoning the interest and cause of their natural princes, of their laws and liberties, and so tamely submitting to a foreign yoke; for, if that was the absolute will and decree of heaven, how could it be in their power to oppose it, or what could they do better than submit to it? This was, it seems, their excuse then, and is so still, whenever any other nation upbraids them with their slavery.

- a He marched thence into *Che-kyang*, and besieged the capital; where *Lo-vang*, then king of it, and a prince who had refused the title of emperor, appeared upon the walls, and, on his knees, begged the *Tartars* to spare his subjects, and to accept of his life as a victim for theirs; and then went out, and submitted to their mercy, and had the good fortune to obtain it. Not long after this, another grandson of the late emperor *Shin-tsong*, named *Long-vu*, and by others *Long-vu pro-*
Jan van, was proclaimed emperor in the province of *Se-chwen*, which, with those of *Fo-kyen*, *Quang-tong*, and *Quang-si*, were the only four that still remained unsubdued; and, though he was not in a capacity of recovering those that were lost, he was still made to hope that he might be able to preserve these. He was the more easily flattered into this hope, as there had appeared in his interest at sea one of the bravest commanders, whom many of the nation had joined, and who was then very powerful, and successful enough to alter the face of his affairs.
- b This captain was the famed *Ching-chi-long*, a person originally of an obscure extract (S), but then one of the richest and most considerable traders in the province of *Fo-kyen*; who, at his own charges, had fitted out a numerous fleet against the *Tartars*; and was followed by such an innumerable multitude of *Chinese* vessels, that he became head of one of the most formidable fleets that ever appeared on those seas; and had openly declared for the young *Chinese* monarch, against the usurping *Tartar*. Some relations do even affirm, that he was the chief person who caused him to be crowned emperor; and indeed the immense wealth which he had amassed by sea and land, and the vast number of vessels and troops which he had under his

(S) *Ching-chi-long*, called also *Chin-chi-lung* in the Dutch ambassies, and by foreigners *Iquan*, *Icoa*, *Equan*, and *Ikoan*, was born in some obscure maritime place in the province of *Fokyen*, of very mean parents; but, being a sprightly lad, went to seek his fortune abroad, first at *Macao*, among the *Portuguese*, where he served a merchant for some time, became a convert to Christianity, and took the name of *Nicholas*, or, as others have it, *Gaspard*. From thence he went to *Japan*, where he soon raised himself in the service of a rich merchant; and, from his factor, became the commander of his trading vessels, with which he used to carry on a considerable traffick into *Cochin-China*, *Kamboya*, and other places, not only for his own masters, but for a number of other merchants, who likewise intrusted him with some of their richest commodities.

Being come to *Kamboya*, he received letters, that both his master and they were dead; some of the plague which had raged in *Japan*, and others, of the famine that followed it; upon which, without any regard to Christianity, which he had so lately embraced, he forged their wills, and made himself heir to all the wealth they had intrusted him with; and, to avoid being questioned by the *Chinese* Mandarins about their validity, resolved to turn corsair; and, with the wealth he had made himself heir to, purchased a number of other vessels, and soon became commander of a formidable squadron, by the many other pirates who joined him, and put themselves under his colours; insomuch that he, and one more of the same profession, had the sole command of those seas, and plundered all that fell in their way, without distinction, but under a mutual agreement not to act offensively against each other.

The emperor and court, to whom they were become dreadful, and yet were not in a condition to suppress them by open force, bethought themselves of a stratagem that would in all likelihood effectually do it. Accordingly he received a letter from the emperor to this purport; That, being thoroughly apprised of his valour and success, and of the great services he might do to his prince and country, he promised him not only a general pardon and amnesty for all his piracies, but to make him chief admiral of all his sea-forces, and captain-general of all the sea-coasts, or any other dignities or employments he should desire, on condition he joined immediately the imperial navy, and assisted it in riding the seas of the other piratic fleet. The same offers were made at the same time to the other commander, in a letter sent to him from the same monarch. What effect it had upon the latter, is not known; but *Ching-chi-long*, though he presently suspected the artifice, yet depending on his strength and good fortune,

made no hesitation to go and fall upon the other; and, after a long and bloody fight on both sides, wherein he proved victorious, struck off his head, and took as many men of his men and vessels as he could, the greatest part of which readily lifted under his flag, as they only exchanged masters, without altering their condition. By this means *Icoan* became more powerful than ever; and, when the imperial fleet came to join him, they dared not do otherwise than congratulate him on his late victory, and great success; whilst he, by virtue of the emperor's letter, and a sufficient force to oblige him to stand to his promises, began to act according to the tenor of them, without betraying the least diffidence of the court's sinister views, and to oblige all trading ships to receive their passports from him; insomuch that none of them, whether *Chinese*, or of any nation, dared venture to sea without them.

He had but one thing to fear, the resentment of the court, on account of his cruel exactions on all those trading vessels, his taking all that had not a pass from him; and many other such extortions, by which the commerce was greatly obstructed, and the maritime provinces greatly impoverished. But, as he was perfectly well acquainted with the ways of the court, and that the emperor, surrounded as he was by his eunuchs and ministers, knew little or nothing of his subjects' miseries, but what they pleased to acquaint him with, he found means to bribe them so high and effectually, as to stop all complaints from coming to his ears; they caring but little how he plundered and robbed the people, whilst they so plentifully partook of the spoil. Nothing was heard among them but the highest encomiums on him, and the vast services he did to his prince and country, whilst the continual complaints sent to them from the desolate provinces were wholly suppressed by his large presents from being so much as heard. By this time he was grown to such a height of power and insolence both by sea and land, that, upon a disgust against the imperial officers at *Canton*, who were in arrear to him about 20 or 30,000 ducats of his stipend, he went on shore into that populous city with only 6000 of his own men, caused a tribunal to be reared in one of the squares, and there summoned those officers, with some public notaries, and obliged them to pay him the money on the spot; and, having given them authentic receipts for it, went back to his fleet without the least molestation. This was the condition to which *Ching-chi-long* had raised himself at the time of the *Tartars* invading the *Chinese* empire, and which we thought necessary to give our readers a sketch of, for the better understanding the rest of this transaction. See also the next note (50).

(50) Dutch Ambassy, Palafox, Couplet, Du Halde, & al.

Signal loyalty
to the royal
blood.

Sent prisoner to
Pe-king.

Long-vu put
to death.

Ching-chi-
long submits
to the Tartars.

The rest of the
provinces re-
duced.

command, had rendered him so powerful, and the vast bribes with which he had been continually cramming the chief eunuchs and ministers had confirmed his interest at court to such a degree, even during the preceding reign, that he alone seemed to govern the empire; so that, if he had not been faithfully attached to the royal family, he might much more easily have seized on the crown than either of the two rebels *Li* and *Chong* lately mentioned; and much more so after the fatal death of that unhappy monarch, and the wars that raged all over the empire: but his fidelity to the royal blood would not permit him to listen to, much less to form, any such design (T); and this it was that induced at length the *Tartar* monarch, who looked upon him as one of the most powerful obstacles to his reducing the few remaining provinces, to try to gain him to his interest by the greatest offers, and fairest promises (U). These he rejected with haughtiness and scorn; and, being fully resolved to defend his prince to the last, sent an embassy to *Japan*, to procure some forces from that monarch, which was however refused on account of its being sent not by the emperor, but from a subject. This did not discourage him from making a noble defence; and several battles, we are told, were fought with great bravery on both sides; till at length the brave *Ching-chi-long* was taken prisoner, and sent to *Pe-king*; upon the news of which, the unfortunate *Long-vu* soon found himself disappointed of all his hopes, all the cities of that province opening their gates to the conqueror; and himself, whether betrayed by *Ching-chi-long*, as some pretend, or hurried through his ill fate into their hands, was deprived at once of his life and crown. And then it was that *Ching-chi-long*, now in the hands of the *Tartars*, and envied and hated by the court more on account of his great wealth and glory than of his fidelity to his prince, went over to the *Tartar* interest, to rid himself from the many prosecutions they had laid against him; which step he could then take with less dishonour to himself, not only as *Long-vu*, for whom he had declared himself was now dead; but as he knew his powerful fleet to be still under the command of his own son the brave *Ching-chi-kong*, of whose loyalty to the imperial family of *China* he was fully satisfied. Some relations pretend that he was not taken prisoner; but invited to a grand feast at court by the *Tartar* monarch, and was conducted thither with honour; and that he accepted of the invitation, in hopes of obtaining the highest dignities there; but, as this doth not appear suitable to his character and behaviour in other cases, we rather think he was carried thither prisoner.

HOWEVER, the *Tartars* had by this time so far proceeded in their conquest, that there remained but few that stood firm to the imperial family; and these one of the conqueror's uncles, named by some relations *Peli-pu-wang*, or *Peli-pa-ovan*, was sent with a powerful army to reduce, who was moreover made viceroy, or, as others say, king, of those provinces, which were *Quang-si* and *Quang-tong*, besides that of *Fo-kyen* lately surrendered to him. He sent accordingly a vast body of troops into that of *Quang-tong*, where one of the imperial family of *China* had been proclaimed emperor; but had only a few dastardly troops, which had

(T) This is the common opinion, though there are not wanting those who give him a quite different character, and charge him with having aspired to the crown, when made general of the *Chinese* forces, and to have betrayed the young emperor to the *Tartars*, for which he was afterwards cast by them into a prison at *Pe-king*, where he died (51). We shall only observe at present under this head, that the *Dutch* then settled at *Formosa*, or rather *Taywan* (52), having given him some umbrage, either by their carrying on too great, or perhaps some illicit, trade with *China* and *Japan*, for which he sent them a threatening message that he would drive them from that island, they sent him an embassy, and agreed to pay him 30,000 crowns a year for their liberty of commerce; and, among other presents, a golden sceptre and crown, engaging themselves to assist him with all their forces, in case he took the step hinted at by the present: and we are told, that he never made any other shew or use of it, than to have it carried about among other ornaments of his wardrobe.

(U) These promises were made to him by the *Chinese* Mandarin lately made viceroy, in which, among other things, he assured him of his being made viceroy, or even king, of the two provinces of *Fo-kyen* and *Quang-tong*; or, if he insisted upon it, should only pay homage to the *Tartar* emperor for them. This offer *Ching-chi-long* not only reject-

ed with scorn, but treated the *Tartar* as a robber and usurper; and vowed, that he would not only defend the few provinces still unconquered, but that he would use his utmost power to recover all the rest to the imperial family of *China*. It is true, when he was afterwards taken prisoner by the *Tartars*, and this haughty answer was laid before the emperor against him, he denied it to be his, as he was forced to do many other accusations laid to his charge. What was still more surprising, those very ministers of the *Chinese* court, whom he had corrupted by his vast bribes in the last reign, being now gone over to the *Tartars*, became his most inveterate accusers; so that, knowing their rapacious temper, he had recourse to his former expedient of cramming them with fresh gifts, which at once stopped their mouths, and all farther accusations; and he at length was acquitted with honour and applause.

As for the several battles which he fought against the *Tartars* during about six months before he was made prisoner, we only hear that they were very bloody ones, without any farther particulars of the success of them. The relations do not so much as hint whether he was taken in one of them, or in defending any of the imperial cities; neither is it certainly known what became of him at last, so dark and contrary are the accounts we have about it.

(51) Vide *Ogilby's China*, vol. ii. p. 49, 538, & alib.

(52) Vide *Ogilby's China*, ubi sup. See also before, p. 534,

- a already (W) turned their backs more than once to the conquering *Tartars*, and were expected to do so again on their first appearance. The capital, where he then resided, was indeed very strongly fortified, and populous enough to have maintained a siege, had it been better garrisoned; nevertheless some relations affirm, that about twenty of the *Tartarian* horse, having entered it, and riding about the streets in a hostile manner, put the whole place into such a consternation, that the army, which was then about half a day's march from it, had nothing to do but to enter it in triumph, and take possession of it, without meeting with the least opposition^a; but that seems altogether invented to expose the *Chinese* nation for not having better defended their country and liberty; and it is more probable that that metropolis, which, besides its garrison, such as it was, contained above 200,000 inhabitants, most of them rich and opulent [to say nothing of its having been made a repository of immense treasures from other parts, as a place of more strength and safety], made a vigorous defence; and accordingly we are told by others, that it sustained a vigorous siege near a whole twelvemonth before it surrendered to the *Tartar* general, who, on that account, permitted it to be plundered three whole days. On the first night of their entering it, a powerful fleet, which brought a considerable reinforcement, appeared on the canal of *Canton*, and came up to the town; but, finding the place already in the possession of the enemy, were so exasperated at it, that they set fire to the new city, which was the finest and richest part of the whole, and then put to sea again. The city was plundered, and burnt to ashes; and the young emperor, being found concealed among some faithful friends, was put to death in the fortieth day of his reign, and with him all his adherents. The plunder which was found in it, during the three days it was left to the mercy of the army, amounted to an immense value; and the indignities and cruelties which were committed against the inhabitants, without distinction of age, sex, or quality, were no less dreadful. At length the generals put an end to both; and, having restored good order and government in that metropolis, set about the reduction of the rest of the province; and met with so little resistance in it, that they completed it in a very little time.
- THEY marched next into the province of *Quang-si*, where they met with a quite different reception; and where *Thomas Kyu*, then viceroy of it, and *Luke Chin*, generalissimo of the *Chinese* forces, both Christians and brave warriors, engaged them with such intrepidity, that they intirely defeated and put them to flight. After this, the victorious army proclaimed a new emperor of the *Chinese* family, named *Young-lye*, then king of the metropolis of the province of *Quey-chew*, and removed his court to *Shau-king* (X), alias *Xao-chin*, the only city in the province of *Quang-tong* that stood firm against the *Tartars*, and refused to submit to them.
- THE news of the late victory, and of their election of a new emperor, was soon spread thro' the other provinces; and so effectually revived the courage of the *Chinese*, that a commander, who had got together a new army in the province of *Fo-kyen*, began to recover several cities from the *Tartars*; whilst the brave *Ching-chi-kong* (Y), the son of *Ching-chi-long*, at the head of a numerous *Chinese* fleet, did the same on the sea-coasts. This new admiral, still more zealous for the imperial *Chinese* family than his father, performed many noble exploits against the *Tartars*, in which he met at first with great success. He took several considerable places from them, as the city of *Hay-ching*, in the province of *Fo-kyen*, where he cut in pieces the *Tartar* army sent to relieve it; that of *Wen-chew*, in the province of *Che-kyang*, *Nan-king* in *Kyang-nan*, and many others. The misfortune was, that his good success did not follow him long, before he met with so total a defeat, that he was quite driven out of *China* by the *Tartars*, and forced to direct his views another way, viz. against the island of *Formosa*, where he was in hopes to erect a new kingdom, after he had driven the *Dutch* out of it.

^a Vide DU HALDE, PALAFOX, & al. sup. citat.

(W) The *Chinese* relations do not tell us the name of this new monarch, though they are more exact and full as to the other transactions that happened in this province, which being situate over-against *Ma-cau*, the *Portugueses* had a much better intelligence of them than of what was done in others more remote.

X) This young monarch had for his chief counselor an eunuch, named *Pan-Achilles*, who was a very zealous Christian, by whose interest Father *Andrew Koffler* was permitted to instruct his royal mother, his queen, and eldest son, in the truths of Christianity, who all received baptism from him; and it was expected, that this monarch would one day be the *Constantine* of the *Chinese* nation, which name they gave him with that view when he was himself baptized; and we are told,

that these illustrious converts did, by his consent, depute Father *Michael Boyn* to *Rome*, to pay a filial obedience to the holy see in their names.

(Y) This is the same that is called *Coxinga* in the *Dutch Ambassy*, and whom they charge with having driven them out of *Formosa*, or *Tay-wan*, contrary to the articles agreed on between them: but they say nothing of the provocation they gave him of it, viz. their seizing some of his ships as they were sailing towards the eastern provinces with money to pay his forces there; by which disappointment they disbanded themselves; and he, in a fit of despair, and resentment against their treachery, sailed directly against them, and drove from that island, as we shall have farther occasion to shew.

The Chinese
resume their
vigour.

Ho's success in
Shen-si.

The Tartars
often repulsed.

Chang-hyen-
chang's dread-
ful ravages.

Marches
against the
Tartars.

Shot to death,
and his army
dispersed.

The Tartars
have recourse
to stratagem,
and regain
their losses.

Shau-king
surrendered.

Prince A-ma-
van's death.
After Christ,
1651.

Shun-chi
takes the reins
of the govern-
ment upon
upon himself.

HOWEVER, there were, besides those two, some others who appeared in arms at the same time for the new *Chinese* monarch, particularly the viceroy of *Kyang-si*, who shook off the yoke, and defeated the *Tartars* in several engagements. Soon after this there appeared two other chiefs in the northern parts, one named *Ho*, and the other *Kyang*, each at the head of a numerous army which they had newly raised. The first marched directly into the province of *Shen-si*, and made himself master of some considerable cities in that province; and the other, following him into it with an army of 140,000 horse, and a much greater number of foot, defeated the *Tartars* in two engagements; and threw them into such a panic, that they dared not appear any more in the field. Yet this did not deter the rest of them from pushing on their good fortune; for they made a second attempt on the city of *Shau-king*, where the *Chinese* monarch resided; and which made so vigorous a defence, that they were obliged to abandon it. They met a second repulse on the frontiers of the province, whither the *Chinese* monarch had gone to meet them, and was the first that had the courage to do so during this war, and gave them a fresh defeat. But the most dreadful general that took up arms against them was one named *Chang-byen-chang*, who acted more like a devil incarnate than a *Chinese* chief, making the most dreadful havock in the western provinces; and, after having exercised the most horrid cruelties in those of *Ho-nan*, *Kyang-nan*, and *Kyang-si*, turned his whole fury against that of *Se-chwen*, where he committed the most unheard-of outrages and barbarities (Z); and did not leave it till he had burnt the capital, and other cities, and filled them with ruin and slaughter. He next advanced towards that of *Shen-si*, where he was preparing to give the *Tartars* battle. He was already got near their army when he was told, that five warriors were seen upon the hills; upon which he went to view them, without staying to put on either helmet or cuirass; but was scarcely got in sight of them, before he was shot through the heart with an arrow. His army was soon after dispersed; and the people of that province, seeing themselves free from the danger of that bloody monster, readily received the *Tartars*, and submitted themselves to them.

BUT, by this time, so many ill successes obliged the *Tartars* to have recourse to stratagem; and partly by bribes, rewards, and promises, and partly by sowing divisions and jealousies among the *Chinese* commanders [which last proved the most effectual], regained in a few years all the places they had lost, and obliged the *Chinese* forces to submit. As for the city of *Shau-king*, it had suffered so much by that time, that, upon the *Tartars* besieging it afresh, *Young-lye*, not being in a condition to defend it against their powerful army, found himself obliged to abandon it to them, and to retire into the province of *Quang-si*, and afterwards into that of *Tun-nan*.

THE year after the reduction of *Can-ton*, which was the twenty-eighth of the seventy-third cycle, died the great *A-ma-van*, uncle and guardian to the young *Tartar* monarch *Shun-chi*, to the great regret not only of the whole court, and *Tartar* nation, but of the subdued *Chinese* also, among whom he was highly esteemed for his gentle treatment of, and singular humanity towards, them; so that he might be justly looked upon as the chief person who fixed the *Tartar* family now reigning upon the throne. His brother, who had a small sovereignty in the southern provinces, claimed a right to the guardianship of the young emperor; but he being then fourteen years old, and married to the daughter of the prince of the western *Tartars*, that claim was opposed by all the grandees, and the young monarch deemed capable of govern-

(Z) This monstrous brute, who could be affable to none but his foldiers, with whom he would converse and carouse with great familiarity, put the king of *Ching-tu-fu*, the metropolis of *Se-chwen*, to death, tho' he was a prince of the last *Chinese* dynasty; and, wherever he conquered, he governed with such a tyrannic sway, that if any man committed a fault, though ever so small, he caused him, and all the people that lived in the same street, to be put to death. He caused 5000 eunuchs to be murdered, because one of them refused to give him the title of emperor. A little after, double the number of *Literati*, whom he pretended to consult about some affairs, were likewise butchered, on pretence that they, by their sophistry and subtleties, stirred up the people to rebel. Being about to depart from *Ching-tu-fu*, he ordered all the inhabitants to be led out of that city in chains, and to be massacred in the fields, to the number of 60,000; and did not leave that province till he had burnt its capital, and several other considerable cities. He was no less cruel to his own troops,

ordering them to kill their wives, because they were an incumbrance in time of war; and set them an example, by cutting the throats of three hundred of his own, reserving only twenty, to wait on the three queens (53).

As he pretended to be a great friend to the Christians, he boasted to some of the missionaries, that he had destroyed 20,000 Bonzas, on account of one of that order having raised a persecution against them; telling some of those fathers, that the Lord of heaven had sent him to punish those miscreants, who had intended to take away their lives. The same author adds (54), that he professed such a veneration for the law of Christ, that he promised, when he came to the empire, to erect a magnificent temple to God. For this he hath been represented by a late ingenious writer † as a person of Jewish extract, for claiming a commission from God for all his murders and villainies, and styled the *Chinese Constantine*, as being, in his opinion, so like the *Constantine of Rome*; but with what justness, or regard either to the law or gospel, let the reader judge.

(53) Couplet, *Du Halde*, & al. *Du Halde*, vol. i. p. 228.

(54) Couplet *Monarch. Sinic. Tab. chronol.* p. 96. *Vid. & not. in Eng.* † See notes on *Du Halde*, vol. i. p. 228.

a ing alone. They even caused the ensigns of their respective dignities to be hung at the gates of the palace; protesting, that they would receive them again from no other hands than those of *Shun-chi*. As soon as it was resolved that he should take upon him the reins of government, the young monarch did it in such a manner, as could not fail of gaining the hearts of all his subjects. Instead of shutting himself up in the imperial palace, as was the custom of the *Chinese* emperors, he began his reign by shewing himself in public, and giving free access to his person. But what charmed the *Chinese* nation above all things, was, his extreme moderation, and the singular and unhoped-for regard which he paid to their antient laws and government; in which, contrary to the usual custom of other conquerors, he did not make any alteration, except in a few particular cases; and would not so much as permit them to learn the *Tartarian* language, without his special licence. He also retained their six supreme tribunals, but would admit them to sit no-where but at *Pe-king*; and ordered that there should be a *Tartar* as well as a *Chinese* president in each of them, and that those of *Nan-king* should be suppressed.

b He continued to bestow the government of provinces and cities on the *Literati*; but abolished that abominable practice of their examiners, of licensing persons for money who were not duly qualified for it. He even condemned thirty-six of the former to be beheaded for that male practice, and caused the latter to undergo a fresh examination: pardoning those who were found qualified for their degrees, and banishing the rest, with their families, into *Tartary*, which is since become the common place of exile for great offenders; as the properest means of peopling those vast deserts is, that the children who are born there may more effectually contract a natural conformity to the manners and disposition of the *Tartars*. With regard to the *Chinese* troops, which, upon their submission, were incorporated with his own, though he left a great many of their own officers to command them, especially if they were either well skilled in the martial discipline, or were descended from considerable families, in which last case they were rather a kind of hostages to him; but still he commonly set some of his own *Tartars* over them. And as to civil employments, he was still less scrupulous; and let such of the *Chinese*, as were found qualified for them, enjoy them, as they had under their native princes; or even raised them to some of the highest, if their desert intitled them to it; though he frequently found occasion to lessen their exorbitant power, and in some cases to reduce it to a mere honorary title. But still all this was done with so much candour and judgment, as plainly shewed those necessary alterations to be more for the good of the empire than the support of his government.

c

d

Gains the hearts of the Chinese.

Rectifies some great abuses.

Favours the Chinese.

Loves and encourages learning.

Heaps favours on the Jesuits, particularly on Father Schaal.

Two Christian churches built in his capital.

Ambassy from the czar unsuccessful.

Coxinga besieges Nan-king.

f Five years after *Shun-chi* had taken the reins of the empire into his hands, arrived the first ambassy from the czar, or grand duke of *Muscovy*, to him; which, however, did not meet with a favourable reception, the ambassador refusing to comply with the *Chinese* ceremonies. Next to that, arrived one from *Holland*; which did not prove more successful, though this was rather owing to the influence which the *Jesuits* then had over the emperor, than to the *Dutch* refusing to submit to the formalities of the *Chinese* court.

g THREE years after, *Ching-ching-kong*, alias *Coxinga*, who had been left commander of the numerous fleet belonging to his father, after having contented himself, for some time, with making incursions, and plundering the coasts of *China*, came, at length, and besieged the city of *Nan-king*, with about 3000 ships. A council of war being called, by the viceroy of the province, who was a young *Chinese* Mandarin, a *Tartar* chief declared, that it could not be defended, unless its numerous inhabitants were destroyed. Upon which the young governor bravely replied, "If that be the case, you must begin the butchery with me;" which stopped the *Tartar's* mouth, and saved the lives of some myriads of citizens. The siege had gone on about three week, when *Coxinga's* birth-day caused an universal rejoicing through the besiegers camp, which lasted three whole days; during which, there was nothing seen but feasting, carousing, and all manner of diversions. When the besieged came to be apprised of it, they

His camp surprised, and his army cut off, by the besieged.

Success against the Tartars.

Sails to Formosa.

and besieges,

and takes it.

Settles his new kingdom in it.

After Chr.

1662.

Dies, and is succeeded by his son Ching-king.

Young-lye delivered up to Shun-chi. Strangled.

Shun-chi marries a young widow.

His excessive grief at her death.

unanimously agreed to fall out upon them, with all possible silence, about midnight, and found them all drowned in sleep, and so overcome with wine, that they easily surprised them, and destroyed about 3000 of them, and forced the rest to flee, with all haste, to their ships, leaving their camp, provisions, and baggage, behind. To repair this loss and disgrace, he ordered his fleet to sail immediately after that of the *Tartars*, and engaged it with such desperate fury, that he sunk and took a great number of their ships; and having put the rest to flight, cut off the noses and ears of his prisoners, and set them on shore, to the number of 4000. All these unfortunate wretches were, soon after, put to death, under pretence that they ought to have died sword in hand, but in reality to conceal the shame of that defeat.

COXINGA, after this victory, thought it dangerous to return to *China*, where the *Tartars* daily gained ground, and began to think of executing what he had threatened against the *Dutch*; and, in the year 1661, and seventeenth of *Shun-chi's* reign, set sail directly towards the island of *Formosa*, with a fleet of 900 sail, and took the islands of *Pen-gu* and *Tay-wan* in his way, the *Dutch* not having had time to fortify themselves in either of them; so that they surrendered to him, on his first appearance (B). He left 100 of his ships there, to guard them, and with the rest went and besieged *Formosa*, where the *Dutch* made such a stout defence against him with their cannon, that he began to despair of mastering them, as he had brought no artillery against them. On the other hand, he was afraid, if the siege lasted too long, lest they should send to *Batavia* for a reinforcement, and force him to raise it; and if he was drove thence, he knew not where to fix next, all which obliged him to pursue it, at all events. At length fortune so favoured him, that, after four months, they were forced to surrender to him, for want of provision. They were, however, suffered to carry off their effects with them, whilst he dispersed his troops all over that part of the island which is now possessed by the *Chinese*, and established his new kingdom there. From this time that island put on a new face, every thing there being settled after the *Chinese* form. He lived not long to enjoy this his new kingdom, but died in about a year after, and left it to his son *Ching-king-may*, who, having been bred up to study, took little care to improve what his father had, with so much pains, acquired. This indolence did not a little cool the zeal and courage of his people for some time, till a new occasion revived their martial spirit, as we shall see in the sequel.

By this time the *Tartars* had been so successful in the continent, that they had reduced most of their opposers. Neither had *Shun-chi* any competitor to the imperial crown, but the unfortunate *Young-lye*; and he had been driven out of *China*, and taken sanctuary at the court of *Pe-gu*, where he still was honoured with the title of emperor. The kingdom of *Pe-gu* being contiguous to the province of *Yun-nan*, and *Shun-chi*, having reason to fear some fresh disturbances from thence, sent some troops thitherward, with a threatening letter to the king of *Pe-gu*, that, if he did not deliver up the fugitive prince, he would put his kingdom to fire and sword. Upon which that monarch, not being in a condition to cope with him, immediately surrendered him, with his whole family, to the *Tartars*, who conducted him to *Pe-king*, where he was quickly after strangled. As to the two queens, his mother, and consort, who were brought back with him, they had each a separate apartment allotted them, in the royal palace, where they were honourably treated, and lived and died in the Christian faith, which they had been converted to by Father *Schaal*.

THE same year proved fatal to the emperor, who fell passionately in love with a young married lady; and having used her husband, a young *Tartar* lord, with some indignity, which broke his heart, soon after raised his widow to the imperial dignity. He had afterwards a son by her, whose birth was celebrated with the greatest magnificence; but the child dying in three months, and the mother soon after, that monarch, upon the news of it, was seized with such grief, that he snatched a sword, and would have killed himself, had not his mother

(B) The *Dutch*, who, as was hinted a little higher, had made an alliance with *Ching-ching-long* his father, and paid him a tribute of 30,000 crowns for their liberty, accused his son of treachery, and of coming upon them unawares; so that, trusting on the treaty between them, they had taken no care to strengthen themselves. And yet, it is plain, by their own confession and behaviour, that they were conscious of having done something to incur his anger, seeing they conceived such an apprehension at some of his naval preparations, that they sent him a fresh embassy, to know whether he intended peace or war with them. The ambiguous answer he gave to them, *That when he looked towards one point of the compass, he designed to steer towards another*, without explaining himself further as to their question, did no less alarm them; so that he was far enough from finding them so unprovided, as they pretend.

As to the cause of his treating them in that hostile

and severe manner, though they tell us nothing of it; but represent his case as desperate, and him as having no place to take sanctuary in, and secure himself against the resentment of the *Tartars*, but his making himself master of those islands; yet, if we may believe other relations, they will tell us, that they had given him the greatest cause of wreaking all his rage against them, seeing they had intercepted some part of his fleet, in which he had sent money and provisions, to pay some of his forces in the north-eastern provinces, who were in the utmost want of both, and did actually abandon him, upon their hearing of those ships being seized; by which disappointment, his condition was become indeed as desperate, as they say, and he had no other resource left, but at once to go and avenge himself of their treachery, and to fortify himself, and his few remaining forces, in that island.

a and eunuchs prevented it. He ordered afterwards that thirty men should voluntarily sacrifice their lives to her manes, after the *Tartarian* custom; a ceremony justly abhorred by the *Chinese*, and since abolished by his successor. He caused her body to be burned on a magnificent pile, and, with a flood of tears, gathered up her ashes into a silver urn. After which, he gave himself up to grief, and to the superstitions of the bonzaic sect, which he used formerly to treat with contempt, and, in a few days, was reduced to such extremity, that his life was despaired of. Father *Schaal*, for whom he had always had so great an esteem, waited upon him, and strove all he could to divert, or reason, him out of his deep melancholy, but in vain; he heard all he had to say with patience, forbade him to kneel to him, and made him drink tea with him, and, with his usual kindness, dismissed him; and, as soon as he was gone, ordered four lords of his court to draw near to him, and, in their presence, accused himself of a great variety of faults he had been guilty of, during his government; such as, his ingratitude to his most faithful ministers, his disregard to the counsels of his mother, his avarice and idle expences in vain curiosities, his affection to the eunuchs, and inordinate passion for the late queen, and the afflictions which he had occasioned to his people. After this, he appointed them guardians to his youngest son *Kang-bi*, whom he declared his successor, though then but eight years old; then calling for his imperial mantle, he put it on, and shrunk himself in his bed, saying, *Now I leave you*; and expired in an instant, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, and seventeenth of his reign. On the next morning, the Bonzas were all driven out of the palace, and the corpse of the deceased emperor was inclosed in a magnificent coffin; and the day after, *Kang-bi* mounted the throne, and received homage of all the grandees of the empire. His sickness, and last words.

II. *KANG-HI* was not only endowed with all the princely qualities that could render him worthy of, and an ornament to, the imperial diadem, but was likewise very happy in his four noble guardians, who made it their chief study to preserve the empire in a peaceable and flourishing condition. They began with driving all the eunuchs out of the palace, except 1000, whom they kept only to be employed in the lowest offices of it. They next published an edict, commanding all the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, on pain of death, to leave their dwellings, and to retire, and settle themselves, three leagues distance from the sea; and by which all the maritime cities, towns, and fortresses, were to be demolished, and all commerce by sea absolutely forbid. By this means, the power of the great sea commander *Ching-kong* was indeed greatly impaired; but it no less affected the fishing trade of the subjects; so that an infinite number of families, who wholly subsisted by it, were reduced to want. II. Kang-hi mounts the throne. After Chr. 1662. Towns on the sea-coasts destroyed.

AFTER this, came forth a severe edict against the Christian converts, all whose churches were demolished; and the city of *Ma-kau* in danger of sharing the same fate, had not Father *Schaal*, whose interest at court was still very great, prevented it, by employing all his friends there to procure to that city an exemption from the general edict against Christianity. For this he, and three more of the same society, were, some time after, imprisoned, and loaded with irons and infamy, upon the petition of one of the Literati to the regency, in which both the missionaries and their religion were represented in the most odious colours, and both, in a short time, totally suppressed, as we have already shewn, in a former section.^c Severe edict against the Christians.

In the fifth year of *Kang-bi*'s reign, died the great *So-ni*, chief of the four regents; when the young emperor, taking the government into his own hands, began to give eminent tokens of that great reputation which he afterwards acquired during the sequel of his reign, the most glorious and flourishing that ever was. Soon after the death of that regent, came on the disgrace of *Su-ka-ma*, the next in credit to him, against whom were exhibited twenty articles of accusation. Upon which his effects were confiscated, and a most cruel sentence pronounced against him; which was, however, so far mitigated by the emperor, that he was only strangled, seven of his children beheaded, and his third son cut into pieces. Which severe punishment was looked upon, by the Christians there, as justly deserved by him, for the ill offices he had privately done to them, and their religion. About two years after, arrived the Portuguese ambassadors at the *Chinese* court, and met with an honourable reception; which did not a little contribute to the establishment of that nation at the city of *Ma-kau*. On the next year, Father *Verbieft*, who had been ordered to examine all the faults in the *Chinese* calendar, made by the successor of Father *Schaal*, in the chair of president of the mathematics, was promoted to the place; and the other, named *Yang-quang-syen*, who had set all the Bonzas and *Mohammedans* against the Christian religion, was not only turned out of it with disgrace, but even condemned to die, on account of the many blunders that were found in his calendar. *Verbieft*, who did at the same time instruct the young emperor in the mathematics for about five months, made use of all his interest with that monarch to restore the Christians to his favour, by representing to him the injustice of those calumnies that had been raised against them; but So-ni the chief regent dies. After Chr. 1667. Su-ka-ma the second regent, disgraced, and put to death. Portuguese ambassadors well received. After Chr. 1670. Ver- Father Verbieft pleads for the Christians.

^c Vide supra, p. 570, & seq.

all he could obtain was the recalling of the missionaries, and a declaration from the assembly of mandarins, that the Christian religion taught nothing that was evil, or tending to sedition: however, they were expressly forbid to build any churches, and the *Chinese* to embrace Christianity.

U-san-ghey
revolts.
After Chr.
1674.

Answer to the
emperor.

His strong
alliance;

broken.

U-san-ghey
dies.
After Chr.
1680.

A dreadful
earthquake.

The imperial
palace burnt
to the ground.

Kang-hi's ho-
nour to the de-
ceased Chinese
emperor.

The king of
Quang tong
strangled.
After Chr.
1681.

In the twelfth year of *Kang-hi*'s reign, *U-san-ghey*, who had invited the *Tartars* into *China*, to suppress the revolters there, and had been since made a tributary sovereign of a small principality, as has been elsewhere hinted, being by this time become strong enough, not only to make himself independent, but to deliver his country from their yoke, had already taken such measures, as gave the court no small suspicion of his intentions. He was thereupon invited by the emperor to come thither; but sent back his deputies with this answer, *That he designed not to come thither, unless in company of 80,000 men*; and, as soon as they were gone, made a public declaration of his design. He had made himself master of the provinces of *Yun-nan*, *Se-chwen*, *Quey-chew*, and part of *Hu-quang*; and, which is a mark of the imperial prerogative, had sent the *Chinese* calendar to the neighbouring princes, and, among the rest, to the king of *Tong-king*, who all refused it, and sent it back to the emperor; upon which *U-san-ghey*'s son, then at court, was condemned to be beheaded. Soon after this, the kings of *Fo-kyen* and *Quang-tong* did likewise declare war against the *Tartars*, and were joined by *Ching-ching-may*; the son of *Coxinga*, and now king of *Formosa*; so that *Kang-hi* would have had a powerful alliance against him, if all those princes had acted in concert, and in behalf of the common liberty. But they were soon divided by such unhappy jealousies, as quickly turned the scale in favour of the *Tartars* (C), and left *U-san-ghey* to fight alone for the *Chinese* cause; who being by this time much advanced in years, and full of grief at his misfortunes and disappointments, died soon after, not before he had seen himself stripped again of great part of the provinces which he had gained before. For, immediately upon the fatal rupture of his allies, *Kang-hi* sent several armies, commanded by *Tartarian* chiefs, to reduce those of *Che-kyang*, *Hu-quang*, *Fo-kyen*, *Quang-tong*, *Quang-si*, and, in a word, all that refused to submit to him. Notwithstanding all which losses, *U-san-ghey*'s youngest son *Hong-wba* was declared emperor.

THE latter end of this year 1624 proved fatal to the emperor, and to some of the northern provinces of *China*, on several other accounts. A dreadful earthquake, which happened on the second day of *September*, at *Pe-king*, overturned a great number of palaces, temples, and other public buildings, together with the walls and towers of the city, and many thousands of people were destroyed by it. The shocks, which continued from time to time for near three months, were so terrible, that the emperor, princes, and nobility were obliged to quit their palaces, and to live in tents, whilst the rest of the people, both in the city and parts adjacent, were in the utmost consternation. On this occasion the emperor shewed himself a very tender father, in the timely relief he sent to all his suffering subjects. Towards the end of the same month the imperial palace was set on fire; and burnt with such fury, that it was all reduced to ashes in a few hours; the loss is computed to have amounted to two millions eight hundred and fifty thousand taels. Four days after this dreadful fire, the emperor set out with his usual retinue to take the diversion of hunting, at his pleasure-house; and observing, at a distance, the stately monument which his father had erected to the unfortunate *Wbay-tsong*, the last of the *Chinese* emperors, he went to it; and, prostrating himself to the ground, caused rich perfumes to be burnt before it; and then addressing himself to the dead monarch with tears, *You know*, said he, *O great emperor, that it was not we, but your rebellious subjects, who were the cause of your death*.

In the mean time the king of *Quang-tong*, though he had submitted to the emperor a little before, gave no small umbrage to him, not only on account of his enterprising spirit, but on his having made himself exceeding powerful and rich by carrying on a trade with the *Spaniards* and *Dutch*, notwithstanding the imperial edict against it; upon which an order was sent to him from court to march with his forces to suppress the rebels in the province of *Quang-si*, which he did accordingly, and divided his army into several columns, as occasion required. He was soon after artfully prevailed upon to return to his own palace, on some pretence; and had not been there many days, before two grandees arrived from court, and presented him with a silken halter, and the emperor's orders to strangle himself; which he was forced to

(C) *Ching-ching-may* was the first who broke this alliance, and fell out with the king of *Fo-kyen*, under pretence that he had not paid him the honour due to his rank; upon which he declared war against him, defeated him in several battles, and obliged him to submit to the *Tartars*. On some such pretence the king of *Quang-tong* broke his treaty with *U-san-ghey*, and put himself and province under the protection of the emperor; and it is likely that these discords and jealousies were artfully sown among them by some of that mo-

narch's agents; and that the young king of *Formosa*, who had shewn himself so careless and indifferent about his new kingdom, was privately influenced from the same quarter to fall foul on the king of *Fo-kyen*, in hopes of ingratiating himself to the emperor, and obtaining the government of some rich province in the continent by the defeat of his antagonist; but lost his aim, by the latter's being beforehand with him in making his submission to that monarch.

submit

- a submit to. Above one hundred of his accomplices, and, among them, three of his brothers, were beheaded; after which, his immense riches were divided between his other brothers, one of whom was the emperor's son-in-law. On the next year the king of *Fo-kyen*, another of *U-san ghey's* treacherous allies, was likewise put to death, and his body thrown to the dogs, on pretence that, during his revolt, he had mal-treated some of the Mandarins who continued faithful to the emperor; and at the same time his brothers, though innocent, were beheaded. The *Tartars* were no less successful against *Hong-wba*, who had been declared emperor in the province of *Yun-nan*: where, having made themselves masters of the capital, *Hong-wba*, to prevent a worse punishment, killed himself: but they, not content with that, dug up the bones of his father the brave *U-san-ghey*, and carried them to *Pe-king*, where they were exposed on stakes, with marks of infamy, in several public places, and then burnt, and the ashes scattered in the air. Hong wba kills himself. After Chr. 1681.
- b By this time the whole fifteen provinces were so successfully subdued, that the emperor determined to visit his own native dominions of eastern *Tartary*, and the tombs of his ancestors; and set out accordingly in the beginning of *March*, accompanied by the prince his heir, his three queens, and a numerous court and retinue, such as we have elsewhere described; and ordered Father *Verbiest* to attend him, and to be always near his person; by which means he hath been enabled to give us a better account of those parts than we could possibly have before. On the next year he made a new progress into western *Tartary*, with a great retinue and more numerous army (D); and continued to do so every year, and spent several months there, in taking the diversion of hunting; a thing which neither the *Chinese*, nor even the *Tartar* lords of his court, much complained against. But that politic monarch had his ends in it, as we hinted in the last note; and it must be owned, that he was a prince of such excellent abilities, such constant application to the affairs of state, such penetration and justice in the choice of his ministers, such watchfulness over them, and such tenderness for his people, to say nothing of his singular frugality with respect to his own person, and profuse munificence with regard to the public, that it is not to be wondered at if he had the happiness of keeping that vast empire in so perfect a subordination and harmony, tranquillity, wealth, and grandeur, during a long reign of sixty years, which, under a less able governor, would be ever liable to discord and confusion. Kang-hi visits his Tartar dominions. After Chr. 1682.
- c In the same year, 1682, *Ching-ke-sun*, the son of *Ching-ching-may*, and grandson of the famed *Ching-ching-kong*, or *Coxinga*, then king of *Formosa*, was obliged to surrender that island to the *Chinese*, and to repair to *Pe-king*, where the emperor conferred upon him the title of count, and had some small government granted to him to maintain that dignity; after which we hear no more of him, or any of his descendants. Two years after, that is, *Anno* 1684, the Fathers *Gerbillon* and *Pereyra*, two eminent missionaries, were ordered to accompany the *Chinese* plenipotentiaries into *Tartary*, and to assist them in the settling of the limits between the two empires of *China* and *Russia*; an account of which, as well as of their travels through western *Tartary*, and description of those parts, the reader may see at the end of the second volume of *Du Halde's* empire of *China*. Those two fathers, and some others of the same society, were likewise much taken up in instructing the emperor in the mathematics, and reading and composing lectures in the *Tartarian* tongue, on algebra, geometry, astronomy, natural philosophy, physic, and anatomy: for tho' that prince was before a complete master of all the *Chinese* learning, and had bestowed his leisure hours in them, yet could he not be satisfied without being equally versed in the *European* sciences; and it was by the interest of those his tutors that a decree was obtained in favour of the Christians, who were before but barely tolerated, but were now allowed the free exercise of their religion throughout the whole empire. This decree bears date 1692, and in the thirty-first [of his reign, and was confirmed and published in the month of *March* following. Formosa surrendered to the Chinese. After Christ, 1682. Limits between Russia and China settled. After Christ, 1684. A decree in favour of the Christians. After Chr. 1692.
- d
- e

^d See before, p. 582.

(D) The army which accompanied him in his first progress consisted of 70,000 men, besides his numerous court, and the more prodigious number of their attendants. What addition he made to it in his subsequent journies, we are not told; but they were so troublesome, and so expensive, that some of his ministers presented very pathetic memorials against the frequency of them.

However, though the diversion of hunting was the pretence for this, yet he had much higher views in it; viz. 1. To keep his troops in exercise, and prevent their growing effeminate by the example of the *Chinese*. 2. It served to display the grandeur and magnificence of his court, both to his subjects and vassal princes, who were obliged either to accompany, or meet him

in his progress, to pay their homage to him. 3. These troops made his power and authority more formidable, and kept those vassal principalities in greater awe, especially as they were sure to be visited once a year by him. Lastly, It gave him an opportunity of liberally rewarding those who best deserved it, by his large presents to them, by remitting some part of their tribute to him, by assisting them in time of need with some of his forces against any competitor; and frequently by bestowing some of his daughters, with a liberal dowry, on such as he esteemed worthy of that honour; by all which means he made himself as much beloved by the loyal, as feared by the disloyal or discontented, whether vassals or subjects.

Kang-hi's son
and heir de-
graded.
After Christ,
1709.

HITHERTO his reign had been peaceable and happy, when, on a sudden, the forty-eighth year of it was disturbed with an unexpected event; and his second son, whom he had appointed his heir, and was almost his equal in dignity, was at once loaden with irons, and his children and chief officers involved in the same disgrace; which was chiefly owing to the intrigues of his elder brother. He was however found innocent, upon strict examination, and the accusing brother condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and public rejoicings were made through the empire, on his being restored to favour. This joy, however, proved short-lived; and he was soon after deprived of all the titles and privileges of his rank, for a real conspiracy against his father.

A new edict
against the
Christians.
After Chr.
1716.

SOME years after, the emperor revived two old edicts against the Christians; the one, forbidding them to build any churches, or make profelytes; the other, obliging every missionary to receive an imperial patent, wherein shall be mentioned his country, order, the time he hath been in *China*, and his engagement not to return into *Europe* (F). Upon this, three of the fathers went to throw themselves at his feet; but could obtain no other answer, than that none were prohibited to preach the gospel, but those who had not received the patent.

Great anxiety
at court about
the successor.

THE next year, viz. 1717, happened the general mourning for the emperor's mother, which we have elsewhere given an account of. Soon after which, the emperor was seized with a distemper which his court feared would send him after her, and threw it into no small consternation; especially as he designed to exclude his own family from the succession, and to bequeath the crown to a prince of the dynasty of *Ywen*, of whom there still remained above a thousand. Upon this occasion one of the chief Mandarins ordered his son to present a memorial to him, setting forth the great importance it was to the peace of the empire to have his second son appointed his successor; at which the emperor was highly incensed. However, he pardoned the son, because what he had done was in obedience to his father, but ordered the father to be put to death; which deterred the rest of his ministers from speaking any thing more to him about a successor.

Severity a-
gainst a Man-
darin.

Signal victory
over the
Eluths.

Conquest of
Tibet.

IN the year 1720 he received the congratulations of the whole empire, on the news of a signal victory which his forces had gained over the king of the *Eluths*, who possessed the country of the *Lamas*, and had committed dreadful ravages there four years successively; by which means the kingdom of *Tibet* fell into the hands of the conqueror; a thing which *Kang-bi* had much at heart, as he had the glory of finishing that troublesome war. In the month of *June* of the same year another earthquake was felt at *Pe-king*, which lasted about two minutes, and killed about 1000 persons by the fall of houses.

The Russian
ambassador's
public entry.

ON the 22d of *November* following, the ambassador from the czar of *Muscovy* made his public entry into *Pe-king*, with a numerous and splendid retinue, all dressed after the *European* manner; and the gentlemen on horseback, on each side of him, rode with their swords drawn, which was a sight both new and extraordinary there. His reception at court was no less polite and grand; though the emperor, for wise and obvious reasons, refused to comply with the main design of it, which was, to establish a free commerce between the two empires of *Russia* and *China*, and to have obtained leave to fix a factory in the chief provinces of the latter; and was pleased to confine their number to two, the one at *Pe-king*, and the other at *Schu-kou-pai-sing*, upon the frontier of the *Kalkas* *. There was, however, a circumstance, in the ceremonial of his admission, which that envoy could not readily consent to; and his refusal had like to have broken off all farther negotiation, when that politic monarch found out an expedient which would oblige him to comply. We have elsewhere observed, that every one, of what rank or character soever he be, that approaches the imperial throne, is obliged to prostrate himself on the ground, and knock his forehead nine times against it †.

THIS formal piece of respect, which is paid all over this vast empire, not only to the emperor, but to princes of the blood, viceroys, Mandarins, and other ministers, his excellency could not reasonably suppose would be dispensed with in an audience to so great an emperor. On the other hand, as he had cause to apprehend lest his complying with it should be judged too derogatory to his character and dignity, especially at his own court, and endanger the loss of his head; so he had no less cause to fear lest his refusal should be interpreted, at that of *Pe-king*, as a want of respect to his imperial majesty, and occasion a mutual dissatisfaction between those two great monarchs. We should here observe to our readers, that this very year was the sixtieth of the emperor *Kang-bi*'s reign, and was a kind of grand jubilee

§ See before, p. 628.

* De his vid. vol. ii. p. 437, & seq.

† See before, p. 576, & seq. & alib. pass.

(F) This new edict was occasioned by a memorial, presented to that monarch by a military Mandarin, full of the bitterest invectives against the Christians. The Jesuits used all their interest to have prevented it passing thro' the usual examination of the tribunals, but in vain; and, though Father *Du Halde* represents it as fraught with the most unjust calumnies against them,

and the Mandarin as an enemy who sought to raise himself by their fall; yet those tribunals confirming the accusations, and the emperor, who was their friend and patron, ratifying the sentence, shews that it must have contained something more than bare calumnies and invectives.

- a through his dominions, and was to be observed with the utmost joy and magnificence, and nowhere more than in his capital; so that it is not improbable he might on that account suppress his resentment of the ambassador's refusal, that it might not be an impediment to his being an eye-witness of, as well as by his splendid appearance from adding to, the splendor and brilliancy of his court. However that be, the following was the expedient his prudence devised to settle the ceremonial above-mentioned, in such a manner as should not admit of any exception from either side: "Let the ambassador know, that it is my design that the same honour
 " be paid to the letter which he is to deliver up to me from his master, which our laws require
 " to be paid to my own person; for which end I desire that he would place the said letter on
 " a table, that I may send one of my chief Mandarins in my name to strike his forehead on
 b " the ground before it." His excellency readily complied; and made no difficulty to pay the same honours to the emperor as he had done to the czar his master's letter §.

ON the following year the court received the disagreeable news that the *Chinefe* in the island *Formosa* Formosa re- had in a few months shaken off the yoke; and, being assisted by those of *Fo-kyen* volts, and is reduced. and *Kyeu-mi*, had killed all the Mandarins, except one who fled, and, had put all the imperial forces to the sword. This revolt was at first reported to have been fomented by the *Dutch*; but whether justly, or no, is not certain. However, those rebels were soon after severely punished for it by a new supply of forces which the emperor sent thither, who cut most of them off, drove their chief into the mountainous parts, and dispersed the rest.

- IN the year 1722 the emperor, being taking the diversion of hunting in his park of *Hay-tse*, The emperor taken ill. was on a sudden seized with a strange chillness, which obliged him to return with all speed to his pleasure-house; where his attendants soon found, to their great surprise, that his blood was so congealed, that no remedy could save his life. Perceiving himself near his end, *Kang-bi* assembled all his grandees, and declared his fourth son his successor; and expired soon after, *Dies.* on the 20th of *December*, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and sixtieth of his reign. His body was that very night conveyed to *Pe-king*; and his fourth son *Yong-ching* mounted the throne on the next morning, about five of the clock.

- III. *YONG-CHING*, the emperor then reigning when the last relations came from thence, was *Yong ching* forty-five years of age on his accession to the crown, on which he was congratulated by all the grandees; and took the name of *Yong-ching*, which signifies *lasting peace*, or *indissoluble concord*. preclaimed. After Chr. 1722. He had a great number of brothers; but placed no great confidence in any, except his thirteenth, to whom he communicated all the affairs of state; but banished his ninth into *Tartary*, where he soon after died; recalled his fourteenth, who had the command of the *Chinese* army; and most of the rest, especially his eighth and tenth, fell under his displeasure on some pretence or other. He next banished and imprisoned several princes and grandees, Some of his brothers disgraced. on account of their protecting the missionaries: which shews he was no friend to their religion (G); and discarded all the fathers out of his service, except one, who was an excellent painter; which shews that he had not the same love for the sciences that his father was so famed for. In other respects he shewed himself a wise prince, indefatigable and assiduous, steady and resolute, witty and eloquent, and always ready to receive and answer the memorials presented to him. He governed wholly by himself, and no monarch could be more absolute or more feared than he was. This gave him an opportunity of enforcing a great many wholesome laws and regulations for the good of his subjects, in the framing of which he spent whole days and nights with a surprising indefatigableness. The most effectual way to gain his favour, was, to present him with some scheme tending to the public good, or to the relief of his subjects in any calamitous times, and he would spare neither pains nor cost to put it in execution. His assiduity and wise regulations.

- THIS was the excellent character of *Yong-ching*; which made therefore his severity against the Christians the more remarkable, as it extended itself in a manner unworthy of so wise a prince, even to some of the most illustrious of the imperial family; particularly on that of the elder brother of the founder of this dynasty, who, together with his whole family, consisting of eleven princes [besides sixteen princesses who were married to *Mogol* princes or Man-

§ Lettres edifiant. & cur. vol. xvi. p. 378, & seq.

(G) It plainly appears that he had conceived a singular prejudice against these missionaries from the very beginning of his reign, by means of some memorials presented to him by the Literati, setting forth, that the late emperor had lost a great deal of his reputation by permitting them to settle in the provinces, where they built churches, and made proselytes, where-ever they came; and their converts acknowledged no other doctors but them, nor, in troublesome times, would they follow any directions but theirs.

This memorial was backed by another from the governor of *Fo-kyen*, much to the same tenor, which was confirmed afterwards by the tribunal of rites, and by the emperor himself, and produced those dreadful edicts against Christianity, and its preachers, which we have formerly had occasion to mention, and in a great measure extirpated it out of the empire (55).

(55) See before, p. 593. & alibi pass.

darins

darins of *Pe-king*, and had each of them a numerous family], were all degraded, and sent ^a into a miserable exile in a desert place in *Tartary*, to which they were conducted by soldiers, and there closely confined under a guard of them. The manner of their being treated before their exile had likewise something of cruelty in it; for that venerable old prince, without regard to his quality, age, merit, or the services done to the empire, was beheld setting out for the place of his banishment with thirty-seven of his children and grandchildren, without reckoning his daughters and grand-daughters, who were near as many, and about three hundred domestics of both sexes, most of them baptized. All these disgraces not being able to shake their constancy, the princes were brought back to *Pe-king* in waggons, each loaden with nine chains. There they were made to undergo several fresh interrogatories, mixed with promises of being restored to their former dignities, if they would renounce their faith, and with threats of being used with still greater severities, if they persisted in it. All these methods proving ineffectual, the tribunal condemned them to die; but the emperor changed the punishment into perpetual confinement; which only proved a more severe kind of death, seeing most of them died soon after in their close dungeons, merely thro' hardship and want; and the rest were dispersed into other provinces, to end their days in prison, fetters, and misery. The ambassadors of *Portugal* and *Russia*, who were then at the court of *Pe-king*, could not enough admire the constancy and intrepidity of those illustrious confessors of Jesus Christ.

Constancy of
the Chinese
converts.

Death of the
emperor's fa-
vourite bro-
ther.
Funeral ho-
nours.

Third brother
imprisoned.

Pe-king da-
maged by an
earthquake.

Above
100,000 de-
stroyed in a
minute.

In the year 1730, and eighth of his reign, he lost his thirteenth brother, who used to share with him the burden of his government; and died of a languishing disease, occasioned by his excessive application; and the emperor was so inconsolable for it, that it nearly endangered ^c his own life. However, he caused the most magnificent funeral obsequies to be performed to him, which, because they somewhat differ from those we have elsewhere described, the reader may see a short account of in the margin (H); and, amongst other honours he paid to his memory, caused his name to be placed in the hall of the emperors; a distinction never conferred on private persons, except they have done some extraordinary and important services to the state. His funeral obsequies were hardly completed before the third brother was arrested, and closely confined. The occasion of his disgrace is not known; but it extended itself to his family, who were degraded from their rank and dignities.

On the 13th of *November* 1731 the city of *Pe-king* was almost overturned by a dreadful earthquake, such as *China* never felt before. The first shocks, which happened about eleven ^d of the clock in the morning, were so sudden and violent, that they were not perceived but by the horrid noise of the falling of houses, and the cries of the people; and one would have imagined that they had been blown up in the air by a general mine, and that the earth had opened underneath to swallow them up; so that, in less than a minute, above 100,000 inhabitants were buried in the ruins, and a still greater number in the country, where whole towns were utterly destroyed. What was still more remarkable in it, is, that the two first shocks were not felt with the same force through the extent of their course; but in those places where they met with less resistance, they were gentle, and hardly perceived; whereas they caused the greatest devastations where they met with the greatest opposition. Those two great and dreadful ones were followed by above twenty more small ones within the space of twenty-one ^e hours.

(H) A declaration was at first issued out, intimating that it was the emperor's desire that all the world should share in his grief, and in the honours to be paid to the deceased, without distinction of rank or quality; with this caution nevertheless, that such as did not think him worthy of those honours should be at liberty to decline it, tho' he appointed officers at the same time to give him an account every day of all who performed that duty to him.

His body being exposed in the great *Ting*, where none but princes of the blood are admitted, there was a hall made of mats erected in the middle of the great court, before the gates of the palace, with a throne in it, and before that a table, on which were placed only two candle-sticks, and a vessel burning with perfumes; for the dead prince was not only a petty king of the first rank, but had been honoured likewise with the title of *Que-vang*, or king. The entrance into this hall was by a folding-door, which was opened as often as the officers of the tribunals came in their turns to pay their honours to him, only a set number being admitted in at a time. These at first stood up behind the tables that were set up on each side of the hall; then, kneeling down, made six several prostrations, accompanied with deep groans,

and other silent tokens of grief, and then as silently withdrew, to make room for others that came to perform the same ceremony. From this place the body was afterwards conveyed in pomp to a palace built on purpose, about two little miles out of the city, where the same ceremony was repeated; and here it was that the Mandarins of the city, the whole body of merchants, and the meaner sort of people, were introduced to pay him the last honours for a hundred days; at the end of which he was carried to another place, still more distant, and erected for the same purpose, and where the same rites were performed during the same space of time.

There were five such stations, at each of which the ceremony lasted an hundred days; after which he was conveyed to the sepulchre which the emperor had caused to be prepared for him, and which was four leagues in circumference. To this last the Mandarins and grandees of the provinces were to repair, or depute some of their sons in their stead, to pay the same respects to the deceased; after which they returned to their respective stations, and there caused monuments to be raised to him, with the greatest eulogiums to his memory (56).

a THE emperor was then at his pleasure-house, about two leagues from *Pe-king*; which was instantly reduced to such a heap of ruins, that it will require immense sums to repair it. He was then taking an airing in his barge, on the canal that runs through the gardens; and, at the dreadful fight, fell prostrate on his knees, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven; after which, he published an edict, as usual, accusing himself as the main cause of it, and attributing the judgment to the wrath of heaven for his offences, and want of care in governing the people. He next ordered an account to be taken of all the families that suffered by it, and an estimate of their damages, and advanced considerable sums for their relief; and gave, in particular, 1000 taels to the missionaries, towards repairing of their churches. ^{The emperor's pity on that occasion.}

But, on the next year, those missionaries, who had been ten years before driven from the provinces into the city of *Quang-tong*, were now banished from thence into *Ma-kau*, a little city inhabited by the *Portuguese*, but under the dominion of the *Chinese*^f. What was still more severe, they had but three days allowed them to prepare for their journey, and conveying away their effects. The only reason they give for this sudden change, and hard treatment, is, that they had disobeyed the emperor's orders; and preached the Christian religion, in open defiance of his prohibition. They were accordingly forced to embark, to the number of thirty, on the 20th of *August*, under a convoy of four galleys and two Mandarins. When they came to land at *Ma-kau*, the Mandarins caused their domestics, and other Christians who had followed the missionaries, to be loaded with irons, and sent back to *Quang-tong*; where, after being dragged in an ignominious manner through several tribunals, some were cast into prisons, others bastinadoed, others condemned to carry the *Kan-ghe*, or wooden collar, a month or two; and all of them gave signal proofs of their zeal for, and sincere adhering to, the Christian religion. ^{Jesuits banished to Ma-kau. Their domestics severely treated.}

Thus far go the *Chinese* annals, which *Du Halde* ends with the twelfth year of *Yong-ching's* reign, or the year 1732, at which time he was reigning with an absolute sway over that vast empire. Since that time, we have been informed that he died *Anno* 1736; and that the missionaries entertain no small hopes of being restored under his successor. However, these late accounts give us but little reason to expect it, since they acknowledge, that, though they found a great number of *Jews* and *Mohammedans* upon their first arrival thither, yet they met with no Christians, notwithstanding their having been so numerous formerly. Neither can they have those opportunities of recommending themselves to the *Chinese* nation by their superior skill in the sciences, as they once had upon their coming thither; but, instead of that, must expect to meet with the most strenuous opposition both from the *Literati* and the whole bonzaic tribe, and their numerous followers, against their religion, which, they cannot now be ignorant of, is so contrary to the tenets of the former, and the interest of the latter; to say nothing of the dislike and contempt which the disciples of *Confucius*, the only esteemed and valuable sect in *China*, must have conceived against some of their superstitious doctrines and practices. ^{Hopes of a return frustrated.}

WHAT hath since happened to them, their various applications to the new *Chinese* monarch, their apologies in behalf of themselves and their religion; the several memorials which those few Jesuits, who were suffered to continue at *Pe-king* in the emperor's service, presented to the throne and to the superior tribunals, and the small success which they have hitherto met with, being foreign to our design, and coming to us from thence by private letters from some one or other of those fathers, may be seen in their collection of letters from thence, and published by *Du Halde*^g, from that time to the year 1744; and we the more readily refer our curious reader to those letters, because he will easily perceive, from the style and tenor of them, that though neither these, nor any thing else from that quarter, were ever written with a design to extenuate the severity of the *Chinese* government, and much less to ascribe the total extermination of Christianity to the misconduct of the missionaries, especially those of the Jesuit fraternity, yet contain such a variety of important transactions, and curious pieces, artfully worded, and circumstances, as we may suppose them to be, as will shew him, that it was not without the most cogent motives, and after the strictest and most impartial inquiries, that those two great monarchs *Kang-bi*, and *Yong-chin* his son and successor, yielded to the strenuous and repeated solicitations of their viceroys and governors, and especially of the superior tribunal, that of the rites in particular, to put an effectual stop to its further progress, by the banishment and utter proscription of all the missionaries out of their dominions. It is hardly possible for the most prepossessed reader in favour of that society to read their relations on this subject, written as they are by some of their ablest pens, without admiring the extreme indulgence and benignity of those two great emperors towards them, and especially their unparalleled condescension, patience, and assiduity, in receiving, perusing, and examining, every memorial and apology which were presented to them in their favour, either by themselves or their patrons, before they could be prevailed upon to proceed to those unavoidable severities. But, as the ^{Vain efforts to re-enter.}

^f De hac, vid. sup. p. 550, & seq.

^g Vol. xxi. & seq. of *Lettres edifiantes & curieuses*.

bare mention of every such instance of their impartial lenity would carry us beyond our bounds, we shall conclude this subject, and, with it, the *Chinese* history, with that remarkable apologetic speech by which the before-mentioned emperor *Yong-chin* condescended to answer their complaints, in a memorial lately presented to him, and to justify his whole conduct towards them, to three of the most considerable members of their society.

THIS curious piece, or rather the substance of it (for, being spoken to them *extempore*, they could have no copy of it; neither could they, if they had been permitted, have taken it down in short-hand, his words flowing with by far too great a rapidity for any pen to follow), hath been transmitted in *French* into *Europe* by Father *De Mailla*, one of the three who had the honour to be admitted to this interview. The other two were Fathers *Kegler* and *Parrennin*, persons eminent in their way, and still in great credit at court. These three, having been admitted to the imperial presence, according to his majesty's commands, and after the usual prostrations, continuing all the time in a kneeling posture, he addressed his speech to them in words to this effect:

The emperor's speech to the three Jesuit missionaries.

“ THE late emperor my father, after having caused me to be brought up forty years under his eye, hath made choice of me, preferably to my other brothers, to succeed him on his throne. I make it a capital point of my duty not to deviate in any thing from his manner of governing. Some *Europeans* in the province of *Fo-kyen*, who had attempted to disannul our laws, and to pervert the people, have been complained against to me; and I have thought myself obliged to remedy that disorder. It is an affair which concerns the empire committed to my care; and I neither could, nor ought I now to act as I did when I was only a private prince of the blood.

“ You tell me, that your religion is not a false one: I believe it: if I thought otherwise, what could hinder my demolishing your churches, and driving you out of them? A false religion is that, which, instead of recommending virtue, inspires men with a spirit of revolt, like that of *Pe-lyen-kiao*. But what would you say, if I should attempt to send a number of Bonzas and Lamas to preach their religion amongst you? How would they be received by you? *Li-ma-low* (the *Chinese* name of Father *Ricci*, one of the first Jesuits that came into *China* †), came hither at the beginning of *Ovang*, or *Vang*, *Li*'s reign. I shall say nothing of the reception he met with from the *Chinese*; I am not answerable for what was then done. But at that time you were but a small and inconsiderable number. You had neither Christian converts nor churches in any of the *Chinese* provinces; and it was not till under my father's reign that you began to build them, and that your religion was spread everywhere with such surprising rapidity. We saw it, but dared not speak a word against it; but, if you have found means to impose upon him, do not hope to do the same by me. You would have every *Chinese* to become Christian; your law requires it of you, I am well assured of it; but, in that case, what must be the consequence but that we shall become subject to your kings? Your new converts own no masters but you; and, if any public disturbances should happen, will listen to none but you. I am very well satisfied, that at present we have nothing to fear from you; but, when your *European* ships shall come hither by thousands and ten thousands, will there not then be some danger to be feared? *China* hath on the north the great kingdom of *Russia*, which is far from a despicable one; it hath on the south the *Europeans*, and their various kingdoms, which are still more considerable; and, on the west, a great number of others, which I am resolved to keep under, and prevent their subjects ever setting foot into *China*. When *Angelo*, the *Russian* ambassador's colleague, was endeavouring to obtain the liberty of settling *Russian* factories in all our provinces, for the better carrying on a mutual commerce, that favour was denied to him; and he was allowed to traffick no-where but at *Pe-king* and *Techu-koo-pay-sing*, on the frontiers of the *Kalkas*. In the like manner I have permitted you to stay here, or at *Quang-tong*, so long as you give us no cause of complaint; but, if any such you give hereafter, I will neither suffer you to stay in the one nor the other, but drive you out of every one of my provinces.

“ THE late emperor my father hath lost a good deal of his reputation, in the opinion of our *Literati*, by the condescension with which he permitted you to settle in his dominions. The laws of our wisest princes will admit of no alteration; and I will never suffer my reign to be tarnished with any thing of that nature. When my children and grandchildren come to the crown, they may act as they shall see fit, and I trouble myself no more about it than about what is done in *Lapland*. Do not, however, imagine, from what I have said, that

† De hoc, vid. sup. p. 568, & seq.

- a " I have any thing to lay to your charge, or any design to oppress you. You cannot but
 " know how I behaved myself towards you when I was only a Regulo. The family of one
 " of your new convert Mandarins in *Lyau-tong*, who publicly professed himself one of your
 " profelytes, rose up in arms against him, for not paying the usual honours to his ancestors.
 " In that perplexity you applied yourselves to me; and I extricated you out of it, and com-
 " promised the matter. What I do now is in quality of an emperor: the well-governing of
 " this empire is what ingrosses all my care and time from morning to night. I do not so
 " much as see my children, nor even my empress, or indeed any one except such as are
 " intrusted with public affairs; and this must be my continual application whilst the three
 " years mourning for my father last; after which I may perhaps have opportunities of seeing
 b " you as usual*."

His majesty concluded his speech with desiring them to acquaint the rest of their brethren with what he had said to them, and dismissed them with a small present. We shall leave it to our readers to make their own remarks upon this soothing behaviour to that fraternity; if not perhaps exaggerated by the relater in favour of it, who was himself one of them. This did not hinder him, however, from giving them soon after the most convincing proofs of his being fully determined to extirpate their religion, root and branch, out of his dominions; for, his council having represented to him the danger of suffering missionaries of any denomination to stay at *Quang-tong* (which was the last favour they had petitioned him for, as their ultimate refuge, and the only way they had left to secure an entrance into *China*), he made no difficulty

- c to recall his promise to them, and to order them all, and with the utmost speed possible, to be transported to *Makau*; contenting himself with issuing an order, to those who were to be charged with them, to treat them with all proper decency and humanity; which yet, if we may rely on our author, he suffered to be transgressed in almost every instance of their behaviour to those unhappy exiles.
- BEFORE they left his dominions, they had the farther mortification to see a whole family of their noblest converts condemned to perpetual exile in some of the barren parts of *Tartary*, and to see them depart thither under a strong guard, loaded with chains, and in a most deplorable guise. The head of it was no less a person than a prince of the blood, aged near 80 years, and descended from the elder brother of the emperor *Shun-shi*, the founder of the
- d dynasty now reigning. He had, during a long series of years, enjoyed with great applause some of the highest posts in the empire; and had done several signal services to the state, especially during the last reign; yet neither these, nor the affinity to his imperial family, nor his extreme old-age, and personal merit, could obtain him either a reversion or respite, or even an alleviation of his dreadful sentence. A pregnant proof this of the irreconcilable hatred which that monarch bears to Christianity, and of the severe treatment which any *European* missionary must expect, that shall venture into that empire upon the like design, so long as his reign lasts. Their only hope now is, that Providence will some time hence raise him a successor of a different character, under whose more auspicious government they may be enabled to gain fresh admittance, and repair by degrees the immense losses which their religion hath sustained
- e in so short a time within that extensive empire. Immense indeed, if, as we are told, above three hundred of their churches have been either demolished, or turned into public schools, hospitals, &c.; and if, as it is farther affirmed, the number of their profelytes amounted to 300,000†, who are since either returned to their old religion, or, at best, live in continual danger of some severe punishment for their faithful adherence to their new one. It is therefore, in all likelihood, to keep these hopes alive, that the public hath from time to time been amused with accounts, in the foreign papers, of their having since met with better success and encouragement there from the new monarch and his ministry; all which hath hitherto proved to be without the least foundation, the laws and government continuing in all appearance as
- f averse to, and severe against, all attempts of introducing again that proscribed religion amongst them; and all avenues to that empire, whether by sea or land, being still as closely watched as ever; insomuch that some Jesuits, having ventured to penetrate thither in strange disguises, by the way of *Tong-king*, have been discovered, and arrested in their passage through the most northern desert part of that kingdom, and have been since put to death by order of the *Chinese* emperor, to whom those princes are tributary, as we have seen before.

* De hac, vid. Lettres edifiant. & cur. vol. xvii. p. 267, & seq. & seq. & 279, & seq.

† Lettr. edif. & cur. vol. xvii. p. 275,

APPENDIX to the Chinese History.

Containing the description and history of the tributary kingdom of Korea.

WE have had frequent occasion, in this and the preceding volume, to remark, that the Chinese empire had three considerable kingdoms, which were either tributary vassals, or paid only a kind of tributary homage to it, without any farther subjection. Of the latter sort are those of *Tong-king* and *Cochin-china*, which, for that reason, and to avoid as much as possible our deviating from the geographical order we have prescribed to ourselves in this *Indian* history, we have already give an account of. This therefore of *Korea*, and indeed the most considerable of the three, is the only one of consequence we have left to speak of in this place, as being not only contiguous to some part of *China* on the north, but as being likewise held in stricter subjection by the Chinese than any other, but more especially by the *Tartar* monarchs, since their conquest of that empire, as will be more fully shewn in the sequel of this appendix.

S E C T. I.

Korea described.

KOREA, or *Corea*, called by the inhabitants *Tio-cen-koak*, by the *Tartars* *Solko*, or, as others write it, *Solgon*, and *Solho Kuron*, and, by the Chinese, *Kau-li-que* (A), is a large oblong peninsula, situate in the most eastern part of *China*, between it and the *Japanese* islands. It hath by some late writers been supposed an island; but is allowed now, by the most recent authors, to be contiguous, on the north, to the eastern or *Manchew Tartars*, as it is on the north-west to the Chinese province of *Lyau-tong*. It is divided from the rest of the Chinese empire by the *Whang-hay*, or *Yellow Sea*; from *Tartary* by a strong natural rampart, consisting of a long ridge of high and inaccessible mountains; and on the east, from *Japan*, by the sea of that name; and on the south, is bounded by the Chinese ocean. Its extent from south to north is from 34° to almost 43° , and breadth from $8^{\circ} 10'$ to 14° east longitude from the meridian of *Pe-king*^a. Its utmost extent northward is bounded by the river *Tu-men-ula*, which name is common both to the *Koreans* and *Manchews*, and answers to the Chinese name of *Wang-li-kyang*, or river of 10,000 li's, or Chinese stades, which falls into the *Japan* sea. It was likewise parted from the *Manchew Tartars*, and part of the province of *Lyau-tong*, by a strong wall, not much inferior to that of *China*, elsewhere described^b; but some part of it was in a great measure destroyed by the *Manchews* in their irruptions into that peninsula, which they made one of their first conquests. The rest, especially on the more northern side, was still standing, and almost intire (B), till about a century past; since which it is become daily more and more ruinous^c; however, there is no going into *Korea*, either from *Tartary* or *China*, without express permission from the emperor.

Parted from Tartary and Lyau-tong by a wall.

How divided.

Number of cities.

THE whole country hath been differently divided by the Chinese monarchs, whose tributary it is pretended to have been from time immemorial. At present it consists of eight provinces, which contain in all forty *Kyun*, or grand cities; 33 *Fu's*, or cities of the first rank; 58 *Chews*,

^a BAUDRAND, LA MARTINIERE, REGIS, ap. Du Halde, vol. ii. & al. plur. & seq.

^c REGIS ap. Du Halde, vol. ii. & al. plur.

^b See before, p. 640,

(A) The words *Kuron*, or *Kuroun*, in the *Manchew*, and *Qua* or *Que* in the Chinese, signify a kingdom. The Chinese books sometimes give it the name of *Chau-tsyen*, and other nations that of *Kaoli*, *Troxembuk*, and some others not worth mentioning, besides a variety of old ones which it hath borne through the several hands and stages it hath passed (1).

(B) *Korea*, on the side of *Lyau-tong*, or, as it was also called, *Quan-tong*, was parted from it by a wooden palisade, called from thence the palisade of *Quan-tong*, which was a kind of barrier between them; but, whether built before its conquest by the *Manchews*, or since, is hard to guess. However, after that time it was agreed that a space of land between the *Manchew Tartars* and this peninsula should be left uncultivated, to serve as a boundary between them.

Father *Regis* concludes his description of the latter with a curious conjecture, which is not at all impro-

bable; viz. that it was formerly contiguous to the province of *Pe-che-li*, till the *Whang-hay*, or *Yellow Sea*, formed that large gulph which lies now between them. The reason on which he founds it is, that, in the Chinese abridgment of chorography, intituled, *Quang-yu-ki*, the city of *Chau-tsyen*, where *Ki-pe*, then king of that territory, resided, is in the territory of *Yong-ping-fu*, a city of the first rank in the province of *Pe-che-li*. From which he rightly concludes it improbable, that that prince should fix his residence out of his dominions, especially with such a large sea between them. He confirms his conjecture with some other speculations no less curious, which we cannot dwell upon. The reader may see them in that author; and by the map of that country, and the situation of the city of *Yong-ping*, may easily convince himself of the probability of the sea having, in after-times, made that large chasm between that city and the opposite coast (2).

(1) *Regis Observ. Geogr. on Korea*, ap. Du Halde, vol. ii.

(2) *Regis Observ. Geogr. on Korea*, ubi sup. ad fin.

a or cities of the second; and 70 *Hyen*, or cities of the third rank; in all, 201; besides a vast number of fortresses and castles dispersed in most parts of the country, and chiefly built upon hills, all which are well garrisoned by a proportionable number of officers and soldiers. The first or chief of the eight provinces is situate in the centre of the kingdom, and is called *King-hi*, or *the province of the court*. The next on the east of it is styled *Kyang-ywen*, or *source of the river*, and was antiently the country of the *Me's*; the third, on the west, hath its name from the *Wbang-bay*, or *Yellow Sea*, and includes part of the old kingdom of *Chau-tsyen*, and country of the antient *Maban*. The 4th, or northern, styled *Ping-ngan*, or *the pacific*, was formerly another part of the *Chau-tsyen* kingdom; and 5. *Tswen-to*, on the south side, was the residence of the *Pyen-hau*. 6. *Chu-sin*, or *the faithful and pure*, on the south-western side, is the antient *Maban*, *Kye-king*, or *the happy*. 7. That on the north-eastern was the antient dominion of the *Kau-kiu-li*. And, 8. *King-shan*, on the south-eastern side, was formerly the seat of the *Chiu-hau*. Some late authors are of opinion, that the sea of *Korea* hath a communication with the northern ocean, because whales are sometimes caught in the former with *European* hooks and harping-irons sticking to their flesh. To which one of our authors adds, that, upon asking some of the *Korean* mariners, What countries lay on the north of theirs? they answered, None, nor any thing but a boundless ocean*. But we shall find a more proper place to make a farther inquiry into that pretended communication between the northern and *Japan* sea.

THE cities both in the inland and on the sea-coasts are built and walled much after the same manner as those of *China*, though much inferior in largeness, populousness, beauty, and richness. The houses are much in the same style, one storey high; in the cities of brick, and in the country mostly of earth. The metropolis of the whole peninsula is situate almost in the centre of it, and is by the inhabitants styled *King-ki-tau*, but by the *Chinese* *Kong-ki-tau*, because they reckon the word *King* of too great a dignity to be given to any court but their own. We know but little of it, except that the *Chinese* maps place it in latitude $37^{\circ} 38' 20''$, which is about five degrees and a half from the northern boundary, and its longitude about 11 degrees east of *Pe-king*. *Its metropolis.*

KOREA hath but two rivers of any note, viz. the *Ya-lu* and *Tu-men*, called by the *Chinese* *Ya-lu-kyang* and *Tu-men-kyang*; and, in the maps, by the *Manchew* names of *Ya-lu-ula* and *Tu-men-ula*; the words *Ula* and *Kyang* signifying each, in its particular language, a river. These two rise out of the same mountain, said to be one of the highest in the world, and called by the *Manchews* *Shan Alin*, and by the *Chinese* *Chang Pesshan*, that is, the *ever-white mountain*; but take opposite courses, the one running westward, and the other eastward: they are both deep and rapid, and full of exceeding good water. As for the others which are less considerable, the reader may see their course marked in the map, according to the *Korean Observations*. *Rivers of note.*

THE northern part of *Korea* is but barren, woody, and mountainous, full of wild beasts, and but thinly inhabited. It neither produces rice, nor any other corn but barley, of which the inhabitants make a coarse kind of bread. But the southern is rich, and fertile of every necessary of life; breeds great quantities of large and small cattle, besides fowl wild and tame; and great variety of game. It likewise produces silk, flax, cotton, and other such commodities, all which are manufactured among them, except the silk, which they know not how to weave, but send abroad unwrought, either to *China* or *Japan*, the only two countries they have any commerce with. The passage to either is short, tho' not equally easy and safe at all seasons. The *Korean* coasts are no less difficult of access, they being full of rocks, shelves, &c. which make the sailing along them very dangerous to those who are not used to them: and what makes the *Japan* sea still more so, if what the *Dutch* Relation says be well founded, is, that there is a current that comes from another and greater sea on the north-east, in which are caught whales in great numbers, some of which are found with hooks and cramp-irons, such as the *Dutch* and *Greenlanders* use in the striking of them. This, if true, shews that there must be a passage of communication between *Korea* and *Japan*, which answers to the steights of *Veygatz*; but whether so or not, we dare not affirm upon that bare authority. However that be, the *Koreans* drive a considerable trade with those two neighbouring countries; and, besides the raw silks above-mentioned, export silver, lead, and some other coarse metals, rich furs which come from the north parts; and, above all, the famed root *Jin-seng* we have elsewhere described^d, which grows here in great plenty, and of which they make no small gain, besides their paying part of their tribute to the *Chinese* emperors in that valuable commodity^e. The last-quoted relation tells us farther, that they have mines of gold; and that their seas produce pearls, and variety of fish; and that the inland is infested with a kind of crocodile of a monstrous length, some of them being 18 or 20 *Dutch*ells long. They have likewise some very venomous serpents in the southern parts, and great variety of wild beasts in the northern, particularly *Soil and produce.* *Commerce.* *A large sea on the N. E.* *Commodities.*

* HAMEL Journal, in Collect. of Voy.

^d See before, p. 556, (C).

^e See the Dutch relation, printed An. 1670, and Collect. of Voyag. printed at Amsterdam Anno 1711, by Beccard. vol. iv.

Cattle. ticularly bears, wolves, and wild boars. They use their oxen for plowing, and their horses a for carriage. The people are commonly very stout and industrious, bold and warlike, and equally trained to the plough and to the sword (C), to domestic trades and to navigation (D), and yet are generally affable and civil to those that trade with them. Their manners, customs, *Dress.* and religion, nearly resemble those of the *Chinese*. Their dress, like that of the *Chinese* under the *Tay-ming* dynasty, is a gown with long and wide sleeves, a high square cap, a girdle, wide breeches, and leather boots; but the better sort wear this last of linen or satin, and their gowns of silk or cotton; though the poorer sort are forced to take up with coarse hempen canvas. The northern provinces produce the stoutest men and best soldiers. The rich commonly wear fur caps and brocade clothes; and the women wear a kind of lace on their upper and under petticoats. The men of the highest rank, both in the northern and southern parts, b affect to appear in purple-coloured silk; and on public occasions, their clothes are adorned with gold and silver. The learned are distinguished by two feathers in their caps, and the whole nation in general are well-shaped, sprightly, and courteous, lovers of learning, and fond of music and dancing.

Language. THEIR language is different from the *Chinese*, or rather is a mixture of that and the *Manchew Tartar*; but they use the *Chinese* characters in their writings and books. They have some learned men among them who admire the doctrine of *Confucius*, and despise the super- *Bonzas numerous.* stitions of the bonzaic sect; but that doth not hinder that monkish tribe from being numerous all over the country: their idle life, and the gain and respect they extort from the people, invite them to it; and still more so, as they may renounce it when they please. As for the common people, they scarce have any religion; and all the worship they pay to their idols is c only lighting a stick of some odoriferous wood before them, and making a very low bow to them at parting. Their temples and monasteries are numerous; but are not suffered to be in their towns, but in the country, and mostly upon or by the side of their hills, and some of them contain between 400 and 600 monks. The same sort of worship runs through the whole peninsula; so that they seldom fall out about religion, except that the wiser and genteeler sort rather shew a contempt for those idols and temples; yet one common notion runs among *Worship.* them, that he that doth well shall be happy, and he that doth ill shall be punished, in another life. As for Christianity, there is not the least appearance of its having ever got footing in this country, even when the missionaries were in such high favour with the *Chinese* emperor, d without whose leave they durst not have attempted to introduce it; much less likelihood is here of its ever gaining admittance there, since the *Chinese* court made such severe laws against it.

THE *Korean* government is altogether monarchical and despotic; for though, as hath been already observed, their kings are tributary to the emperors of *China*, yet, excepting the tribute and homage he is obliged to pay to them, he governs with an absolute sway, and hath neither prime ministers, nor any other counsellors, that dare to controul or even advise him, unless he desires them. His council chiefly consists of the governors and general officers mentioned in the two last notes, who are obliged at proper times to attend the court, and to be *The king's council.* every day there within call. These, though they have held the highest dignities, and many times to a very great age, yet dare not offer their counsel unless it be asked, nor meddle with any affair of state unless they be appointed to it by him. There are few of them, except by *Absolute will.* a particular favour, that hold their posts above three years, especially among those of the subaltern rank; and many of them are turned out before that time, for some fault or other, the king having his spies every-where to inform him of their conduct; so that the fear of incurring his displeasure obliges them to concur with him in every thing, and to conceal their dislike to whatever he orders or doth.

HE suffers neither lords, nor any other grandees, to hold cities or towns, or even villages, by right of inheritance, but only during their lives, after which they revolve to him; so that their chief revenue consists only in certain lands which they hold of him during pleasure; and *Grandees, their income.* a great number of slaves, which they keep to cultivate them; whilst the lands and places, which they enjoy under him, intirely depend on his will, and revert to him after their death. f

(C) The *Dutch* relation above quoted tells us, that every province in the kingdom is obliged to send once in seven years all the freemen that are able to bear arms to his court, to do duty there for two months. Each province hath its general, who hath four or five colonels under him, and each of these as many captains, every one of whom hath either the government of some city, town, or fortress. The very villages have some inferior officer, who hath a proportionable number of men under him; and these, as well as the rest, are obliged to give an account every year of the people under their government; so that the king always knows what number of people he can raise upon any emergency.

(D) Three sides of the peninsula being surrounded by the sea, every maritime city is obliged to maintain a vessel, or galley, ready equipped, and furnished with all necessaries, at its own charge. These vessels have commonly but two masts, and about 30 oars, with five or six men to each oar, besides other common sailors, the whole amounting to about 300 each. They have likewise some few pieces of small cannon, and a large quantity of wild-fire, to serve upon an attack. Each province, therefore, is obliged to have its yearly admiral, who takes a particular review of all the vessels under him, and sends an account of it to the high admiral, who conveys it to the king.

His

a His chief revenue consists in a tenth, which the people pay to him yearly out of the product of their lands; and some customs laid on the commodities either imported or exported; other taxes are not known among them, except on emergent occasions.

WHAT their laws are we know not, except that *Ki-tse*, one of their first monarchs, of *Laus*, whom we shall speak in the sequel, compiled a sett of them out of the *Chinese Shu-king*, which he reduced into eight, and caused them to be published in his new kingdom; and that they had so good an effect on his subjects, that theft and adultery were crimes unknown unto them, *Singular honesty.* nor did any of them shut their doors at night; and though many revolutions, which that kingdom hath gone through since, have made them deviate, yet our author^f assures us, they may be still justly looked upon as a pattern to other nations (E). They are not indeed so eminent *Given to women.* for their continence; since they abound with loose women, and the young men and maids are very familiar with each other. They marry without making such presents to each other as *Marriages.* they do in *China*, or using any other ceremony. The princes and princesses of the blood always match with each other, and the grandees follow the same rule in the families. They *Mourning,* keep their dead three years unburied, and so long wear mourning for their parents, but for a brother only three months. When the bodies are interred, they place by the side of the grave *and funerals.* the clothes, chariots, horses, arms, &c. of the deceased, and in general whatever they were fond of in their life-time, which are carried off by those who assist at the funeral. They are for the most part very superstitious, as are all the worshippers of *Fo*^g, and abhor the depriv- *Kill no living creatures.* ing of any creature of life. Their punishments are commonly of the mild kind; and such *Punishments.* crimes as are esteemed capital in other countries, are punished only with banishment into some of the neighbouring islands. Petty crimes are punished with bastonading on the back; but those who are guilty of ill language are put to death. When a criminal is to be punished, they commonly throw a sack over his head, which comes down to his feet; by which means they conceal his shame, and hold him faster in their power.

THEIR houses have but one storey, and are very plain, and thatched: they have no beds, *Houses, &c.* but lie on mats. They use plates and dishes, and most of their furniture is plain. They are moderate in eating and drinking: and are commonly healthy, and take no physic. Their wine is made of a grain which they call *Paniz*, which we take to be a coarser kind of rice, *Wine.* fitter for that purpose than for eating. We do not read of any vines, or of those exquisite fruits, and odoriferous gums and woods, among them, which are so plentiful in the warmer soil of *China*; but they have a tree not unlike the palm, whose gum makes an excellent var- *Palm-gum.* nish, and of so beautiful a yellow, that it looks like gilding. They make a sort of cotton paper, which is stronger and more lasting, and bears a greater price, than any in *China*. They *Strange crea- tures.* have few natural rareties, except a breed of horses not above three feet high; and a sort of hens whose tails are three feet in length. Their common weapons were cross-bows, and long sabres without ornaments, but they have since learnt the use of fire-arms from the *Chinese*.

THEY are wholly ignorant of the liberal sciences; and their Literati know so little of geography, that they divide the whole world into no more than 12 kingdoms, antiently all subject to that of *China*, but since become independent; and their maps extend no farther than *e* that of *Siam*; so that, when they hear *Europeans* talk of the many kingdoms which that and the other three parts of the world contain, they cannot forbear asking them with a smile, *How it is possible for the sun to enlighten them all? unless indeed they give the name of kingdom to such contemptible countries, or inconsiderable islands, as hardly deserve that of a district, or barren hamlet.* This is indeed very different from what we are told by other writers, that some of their books affirm, that the earth contains above 80,000 different countries; but this last they probably had from the *Chinese* †.

^f Vide HAMEL Journal in Collect. Voy. vid. & CHEVR. hist. of Korea, Art. V. & seq. & p. 563.

† De hoc, vid. sup. p. 493, & (D); vid. & HAMEL, ubi sup. & al. mult.

^g Vide sup. p. 56,

(E) This is in a great measure contradicted by the *Dutch* relation often quoted, which represents the *Koreans* as so naturally given to pilfering and stealing, that he says they are forced to have very severe laws against it. The reader may see an account of their several punishments in that author, amongst which that against

adultery is one of the severest; except such as the king in some cases causes to be inflicted on traitors and obnoxious persons, which are commonly arbitrary, and against which it would be equally dangerous to make any objection or demur (2).

(2) See vol. iv. of the *Relat. above-mentioned*, printed at Amsterdam by Fred. Bernard, 1718.

S E C T. II.

Origin, antiquity, and history, of the Koreans.

WE can say little concerning the origin and antiquity of the *Koreans*, except that it is as dark, impenetrable, and, according to some of their own accounts, as fabulous and absurd, as that of any other eastern nation; they making no scruple to cry up the heads of their several hords or tribes as the miraculous offspring of some god, demigod, or hero, after the manner of the old fabulous *Greeks* (F). They are however allowed by most *Europeans* to be of *Tartarian* extract; and their country to have antiently been inhabited by various tribes of them, the principal of which were the *Me*, the *Kau-kyuli*, and the *Hau*: the last of which were again divided into three hords, viz. the *Ma-hau*, the *Pyeu-hau*, and the *Chin-hau*. We have lately mentioned the several parts of the country which they inhabited, in speaking of their eight provinces, at which time they were governed by their respective princes, till in process of time they all coalesced into one kingdom, and were at length subdued by the *Chinese* ^a.

When first
subdued.

Revolt.

Intrude China.

THE *Chinese* annals pretend, that the *Koreans* have been subject to them ever since the reign of *Yau*, their eighth emperor from *Fo-hi*, and continued so till the tyranny of *Tau-kang*, the third monarch of the *Hya*, or first dynasty (who, according to their chronology, began his reign in the year before Christ 2188), caused them to revolt. *Kye*, who ascended the throne 1818 before Christ, obliged them to become tributary to him; but his oppressive sway soon caused them to revolt, and even to seize on part of his dominions. *Kye*, being dethroned by *Chin-tang* 1766 years before Christ, reduced them soon after his becoming head of the *Shang*, or second dynasty. They again attacked *China* in the reign of *Chong-ting*, which began 1562 before Christ, and continued sometimes submissive, sometimes rebellious, till the year 1324 before Christ, when, through the weakness of the emperor *Vu-ting*, they subdued the provinces of *Kyang-nan* and *Shaw-tong*, and kept possession of them till they were again subdued by *Tsin-chi-wang*. ^b

Ki-tse their
first king.

Introduces the
Chinese laws,
&c.

Shun resumes
the royal title.

THESE times, however, are allowed to be obscure hitherto; and the *Chinese* history, confirmed by the calculation of several eclipses therein mentioned, begins not the foundation of this *Korean* monarchy till the time of *Ki-tse*, a prince famous for his wisdom, and uncle to the then emperor *Chew*, the last monarch of the second dynasty, who caused him to be imprisoned, for the sound and free counsels he ventured to give him. *Ki-tse*, however, was soon after restored by *Vu-vang*, the founder of the next or third dynasty, who mounted the throne 1122 years before Christ, to whom he delivered the instructions contained in the *Sbu-king*, ^c book iv. c. 6.; but, being unwilling to live under a prince by whom his own family had been dethroned, he retired into that part of *Korea* then called *Chau-tsyen*, where, by the emperor's assistance, and his own merit, he was made king, and introduced the *Chinese* politeness; and, by his singular wisdom, so firmly settled himself on the throne, that his posterity enjoyed it successively till *Ching-tsi-whang*, who came to the *Chinese* crown in the year 246 before Christ, made *Chau-tsyen* dependent on *Lyau-tong*, allowing only to the descendants of *Ki-tse* the title of *Hew*, or *Earls*, till *Shun* reassumed that of *Vang*, or *King*, about forty years after. ^d

HE did not, however, enjoy it long before he was defeated in several encounters by *Weyman* (G), who at length put an end to the family of *Ki-tse*, and seized upon that crown. ^e He

^a See p. 749, & seq.

^{*} De hoc, vid. sup. p. 687, & seq.

(F) To give our readers one instance, for all, of this their vanity, the *Kau-kyuli*, who are descended from the *Fu-yu*, a people of eastern *Tartary*, give the following account of one of their antient heroes: A daughter of the god *Ho-hang-bo* being detained in close confinement by the king of the *Kau-kyuli*, conceived one day by the rays of the sun, and was afterwards delivered of an egg as large as a bushel, wherein was found a male child; who, when grown up, was called *Chu-mong*, or good archer, and made overseer of his studs. *Chu-mong* starved the good horses, and fattened the bad, by which means the king chose the latter, and left him the former. One day, as they were hunting, his majesty gave him leave to shoot what game fell in his way; and he slew so great a number of fallow deer, as made the king think of cutting him off. *Chu-*

mong, perceiving his intention, fled; and, being closely pursued, and coming to a large river which he could not cross, cried out, *Ab! shall I, who am the offspring of the sun, and the grandson of the god Ho-hang-bo, be prevented by this river from escaping?* He had no sooner ended, than a vast multitude of fishes, binding themselves together, made a bridge, over which he passed to the other side, where he met three persons, one dressed in hempen cloth, the second in a quilted garment, and the third with sea-weeds. These three accompanied him to the city of *Kyi-sing-ku*, where he took the name of *Kau*, to signify that he was of the *Kau-kyulian* race (3).

(G) *Wey-man*, or, as others call him, *Nyan*, was a native of *Pe-cheli*, and took advantage of the confusion that then reigned in *China*, whilst *Kau-tsi*, alias *Lyau-*

(3) *Regis, ubi sup.*

- a He was afterwards, though after several refusals, confirmed in it by the emperor *Whey-ti*, or rather by his mother, who governed during his minority, and by degrees brought the *Me*, the *Kay-kyuli*, and the rest of the *Koreans*, under his government. *Yew-kyu*, his grandson, about the year before Christ 110, having put to death the *Chinese* ambassador, the emperor *Vu-ti* sent an army against him, but without success; but it was not long before *Yew-kyu* was assassinated by his own subjects, who voluntarily submitted to the emperor; upon which *Chau-tsyen* was reduced into a province, and called by him *Tsang-hay*; and *Korea* divided into four more, viz. *Chin-fau*, *Ling-tong*, *Lo-lang*, and *Huen-tu*; and the emperor *Chau-ti*, who began his reign anno 86 before Christ, since reduced *Korea* into two provinces.
- b ABOUT sixty years after, the emperor *Quang-vu-ti* reduced the kingdom of *Chau-tsyen*, and made it dependent on that of *Lyau-tong*, then under the government of *Chyi-tong*, famed for his wisdom and probity. In the mean time the king of *Kau-kyuli* conquered the *Me*, *Hau*, *Kong* carried his arms into *China* for the first time, took the city of *Huen-tu*, and killed the governor of *Lyau-tong* in battle. *Kong* was however defeated in his turn by a son of the king of *Fu-yu*; and was succeeded by his son *Swi-chin*, who restored *Huen-tu* to the emperor, and paid him the usual tribute. But, in the weak reigns of *Whan-ti* and *Ling-ti*, he again invaded the country of *Huen-tu*, whence he was afterwards expelled by *Kew-lin*, governor of that province; part of his own kingdom was likewise taken from him, and the remainder destroyed under a succeeding dynasty.
- c BUT here it will not be improper to observe, that the *Chinese* annals make not the least mention of the conquest which the *Japanese* made of this peninsula about the year 201 after Christ, under their emperor *Tsin-ai*, or rather of his martial empress *Dsin-gu*, a celebrated heroine, who assisted him in it; for, that monarch dying soon after his entering upon that expedition, left it to be completed by her; which she did with such success and speed, that the whole *Korean* kingdom was in a very few years reduced, and made tributary to the *Japanese* empire. How long they continued under that subjection, the *Japanese* history doth not inform us; but owns, that in process of time, and by the assistance of the eastern *Tartars*, they found means to shake off the yoke, and restored their government to its antient form, till again subdued by the *Chinese*. From that time the *Japan* emperors have made frequent attempts to recover it, sometimes with, but oftener without, success; so that they were glad at last to let them continue unmolested for a considerable space. *Tay-cho*, the secular monarch of *Japan*, was the first, who, after that long interval, revived his pretensions, but disguised them under the colour of designing to invade *China*, and desiring their assistance; but the *Koreans* seeing through his views, and having murdered his ambassadors, a war was renewed, which lasted seven years, and of which we shall give a farther account in a proper place.
- d BUT to return from this necessary digression; *Chau*, or *Kau*, the great grandson of *Song*, lately mentioned, being made king of *Chau-tsyen* by the emperor *Yong-kyu*, the kings of *Korea* continued to be created to that dignity during the dynasty of *Tsin*, *Song*, *Tsi*, the latter *Wey*, and *Chew*, till the seventh year of *Yang-ti*, the second emperor of the *Swi* dynasty, when *Ywen*, then king of it, invaded *Lyau-tong* at the head of an army: for this *Yang-ti* summoned him to appear before him; and, upon his refusal, marched against him in person; but, the *Koreans* taking shelter in their cities, and defending themselves stoutly in them, the emperor was obliged to retire, for want of provisions. He attempted thrice more to reduce them, but without success. *Kyen-vu*, the son of *Ywen*, succeeded his father, and was honoured with the title of *Shang-chu-que*, or the pillar of the state, by the founder of the *Tang*, or thirteenth dynasty. At this time *Korea* was divided into five governments; viz. that of the court, or middle; and the other four respecting the four points of the compass; and *Kay-su-ven*, of the family of *Ywen*, then governor of the eastern canton, and a brutish and treacherous person, assassinated *Kyen-vu* his sovereign, used his body with the utmost indignity, and set up *Tsang*, a younger brother of the deceased, on the throne, but only under the title of *Molichi*, and reserved the power in his own hands. This traitor pretended to be the son of a river-god, in order to secure a particular regard from that superstitious people.
- f IN the mean time the emperor *Tay-tsung*, being informed of his murder and treason, marched against him at the head of a powerful army, and was joined by the kings of *Ki-tau-bi*, *Pe-tsi*, and *Sin-lo*, took several towns from him, and sat down before that of *Lyau-tong*, *pang*, founder of the *Han* or fifth dynasty, was reducing all the several kingdoms into which *China* was divided under his government (4), to enter *Chau-tsyen* at the head of some disbanded soldiers, where he defeated and killed *Chun*, and destroyed the rest of the royal family (5).

(4) See before, p. 687. & seq.

(5) Regis, ubi supra.

His success.

Kau-tsung
sends an army
against Korea.
After Chr.67.
A notable pro-
phesy about the
expedition.Paw-ywen
made king of
the second rank.
After Chr.687.
Van-kyen
assumes the
royal dignity.
After Chr.927.
After Chr.
960.
Chi expels the
Kitans.An embassy to
Korea.
After Chr.
1127.Koreans re-
fuse passage to
Hu-pi-lay's
ambassadors.

which he took by stratagem, reduced to a city of the second rank, and called it *Lyau-chew*.^a He next took the city of *Ngan-shi*, to the relief of which two brave *Moko* generals came, at the head of 150,000 of their troops. These the emperor attacked in their trenches, and routed them. The generals, upon their submission, were kindly received; but he ordered 3000 of the *Moko* of *Pin-jam* to be buried alive; and caused a monument to be erected on the mountain at the foot of which he had incamped, in memory of this victory. Not long after, *Kay-su-ven*, dying, was succeeded as *Molichi* by his son *Nan-feng*; but a discord arising between him and his younger brothers, they came in person to the emperor *Kau-tsung*, who was then sending some forces to the assistance of *Sin-lo*, against whom the *Koreans* and *Moko* had declared war. That monarch sent an army against the *Koreans*, under the command of his general *Li-tsing*; and inquiring of the *Kya-yeu-chong*, or censor of the empire, his opinion^b of that expedition, was answered, that *the secret memoirs declared, that the dynasty or race of Kau should not reign in Korea full 900 years, and that it would be ruined by a general aged 80 years*. Now, continued the censor, *this is the 900th year since the family of Kau succeeded that of Han, and the generalissimo Li-tsing is fourscore years old*. Besides, *the people are divided among themselves; and so distressed by famine, that the very wolves and foxes appear in their cities; by which prodigies they are intimidated, so that the destruction of the Kau dynasty is at hand*. Accordingly the Chinese general besieged *Pin-jam*; and *Tang*, the titular king of Korea, with about 100 attendants, surrendered himself to him, and met with a kind reception; notwithstanding which, *Nan-kyen* defended the city with singular bravery, till one of the gates was betrayed to the imperial forces, and he was made prisoner. Then was Korea^c again divided into five provinces, consisting of 170 principal cities, and 690,000 families.

In the reign of the empress, or rather usurper, mother of *Vu-hew*¹, *Paw-ywen*, the grandson of *Tsang*, last king of this country, was created king, of the second rank, of *Chau-tsyen*, to which Korea had changed its name, instead of *Kau-ti*. In this state the government of it continued till the reign of one of its kings named *Van-kyen*, who assumed the dignity of king, subdued the kingdoms of *Pe-tsi* and *Sin-lo*, and removed the court from *Pin-jam* eastward to the foot of the mountain *Song-yo*. However, his three successors paid homage to the Chinese emperors, till the last of them, named *Chi*, was obliged to pay it to the *Kitan Tartars*, who had conquered the north parts of China, which were called *Lyau*, and taken six towns from *Vang-sun*, the successor of *Chi*, and obliged him to remove his court further^d from them: but he, making an alliance with the *Nyu-che Tartars* (H), who destroyed *Lyau*, and fixed themselves in the north of China, expelled the *Kitans* out of his dominions, and paid homage again to the Chinese monarch, and, for his bravery, was highly honoured by him. His successors were no less favoured by them; and indeed, considering the then reigning contests between the northern and southern monarchs of China, in which the *Koreans* were courted by both sides, their alliance was so considerable, that they might make their own terms with either; and the emperor *Kau-tsung*, upon his mounting the throne, was so afraid of their joining with the *Kin*, or northern family, that he sent them a grand embassy, to gain them to his side; but was disappointed by the *Kin*'s sending thither *Vang-chu* with the title of king. Some time after, *Che*, then king of Korea, sent his son *Cbing* to pay homage to the emperor *Li-tsung*; but, his father dying about the time, he returned to take possession of his kingdom, and had it confirmed to him by that monarch. This prince had paid tribute 36 times, when *Sbi-tsu*, as the Chinese, or *Hu-pi-lay*, as the *Tartars*, call him (the son of the famed *Jenghiz Khân*, and the *Koblay* of *Marco Polo* the Venetian traveller)^k, was meditating the conquest of Japan, and designed to pass through Korea thither. In pursuit of which project he sent an ambassador to Japan, whom he ordered to pass through Korea, and to take his guides from thence; but, the *Koreans* not consenting to it, the emperor so highly resented it, that though *Cbing* had never neglected to pay his tribute to him, yet he seized upon *Si-king*, or *Pin-jam*, and called it *Leng-nin-fu*. But, upon *Shin*'s succeeding his father *Cbing*, he married a daughter of the emperor, and received the seal of the emperor's son-in-law, with the title of king of Korea. He then took the name of *Kyu*, and his third successor was^e called *Song*, and from *Van-kyen* to *Song* are reckoned 28 kings of Korea, of the *Vang* family, within the space of 400 years. When *Hong-vu*, founder of the *Ming* or twenty-first dynasty,

¹ See before, p. 712, & seq.^k See before, vol. ii. p. 555, & seq.(H) These had formerly been subject to the *Koreans*, and had in their turn subdued them. Their princes had assumed the title of emperors, and give the name of *Kin* to their family, though they are not reckoned among the dynasties, because they never were sole masters of China, the emperors of *Song*'s family stillkeeping possession of the southern provinces, as we have seen in the Chinese history. As to the farther particulars of the *Nyu-che Tartars*, *Kitans*, &c. their various names, tribes, territories, &c. we shall refer our readers to the *Tartar* history*.

* See before, p. 721.

- a mounted the *Chinese* throne¹, *Kyu*, or *Chew*, then king of *Korea*, sent an embassy of homage and congratulation to him, and was by him created king of *Kau-li* (or *Korea*), and was presented with a silver seal, and the antient privilege of sacrificing to the gods of the rivers and mountains of that kingdom. But, in the seventeenth year of that emperor's reign, the king's ambassadors having joined in a conspiracy against him, the *Koreans* were declared enemies of the empire. The matter, however, was soon after compromised, and that monarch satisfied, by a new embassy and submission; upon which he sent to *Korea* to buy horses; and, the king refusing to take any money for them, *Hong-vu* had them valued, and paid for them; but at the same time ordered him to deliver up the towns of *Lyau-yang* and *Shin-ching*, which they had seized in the province of *Lyau-tong*. Soon after this, *Kyu*, then on the throne, was deposed; and *Vang-chang* raised to it by *Li-jin-jin*, then prime minister of *Korea*, whose son *Li-ching-que* dethroned *Vang-chang*, and set the crown upon *Vang-yau's* head, and in a little time after took it from him, and placed it on his own. And thus ended the line of *Vang-tan*.

*Chew's am-
bassy and ho-
mage to Hong-
vu.*

After Chr.
1368.

After Chr.
1390.

¹ De hoc, vid. sup. vol. ii. p. 424, & seq. & this vol. p. 725, & seq.

S E C T. III.

The sequel and conclusion of the Korean history.

- c **L**I-CHING-QUE, who then changed his name into that of *Vang-tang*, failed not to dispatch a pompous embassy, with considerable presents, to *Van-lye*, then emperor of *China*, with a petition to be confirmed on his throne; but both that and his presents were rejected; and *Ching-se*, who had drawn the petition, banished by the emperor. Soon after that, *Tau* resigned the crown to his son *Fang-ywen*, who obtained a confirmation from the emperor *Yong-lo*, who mounted the throne anno 1403; and sent him 10,000 oxen by way of tribute, in order to stock certain lands which that monarch had assigned to the garrison of *Lyau-tong*. *Tau*, the son and successor of *Fang-ywen*, sent his tribute in *gerfalcons*, or sea-eagles; but the emperor refused them, saying, that *jewels and rare animals were not what he liked*. We find little in their history worth taking notice of, till the reign of the emperor *Van-lye*, except that one of their kings, named *Van-ky-whang*, prevailed upon the emperor *Sbi-tsong*, alias *Kya-tsing*, the twelfth monarch of the *Ming* dynasty, to erase out of the book of the antient customs of the *Ming*, the article in which *Ching-que* was recorded for having deposed his lawful sovereign, and usurped his crown; because, said the *Korean* king, it was done at the solicitation of the grandees, and of the people. But, in the twentieth year of *Van-lye*, the fourteenth emperor of the *Ming* dynasty, *Korea* was invaded by *Ping-syew-kyi*, chief or king of *Japan* (I).

- THIS conqueror, according to the *Japanese* history, finding, in the annals of that empire, that *Korea* had been formerly subdued, and made tributary to it, and being now raised to the height of secular power, thought it a proper time to revive his pretensions to that peninsula, not without a farther view of opening to himself a way to the conquest of *China*. He sent accordingly an embassy thither, to demand of the *Koreans* a passage for his army through their country; and at the same time that they should acknowledge the emperors of *Japan* as their sovereigns, and pay homage to them. But the *Koreans*, instead of an answer, killed his ambassadors, and, by that hostile act, highly provoked him to hasten the war which he had premeditated against them. The *Chinese*, however, without taking notice of either of these circumstances, only pretend that he was induced to this invasion by the small distance there is between the mountain *King-shang* in *Korea*, and the island of *Twi-ma-tau*, belonging

*Korea in-
vaded by the
Japanese.*

After Chr.
1592.

*Ping-syew-
kyi's origin
and rise.*

(I) This conqueror is said to have been originally a slave, and afterwards a retailer of fish; and, being found asleep under a tree by a *Japanese* *Quan-pe*, or governor, who was then hunting, and was just going to kill him, awoke, and spake to him in such a taking manner, that the *Quan-pe* took a liking to him, and made him overseer of his studs, giving him the name of *Ping-syew-kyi*, or *The man from under the tree*. He soon after gave him some lands, and made him his chief confidant; but, being a little after assassinated by one of his counsellors, *Ping-syew-kyi* put himself at the head of his master's troops, under pretence of revenging his death, which he did by killing the mur-

derer; but presently after raised himself to the dignity of *Quan-pe*, and made himself master, by fraud or force, of about 60 small provinces. This is the account which the *Chinese* and *Koreans* give of the great *Tay-cho*, who raised himself by his valour and merit to the secular empire of *Japan*. But we shall find a proper place, in the next chapter, to do him that justice which his noble actions deserved. In the mean time we thought it not improper to give this one instance, among many more, of the *Chinese* pride, and the contempt they have of the *Japanese*, by the disadvantageous light in which they have set one of their greatest heroes and conquerors.

to Japan, and then in his possession (K); for, by the commerce carried on between them, he was informed, that *Li-feu*, who then reigned in *Korea*, was a prince so wholly devoted to his pleasures, that he might be easily surprised. Accordingly *Kyi* sent two of his generals, with a numerous fleet, to attack it; who, landing their forces unperceived, took the city of *Son-te*, and several others, the *Koreans* being so softened by a long peace, that they fled upon the first approach of the enemy; and the king, leaving the government in the hands of his second son, retired first to *Pin-yang*, and next to *I-chew*, in the province of *Lyau-tong*. From thence he sent an embassy to the emperor, to beg his assistance against the invaders, to receive him as his subject, and promising to make *Korea* a province of the empire; but, whilst that was transacting, the *Japanese* had already demolished the sepulchres, plundered the treasury, taken the mother, children, and officers, of the king, and made themselves masters of the greater part of the kingdom. They had likewise fortified the capital, and posted their troops in the most important passes; and pretended still, that they had no design on the empire, but only to make the river *Ta-to-kyang* the boundary of their conquests; but were still moving nearer towards *Lyau-tong*, insomuch that he was forced to remove farther from *I-chew* to *Ngay-chew*. All this while he was dispatching couriers upon couriers to the *Chinese* court, to hasten the succours which came but slowly on; and some of them that arrived had been defeated and cut in pieces by the *Japaners*.

Success in
Korea.

The Japanese
general out-
witted by the
Chinese.

At length *Song-ing-chang* was sent at the head of 60,000 *Chinese* forces, and with the quality of *King-lyo*, or generalissimo; and dispatched *Li-yu-song*, a general under him, with those forces, through *Lyau-tong*; and the difficulty which their cavalry found in crossing the mountain *Song-wang-shang* was such, that their horses are said to have sweated blood. However, *Li-yu-song* had sent beforehand a proper general before him, to try to over-reach that of the *Japanese*, by endeavouring to persuade him that he was not coming with an intention to oppose him, but to create *Kyi* his master a king, for which he was invested with full power from the emperor. *Hing-chang*, that was the *Japanese* general's name, readily swallowed the bait, and sent twenty officers to meet *Li-yu-song*, who had ordered a party to take them prisoners; but they defended themselves so stoutly, that three only of them were taken. This action might have opened *Hing-chang*'s eyes; but, being told that it happened through a misunderstanding of the interpreters, he was caught a second time, and sent a fresh message to compliment the *Chinese* general.

Pin-yang re-
taken by the
Chinese.
After Chr.
1593.

Ill success
against them.

The capital of
Korea be-
sieged.

WE took notice a little higher, that the *Japanese* had fortified themselves in the capital, and other cities, particularly in that of *Pin-yang*, which was besides a very strong place by its situation, having the river *Ta-tong-kyang* on the south-east, and a considerable eminence on the north, then guarded by a good number of their forces. The *Chinese* general arrived before the city on the sixth day of the month of the twenty-first year of *Van-lye*'s reign; and, having drawn up his forces in order of battle, began to march into the city, the *Japanese*, in their richest accoutrements, lining the way, and their general being placed on a tower to view the procession: but the *Chinese* officers behaved in such a manner, as soon alarmed the *Japanese*, and forced them upon their guard; upon which *Li-yu-song* made a feint to attack the eminence on the north side, and ordered the detachment to retire after the first charge, in order to draw the *Japanese* from their post; instead of which, they in the middle of the night attacked the *Chinese* camp, but were repulsed with loss. On the eighth day the general assault was given by break of day, and the attack made on the south side of the city, with great vigour on both sides. At length the *Chinese*, having scaled the walls, forced the enemy to retire to their fortrefs, whence a good number of them, with their general, made their escape about midnight; but had near 300 killed in the action, besides a great number of others that were drowned in crossing the river: a detachment of 3000 *Chinese* killed 400 more of them in their flight, and took others prisoners. On the 19th they took the city of *Fu-kay* by storm, killing 165 of the enemy, who, by so many defeats, were now stripped of four of the *Korean* provinces. From that time the *Chinese* proved so successful against them in almost every encounter, some of which proved very bloody on both sides, that they had only the capital left to reduce, to which *Ching-king*, another *Japanese* general, had retired. The *Chinese* general, who was within 70 *Chinese* li's or furlongs from it, marched with double speed against it with his light horse, upon a false report, which he too easily gave credit to, that the *Japanese* had abandoned it; and thereby fell into one of their ambuscades, near a bridge within thirty li's of the place; upon which a bloody battle ensued, in which great numbers fell on both sides; and, though the

(K) These two are said by some to be situate within sight of each other, and, by others, within three days sailing with a fair wind; however, near enough they are to carry on a commerce, and even intermarry, with

each other; by which means *Kyi* came to learn, that the *Koreans*, and their king, lived in such peace and pleasure, that the conquest of them might be easily achieved †.

† See *Regis*, *Kämpfer*, &c. al. ubi sup.

a enemy was put to flight, yet the *Chinese* lost the flower of their troops. They were moreover, on their approach to the city, much incommoded by the thaw and rains in their camp; whilst the *Japanese* were advantageously seated on a dry eminence, with a river in front, and a mountain on the rear. The town had likewise reared high machines filled with destructive weapons, upon which the *Chinese* were forced to retreat to *Kay-ching*.

HERE, on the 3d month of the same year, their spies brought intelligence that 200,000 *Japanese* were about the capital, and that they were plentifully furnished with corn; part of which *Li-yu-song* having fortunately burnt, the enemy, fearing a scarcity, agreed to peace, and yielded the capital; which he entered on the eighteenth of the fourth month, and found in it *Surrendered* 40,000 bushels of rice, and forage in proportion. After the surrender of the place, the *Japanese* sent an embassy of submission to the emperor; and, in the seventh month, delivered up the children and principal officers of the king of *Korea*; and the emperor, in the twenty-second year of his reign, agreed, at the intreaty of that prince, to accept of the tribute offered by the *Japanese*, and to create *Ping-shyew-kyi Tay-cho*, or king of *Japan*, on the following *Ping-shyew-kyi made king of Japan* conditions: 1. That he should deliver up all his conquests in *Korea*. 2. That he should send no embassy to *China*. And, 3. that he should swear never to enter into that peninsula ^m.

THIS peace had like to have been broken both by the indiscretion of the *Chinese* ambassador, by whom *Van-lye* sent the imperial patent to the new *Tay-cho*, and much more by the contemptuous embassy which the reinstated king of *Korea* sent to him on his being raised to the royal dignity. The first of these, a marquis of the first rank, but a person of a very lustful disposition, had been gratified in that favourite passion, on his arrival in *Japan*, by the governor of *Twima*, who sent three of the most beautiful women of that country to him one after another; but, the marquis being afterwards informed that the governor's wife was extremely beautiful, and having made no scruple to demand her of him, he resented the affront. About the same time a *Japanese* of quality, named *Long*, having disputed the way with the ambassador, had like to have been killed by him, but was happily rescued by his own retinue, so that the marquis had no way left to escape but by flight, and leaving every thing, even his very credentials, behind him. He wandered all the night, and at length, in a fit of despair, hanged himself; but was cut down by some of his followers, and fled back to *China*, where, by the emperor's orders, he was tried for his misconduct, and another ambassador sent in his room.

THE *Chinese* tell us, that *Ping-shyew-kyi*, having fasted and bathed three days, went in great ceremony to meet the emperor's patent, before which he prostrated himself fifteen times; after which he was created king in all the usual formalities, and expressed the deepest gratitude to the *Chinese* monarch for his new dignity. But soon after this, the king of *Korea*, being advised by one of his favourites to treat the *Tay-cho* with contempt, sent his compliments to him only by a deputy-governor of a city of the second order, and with a few ordinary presents of silk. *Ping-shyew-kyi* highly resented the insult; and said to the ambassador, *Hath thy master so soon forgot that I conquered his kingdom, and have restored it to him out of mere regard to the emperor? What doth he imagine me to be, in sending me such a present by one of your rank? Whom doth he affront, me, or the emperor? but, since he treats me in so unworthy a manner, let him know that my forces shall not stir out of Korea till the emperor hath duly chastised him.* On the next day he sent with his tribute, which was very rich, two remonstrances, the one acknowledging his obligations to the emperor, and the other demanding justice against the *Korean* king. He waited for the latter till the 25th of that emperor's reign, for a satisfaction for the affront; but, finding him rather inclined to side with the *Korean* king, as the sequel shews he did, he resolved to renew the war; and accordingly invaded *Korea* afresh with a fleet of 200 sail, and a powerful army under the command of his two old generals *Tsing-ching* and *Hing-chang*. These two, being thoroughly acquainted with the country, renewed the war with double vigour, and took *Ngan-ywen-fu*, the governor of which fled barefoot upon their first approach; and soon made themselves masters of many other considerable cities and passes on all sides, insomuch that the *Chinese* capital was in a great measure blocked up. The former had already fixed his quarters at *Tun-sin*, 600 li's, and the latter at *King-shang*, 400 li's from it. The *Chinese*, headed by *Han-quey*, laid siege to the latter with a numerous army; but, upon a report that the enemy had received fresh succours, fled; whereupon his forces dispersed themselves, 20,000 of them were killed, and their general punished for his cowardice.

IN the ninth month of the 26th year of *Van-lye's* reign, *Lew-ting*, another *Chinese* general, marched against *Hing-chang*; and proposed to him a conference, wherein matters might be amicably adjusted. To which the *Japanese* general agreed; and, on the next day, went to the place appointed, attended only by fifty horse. But the treacherous *Lew-ting* had laid an ambuscade for it; and, having appointed one of his officers to personate him, attended

^m See REGIS ap. Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 376.

the meeting in the disguise of a common soldier. *Hing-chang* was received by the pretended a
 general with the usual honours; and, as he sat at table, could not keep off his eyes from
 the disguised *Lew-ting*, and crying out, *Surely that soldier has been unfortunate.* *Lew-ting*,
 surprised at his speech, went immediately out, and gave the signal to the ambuscade by firing
 a gun; upon which *Hing-chang*, suspecting the treachery, mounted his horse in an instant,
 with his attendance, who formed themselves into a triangle, and, with a dreadful slaughter,
 forced their way through the treacherous *Chinese*, and escaped. On the next day the *Japanese*
 general sent to thank the *Chinese* one for his entertainment; who had no other way of excusing
 it, but by pretending, that the firing of the gun was altogether accidental. However,
 though his treachery had miscarried, it did not hinder his attacking him openly, and a fierce
 engagement ensued, in which the *Chinese* were every-where worsted. The war would in all b
 likelihood have lasted much longer, and the *Koreans* have been severely chastised for their
 treachery by the highly incensed *Tay-cho*, had not his unexpected death, or, if we may
 believe the *Japan* history, some more cogent motives, induced him to recall his shattered
 forces: and put an end to all future hostilities, by laying them only under a tribute to him.
 What those motives were, will be better seen in the history of *Japan*; however, that brave
 hero died whilst his generals were on their way home; and *Ijejas*, whom he had appointed
 guardian over his son and successor, then but six years old, thought fit only to oblige them
 to send an embassy to him every three years, and to acknowledge him for their sovereign. And
 thus ended the *Korean* war, after it had lasted seven years; since which time they relapsed
 again, under the dominion of the *Chinese Tartars*, and drove out all the garrisons which the c
Japanese had left there, as far as the coasts of the province of *Tsio-tsjin*, which is the only place
 they have remaining of all their conquests in that country. The emperors of *Japan* seem to
 be satisfied with the possession of those eastern coasts, as a sufficient security to their own domi-
 nions; and keep some garrisons there to guard them, which are put under the government of
 the princes of *Iki* and *Tsusima*, two islands lying about the mid-way between *Korea* and
Japan; whilst those *Koreans* are only obliged to send an embassy to court, to take an oath of
 allegiance to every new emperor. This was the condition they were in *Anno* 1693, when
Kempfer was in *Japan*. As for the rest of the *Koreans*, they have continued tributary to the
Chinese ever since; and, to all appearance, been kept more strictly under them since the *Tar-* d
tars became masters of *China*. The prince that reigned there when our author wrote his
 account was called *Li-tun*, and was descended from the family of *Li*. In the year 1694 he
 presented a petition to the emperor *Kang-bi*, the contents and occasion of which being some-
 thing curious, and confirming what we have just now hinted of their being under greater sub-
 jection than formerly, we shall give it to the reader in the sequel (L). Whenever any of them
 dies, the emperor immediately deposes two grandees to confer upon the successor the title of
Que-vang, or king, who receives the investiture upon his knees, and makes certain presents to
 the commissioners, which are settled and specified, besides 8000 taels in money. After that,
 he is obliged to send an ambassador the *Chinese* court with the usual tribute and homage; which
 last is paid by prostration and knocking his forehead against the ground before the imperial
 throne. If the *Korean* king is apprehensive of any disputes arising after his death, about the e
 succession, he nominates an heir to the crown, and gets him confirmed by the emperor; nor
 dares the royal consort assume the title of queen, before she hath obtained it from him: all
 which ceremonials have been so exactly regulated, that disputes can never arise; and to this
 is owing the peaceful state they have so long enjoyed. We shall beg leave to subjoin the
 afore-mentioned instance of the extreme regard which the *Korean* kings pay to the *Chinese*
 monarch; which will not only prove what we have said, but shew likewise how much superior

The *Tay-cho*'s
 death occasions
 the end of the
 war.

Tay-cho re-
 calls his forces,
 and dies.

Peace made
 with the *Ko-*
reans.

Koreans
 drive out the
Japanese gar-
 risons to the
 coasts of *Tsio-*
tsjin, the only
 part left under
Japan.

Kept more
 strictly under
 the Tartarian
 monarchs.

Homage how
 paid.

(L) This petition, for which we shall find a more proper place at the close of this appendix, was presented to the late famed emperor *Kang-bi*, lately mentioned, in order to obtain a permission from him for rectifying some wrong steps which he had taken with regard to his own private family, but such as one would have imagined were vastly below the cognizance of so great a monarch, and concerned only the restoring of a favourite barren queen, whom he had deposed, in favour of a concubine, who had brought him forth a son and heir. Yet this step, inconsiderable as it seems, was such as he dared not venture upon till he had previously obtained leave, by a petition couched in the most abject and servile terms, and backed with the most earnest wishes and suffrages of all his *Korean* subjects.

Neither was this request received at court as a matter of a trivial nature, seeing the emperor was pleased to

refer it to the consideration of one of his high tribunals of ceremonies; by whom it was no sooner approved, than a proper Mandarin was dispatched to the *Korean* court, to reinstall the queen, and degrade the concubine. We shall have occasion, in the sequel, to add an instance or two more of this extreme subjection: in the mean time, that which we have given above is sufficient to convince our readers, that the *Korean* monarchs are far enough from enjoying the same despotic sway under the *Tartar* which they did under the *Chinese* monarchs, when it was reckoned treason to controul their will in any case, provided they took care constantly to pay their homage and tribute to them. All that we shall add with relation to their present state, is, that they send yearly an ambassador to receive the almanack, which is published at court the first day of the tenth month, for the ensuing year (7).

(7) *Regis, ubi sup. ad fin.*

a the *Tartars* are to the *Chinese*, in point of governing their tributary provinces, and keeping them under a due subjection and dependence.

It happened in the 32d year of the emperor *Kang-hi*'s reign, in the year 1694, when the prince then on the *Korean* throne, being dissatisfied at some changes he had made in his family, sent him the following remarkable request by his ambassador: "I, your majesty's subject, am a most unfortunate man. I had beheld myself a considerable time without an heir, when one of my concubines was at length brought to bed of a son, upon which account I thought myself obliged to advance her to a higher rank; and, from this false step, have sprung all my misfortunes. I obliged my queen *Min-chi* to retire from my court, and raised the concubine *Chang-chi* into her place, as I failed not then of informing your majesty: since which time, having duly considered that *Min-chi* was created queen by your majesty; that she hath had the government of my family a considerable while, hath assisted me in my usual sacrifices; that she hath paid her last duties to the queen my grandmother, and to the queen my mother, and hath bewailed her separation from me these three years; I am now sensible that she deserved a more honourable treatment from me, and am beyond measure concerned for my imprudent conduct towards her. In order, therefore, to yield to the earnest desires of my people, I am extremely willing to reinstate my beloved *Min-chi* in her pristine rank, and to reduce the other to her former low state of a concubine; by which means I shall again restore my family to its antient regular order; and the reformation of my household, begun there, will diffuse itself most happily through my whole kingdom. I, your subject, though I have had the misfortune, through ignorance and stupidity, to stain the honour of my ancestors, have nevertheless served your majesty these twenty years, and acknowledge myself indebted to your goodness for all I am and enjoy, as to my only shield and protector. I have no concerns, either public or private, which I would wish to be concealed from your majesty; and that is the chief motive which induced me to take the liberty, more than once or twice, thus earnestly to solicit your majesty upon this point. I blush, I must confess, at my boldness in thus transgressing the bounds of my duty; but as it is a point which is of such concern to the happiness of my family and kingdom, I thought I might venture to lay this my humble request before you, without wounding that respect with which I am," &c.

This petition the emperor referred to the tribunal of rites, and it was approved by them: in pursuance of which, a commissary was dispatched to the *Korean* court, to reinstate the queen *Min-chi* in her pristine rank; but, in the year following, that imprudent prince, whether elated at the condescension of his imperial majesty, or from what other motive unknown to us, having presumed to send a fresh address to the court of *Pe-king*, in terms less respectful than those of the former, he was condemned to pay 10,000 ounces of silver as a fine. And this may suffice to shew the extreme subjection the *Korean* kings are kept under by the *Chinese*, or rather *Tartar*, emperors; which severity, besides the politic maxims of that warlike nation, may have been owing, in all probability, to that noble, though unsuccessful stand, which the *Koreans* made, soon after the reduction of *China*, to shake off the yoke, and regain their antient liberty, of which we have had occasion to speak more fully in a former part of this volume†. To which we shall only add one more instance of it; viz. that when the emperor sends an ambassador to *Korea*, the king is obliged to go in person, attended by all his guards, and a numerous retinue of his household, out of his capital, to receive him: whilst, on the other hand, those of the *Korean* prince to the court of *Pe-king* are scarcely received with any ceremony, and are even obliged to give place to a Mandarin of the first rank. They are lodged in some private house, and kept under a kind of honorary guard, which never leaves them, whether they go abroad, or stay at home; but are to watch over, and give an account of, all their actions, behaviour, and even of their words, to some proper officers of the courtⁿ.

† See before, p. 73.
KAMPFER, ubi sup. & al.

ⁿ REGIS, ubi sup. p. 377. & seq. Histoire de Core, vol. i. p. 454, & seq.